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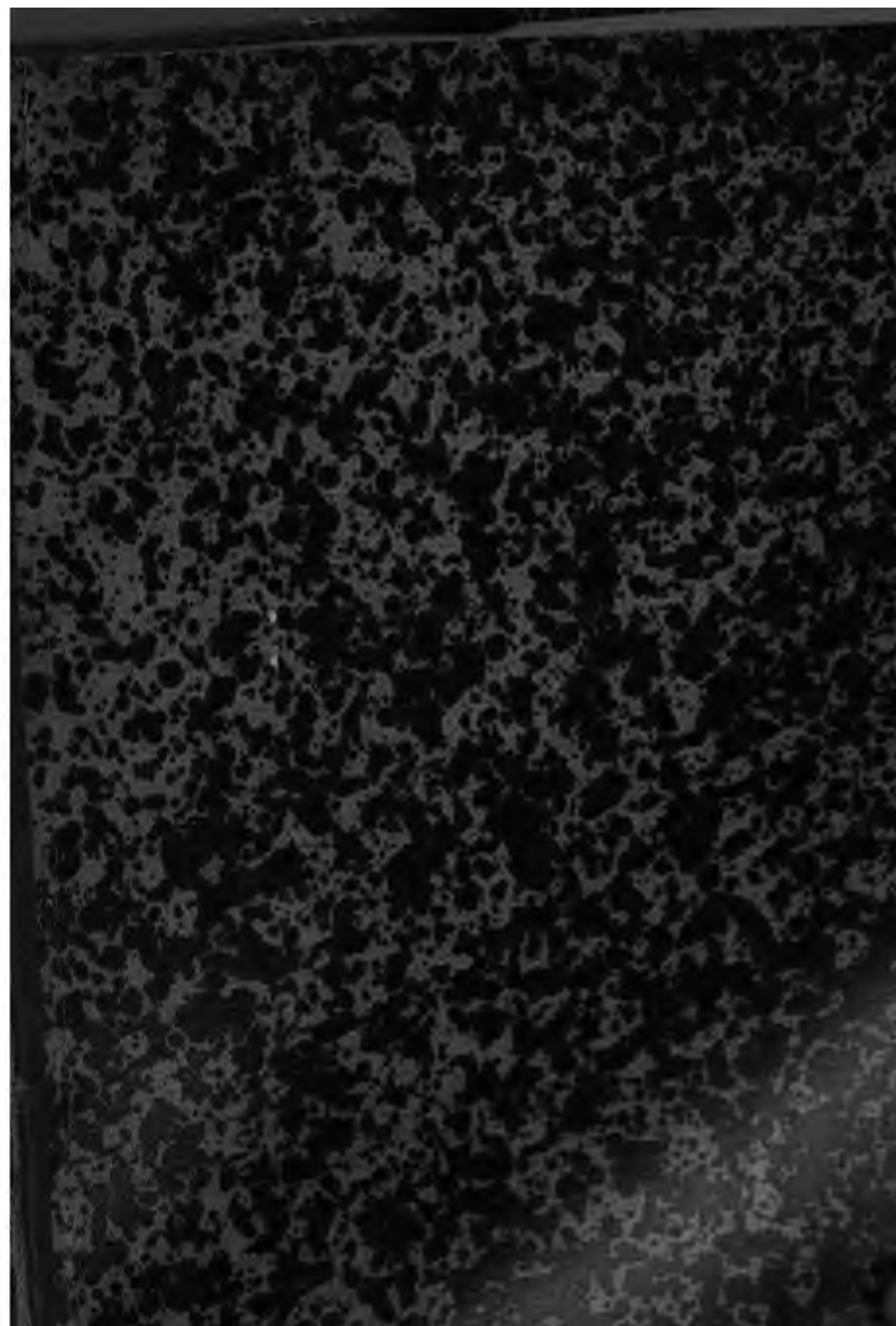
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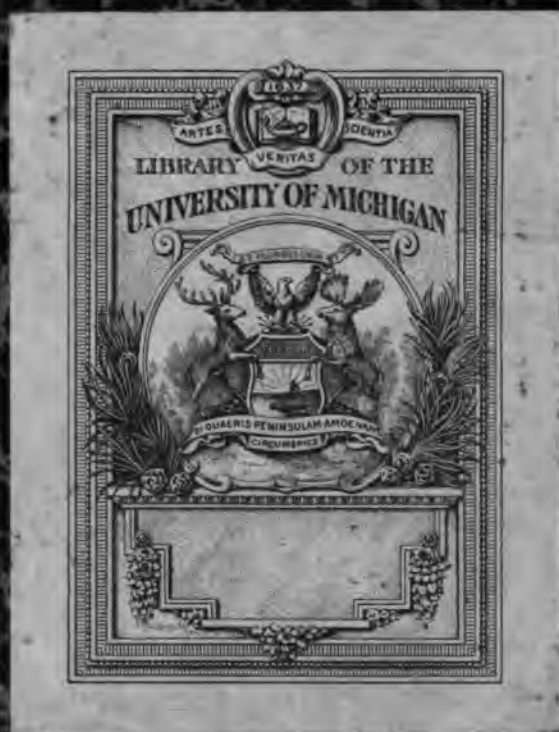
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MAGAZINE
OF
AMERICAN HISTORY
WITH
NOTES AND QUERIES

ILLUSTRATED

EDITED BY MRS. MARTHA J. LAMB

VOL. XIX.

JANUARY—JUNE, 1888

743 BROADWAY, NEW YORK CITY

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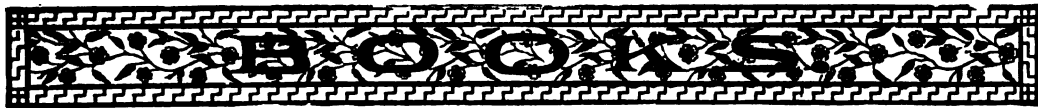
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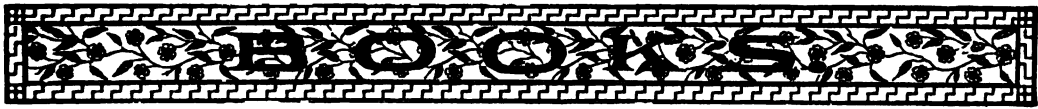
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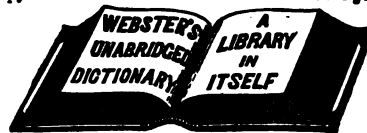
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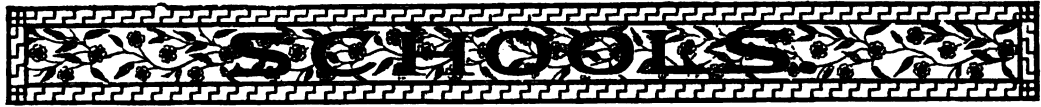
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VOL. XIX

JANUARY, 1888

No. 1

THURLOW WEED'S HOME IN NEW YORK CITY

THERE is nothing in the exterior of the substantial and commodious mansion occupied by Thurlow Weed during the last seventeen years of his life to arrest special attention. Architecturally, it is an English basement of the stereotyped city pattern, to the casual observer lofty and slim, yet quite unlike its immediate neighbors with their northern frontage in Twelfth Street, as, standing next the grounds of the First Presbyterian Church, it has a broad, sunny eastern side, studded with a dozen windows overlooking Fifth Avenue through the branches of a magnificent tree. Ivy clings to the stone of this exposed wall, particularly about the window of Mr. Weed's study, and is the familiar resort of countless sweet-voiced birds, while near the dining-room window is a flourishing willow brought originally from the vicinity of Napoleon's grave at St. Helena. Through the leafy gap between the corners of the house and the church may be seen, in the rear yard, some of the veritable trees that bordered the old Bloomingdale road in this locality nearly a century ago; and about them are bright-colored flowers in their seasons, with the jasmine, honeysuckle, cypress, and other vines reaching about for supports, and an artistically trained wistaria covering, in one solid mass of beautiful foliage, the whole southern end of the house to its very roof.

The interior of the dwelling—where the chief interest centres—is roomy and inexpressibly cheery and radiant with the spirit of domestic life. It is preserved in precisely the same condition as that in which it was left by Mr. Weed, and reflects with peculiar emphasis the native genius and remarkable force of character of the man who has gone into history as one of the ablest editors and most astute politicians this country has ever known.

When Thurlow Weed was born, in 1797, Washington was living, John Adams was President of the United States, and our Constitution was but ten years old. He saw the first steamboat on its way up the Hudson to Albany in 1807; he served in the war of 1812; and had been a journeyman printer, then an editor, and had become a married man before there

was any Erie Canal except in prospect. He was one of the two editors who, by appointment, accompanied Lafayette on his northern tour in 1824, the other being Colonel William L. Stone. He was one of the party, in 1832, who occupied the first train of cars that passed over the first passenger railroad in the state of New York—between Albany and Schenectady—a picture of which may be seen in our illustration of the entrance hall, hanging upon the wall near the library door. Among his companions on this experimental trip were Robert Lansing, ex-Governor Yates, Lewis Benedict, John Meigs, John I. Boyd, Joseph Alexander, Hugh Robinson, and a post-boy named Billy Winne. Mr. Weed witnessed the miracles of progress in the next and most wonderful half-century in the world's history. He was himself no inconsequential factor in the rise and development of journalism; he lived and worked with three generations of earnest men, and was personally acquainted with almost every celebrity in the country during his life-time. When he retired from his vigorous career to the repose of private life, he continued to read, talk, and write upon every theme of a political or governmental nature, and was perpetually solicited for advice and aid in the solution of practical problems that defied the wisdom of expert legislators.

He purchased the property in Twelfth Street in February, 1866, from Mr. James Blatchford, then a well-known member of the New York Stock Exchange. The house was built by the son of Rev. Mr. Phillips, pastor of the adjoining church. It was situated pleasantly for Mr. Weed, through the fact that many of his personal friends, with whom he had intimate social relations, resided in the vicinity—General Winfield Scott, a few doors west in Twelfth Street; Mr. Robert C. Minturn, in Fifth Avenue, corner of Twelfth Street (the house now occupied by General Butterfield, nearly opposite Mr. Weed's); James Lenox, in Fifth Avenue, near by; Moses H. Grinnell, at the corner of Fourteenth Street and Fifth Avenue; and Jonathan Sturges, Richard M. Blatchford, and Robert H. McCurdy, in Fourteenth Street, but a few doors from Fifth Avenue. The house adjoining Mr. Weed's on the west was occupied by a son of Harrison Gray Otis, of Boston, whose family still reside in it. Mr. Weed altered his new home to suit his tastes and convenience, and moved into it in March, 1866. His eldest daughter, Miss Harriet Weed, since the death of his wife ten years before, in 1856, had been his constant companion, several times accompanying him to Europe. She was the presiding genius of his household, and bore the whole care of the establishment, with its never-ending procession of visitors—friends and acquaintances, party leaders and office-seekers, lion-hunters and strangers, journalists, statesmen, great men and



THURLOW WEED'S HOME IN TWELFTH STREET, NEW YORK CITY.

small men, lawyers and soldiers, merchants and mechanics, millionaires and beggars. Nearly all the distinguished characters of the country paid their respects to him from time to time, and notable statesmen from across the seas were frequently his guests. He was accessible to every person in distress, and it was rarely that an applicant for alms went away empty-handed. His library never became such an audience chamber as that famous room, No. 11, at the Astor House, where caucuses were held, campaigns arranged, senators, congressmen, cabinet ministers, governors, and Presidents made and unmade, but it approached it in many curious respects. Miss Weed, if not by his side, was always within reach of her father's voice, and ready to relieve him whenever the burden of entertaining callers became oppressive. The very mention of her name recalls a presence always sympathetic and

loving, always cheerful and devoted, always a wise counselor, a confidential friend, a careful protector, a stay and a refuge. She took charge of his extensive correspondence, filing and indexing letters and documents of priceless value; she seemed acquainted with his every thought and desire, and carried out his wishes even before they were expressed. She read to him, and she wrote at his dictation. How nobly, effectually, and tenderly she ministered to his comfort and happiness through the memorable later decades of his life the world has long since known. Mr. Weed's younger daughters, Mrs. Alden and Mrs. Barnes, with their families, were much with him, although their homes were elsewhere. He had six grandchildren, of whom he was excessively fond.

The picturesque figure of Thurlow Weed is more vividly identified with this home in Twelfth Street than with any other place of his abode in previous years. It was a fitting frame for the "Warwick," as he was often styled. His excellent portrait, our frontispiece, represents him as he is best remembered by the present generation—the attitude, the style of dress, the reposeful expression of countenance, are all familiar. This portrait, from a photograph taken from life during the period under consideration, was never before published. Mr. Weed was a tall, large-framed, well-formed man, with snow-white hair in his later years, light blue eyes under shaggy eyebrows, a thoughtful kindly face that had deep lines about the mouth indicating strong will, and genial and engaging manners. In studying his portrait one can readily conceive how he came to be sent across the ocean as a private citizen to set the cause of America right before the civilized world, in 1861. He was calm, quiet, sedate, self-possessed, full of tact, resource, and self-reliance; and whether in the height of his extraordinary political power, or in the restful and happy home of his retirement, he was the cordial, hospitable, unassuming, typical American, with a touch of courtliness in his address. Although somewhat deliberate and careful in his movements, he was a rapid, energetic walker on the street. He was up to the time of his decease applauded whenever he appeared in public, and his opinions were sought on all manner of current topics by men of all shades of political belief. Editors dropped in to take counsel with him, and whenever any great or stirring event occurred, a host of nimble reporters started on the run for Twelfth Street, to see which could first learn what Thurlow Weed had to say about it. His reminiscences and anecdotes of distinguished individuals with whom he had been associated, and his accounts of the historic scenes in which he had participated, commanded the most universal and intense interest at all times and on all occasions. "As an editor, Mr. Weed was never given to ponderous



ENTRANCE HALL TO THURLLOW WEED'S HOME.

[From a photograph by Miss Catharine Weed Barnes.]

leaders, but found his best weapon in the paragraph. Horace Greeley used to say that he could find fifty men who could spin out column articles with the greatest ease, where he scarcely found one who could write a really clever paragraph. In this style of writing Mr. Weed was perfect, and the light artillery of his caustic pen was more effective in party warfare than the heavy column projectiles of the 'leader' sort. His sarcasm was cutting, and his extraordinary memory left politicians open to attacks on matters they deemed long forgotten. His style was novel forty years ago, and of course all the more attractive and successful. While the Democratic reader was carefully working out the pith of one of his opponent Croswell's dismally long editorials, the Whig reader had stored away forty facts from Mr. Weed's budget of paragraphs." His temperament was admirably adapted to his career. Had he been an office-seeker, he never could have attained that controlling influence in American politics that made him the most influential man of his time. He never would accept an

office. Thus he inspired confidence in the minds of his contemporaries. He was known to be disinterested. His marvelous success, however, as a party manager was due chiefly to his native genius; he understood men, measured them instinctively, and read their motives as easily as he did his hymn-book. And then he had the advantage of rarely forgetting a name, a face, or an incident. In conducting practical politics he seemed invested with the interest and devotion of a general directing an army.

Few city homes have ever been fashioned with a more inviting hall of entrance than Mr. Weed's. It is not only of unusual width for such an edifice, but it is elaborately finished and furnished. On the right, as you enter, are massive book-cases, filled with valuable tomes, and in the corner is an antique clock. The staircase is of a pattern much in vogue in the old baronial country seats of Holland. The walls are hung with the portraits of public men, and with quaint and curious pictures, one of which, as before mentioned, is a sketch of the first train of cars on the first railroad in the state of New York—in which Mr. Weed was a passenger. The spacious parlors are on the second floor, with the family dining-room in their rear; but before we ascend to them let us rest a moment in Mr. Weed's cozy library and reception room.

It is on the left of the entrance hall. Here Mr. Weed was almost always to be found, although the whole house seemed full of him. His writing desk to the left of the open fireplace, his easy chair, his favorite lounge, and suggestive book-cases between the front window and the door, are the principal features of this attractive apartment—unless we include the portraits upon the walls. Archbishop Hughes is represented in a large painting in the centre of the extreme end of the library, on one side of which are the smaller portraits of Lord Thurlow, and Bishop McIlvaine, and on the other those of Bishop Purcell, and Charles Dickens in his study. The life-size portrait of William H. Seward, and one of Mr. Weed himself, hang upon the walls. There are smaller portraits, engravings, or photographs of Henry Clay, Sir Henry Holland, General Scott, De Witt Clinton, Governor Marcy, General Dix, Daniel Webster, George Peabody, Anson Burlingame, William M. Evarts, Hamilton Fish, Horatio Seymour, Preston King, President Taylor, President Arthur, President Lincoln, and many other celebrities. In a frame is a dinner invitation to Mr. Weed from Governor De Witt Clinton in 1825. All these portraits and pictures hang in the same places on the walls as in Mr. Weed's lifetime. The book-cases contain, it is thought, the finest private collection of autograph letters in this country. These letters are chronologically arranged, and well bound in substantial volumes, including the



THURLOW WEED'S LIBRARY AND RECEPTION ROOM.

[From a photograph by Miss Catharine Weed Barnes.]

correspondence of nearly all the men of eminence in politics, religion, charity, science and letters, who have lived and had their day since 1825, together with autograph letters from most of the Presidents of the United States since the time of Madison, and from very many of the statesmen of Great Britain. They are all addressed to Thurlow Weed. The letters of Secretary Seward alone fill several volumes, covering the three or four decades of his public life. Letters of De Witt Clinton, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and Horace Greeley, are numerous and characteristic. Such a mass of private history, embracing a period so full of startling events, so racy and sensational, could hardly exist elsewhere. President Lincoln's letters are perhaps the most thrilling and magnetic, so to speak, of any in this unparalleled collection of treasures. He wrote when he had something of the first importance to say, not infrequently in strictest confidence, and expressed himself in the tersest and most direct and forcible manner. One of his letters we present in fac-simile by permission of the family.

How constantly President Lincoln sought Mr. Weed's advice while trying to guide the ship of state through the blinding storms and troubled waters of civil conflict into a safe harbor, was little realized or appreciated at the time. In the beginning of the war Mr. Weed was still the editor-in-chief of the *Albany Evening Journal*, which his genius, industry, tact and courage had founded, and conducted through more than thirty years of advance of journalism into a national power. He was then a little over sixty years of age, with ripe experience in the study of human nature, keen instincts as to popular sentiment, profound knowledge of the country's affairs, and instant sagacity for difficult emergencies. No one more critically comprehended all this than Abraham Lincoln. Mr. Weed was summoned by telegram to Washington so often that it would seem as if no other mind was so variously influential in directing the course of events. He usually made the journey in the night.

One instance, as an illustration. In the winter of 1863, a dispatch late in the afternoon requested Mr. Weed's presence in Washington the next morning. He had but just time to catch the outgoing train, and in the dim dawn of a February morning was pushing swiftly through the streets of the capital to breakfast, as was his habit on these hurried visits, with Secretary Seward at his residence overlooking Lafayette Square. The two then proceeded to the White House, where the President received them with a worried expression on his face. Mr. Lincoln explained in a few words that money was wanted immediately, for war necessities, and there was no appropriation from which it could be legally taken. "How much?" asked Mr. Weed. "Fifteen thousand dollars," said the President. "If

you must have it at once, give me two lines to that effect," said Mr. Weed. President Lincoln turned to his desk and wrote the following:

"MR. WEED: The matters I spoke to you about are important. I hope you will not neglect them. A. LINCOLN."

"The money will be at your disposal to-morrow morning," said Mr. Weed. He then took an abrupt departure, for he must catch the morning return train to New York, and those who saw that striking figure, with firm, elastic step passing swiftly through the gate and springing upon the train while it was already moving out of the station, little dreamed of the significance of

Executive Mansion.

Washington, March 15, 1865

Thurlow Weed, Esq.

My dear Sir,

Every one likes a compliment, thank you for yours on my little notification speech, and on the recent Inaugural Address. I expect the latter to be as well as—perhaps better than—anything I have produced; but I believe it is not, immediately popular. Men are not flattered by being shown that there has been a difference of opinion between the Almighty and themselves. To deny it, however, in this case, is to deny that there is a God governing the world; it is a point which I thought needless to be told; and, as whatever of humiliation there is in it falls most directly on ^{myself}, I thought others might offer for me to tell it.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln

the incident. He reached New York before five o'clock in the afternoon, and that same evening fifteen thousand dollars was sent to the President for the important uses of the government. It was contributed by New York merchants and capitalists, of whom were Marshall O. Roberts, Isaac Bell, Alexander T. Stewart, William H. Aspinwall, C. Vanderbilt, Russell Sturges, Charles Knapp, and others.

Prior to this, in the latter part of the autumn of 1861, Mr. Weed had been summoned imperatively to Washington on business of another kind, and the results of that particular wearisome night journey were far-reaching in their results. When, after his breakfast with Mr. Seward, he reached the White House, the chief topic of conversation was the embarrassment of the President in relation to the appointment of commissioners to proceed immediately to Europe for the purpose of correcting the erroneous impressions about the Civil War then in progress. Confederate agents were already abroad, and others were about to go, eliciting, as far as they could, the sympathy of foreign powers. There were ominous rumblings and covert threats: there were prospects that were unpleasant to contemplate. War with England, or with any of the nations of the civilized world, must be avoided if expert statesmanship and astute diplomacy could achieve such a victory. Our readers all know by heart the magnitude of the dangers at that crisis. Four gentlemen had already been appointed to this commission—Edward Everett, of Boston; Archbishop Hughes, of New York; J. R. Kennedy, of Baltimore; and Bishop McIlvaine, of Ohio, to go abroad without compensation, their expenses only to be paid. But Mr. Everett had declined, on the ground that having previously been minister to England it seemed improper for him to go again to that country in a subordinate capacity; and Mr. Kennedy had declined because of imperative business engagements. Mr. Seward requested Mr. Weed to suggest two suitable persons to fill the vacancies, and he named Robert C. Winthrop, of Boston, and Thomas Ewing, of Ohio. Neither of those gentlemen, however, could be prevailed upon to accept the delicate and important mission. Archbishop Hughes was urged to accept, as it was thought he might undo the work of the Bishop of Charleston who had confused the mind of the Pope; but he was not in perfect health, and in a matter of such moment would only consent to the appointment on condition that Thurlow Weed would go with him as his colleague. This proposition Mr. Weed at first emphatically declined, but the strongest arguments were brought to bear upon the great politician, and he reluctantly assented. The three commissioners—Bishop McIlvaine having accepted—were duly appointed a few days before the exploit of Commodore Wilkes, and they sailed, Mr. Weed ac-



RECEPTION HALL OR MIDDLE PARLOR OF THURLOW WEED'S HOME.

[From a photograph by Miss Catharine Weed Barnes.]

Companied by his daughter, Miss Harriet Weed, about the same time that Mason and Slidell were captured.

A cyclone of momentous and startling events followed Mr. Weed's arrival in Paris, where he was met by John Bigelow, and Mr. Sanford then minister to Belgium. These gentlemen sought to impress the unwelcome truth upon his mind, which he was slow to believe, that the intelligent classes among the French sympathized with the Southern Confederacy. News came by a steamer, following within a few hours of the one on which

Mr. Weed was a passenger, of the capture of the Confederate commissioners. The excitement over it was intense. In England there was one universal and indignant war cry. After brief, but earnest consultations with Minister Dayton, Archbishop Hughes, General Scott, and John Bigelow, Mr. Weed hastened to join Bishop McIlvaine in England. The whole story of Mr. Weed's European experiences, told by him in this library, the very walls of which seem saturated through and through with historic memories, would form a chapter such as history seldom produces. A few glimpses by the way must suffice, however, for our present purpose.

While in England, for some eight months, Mr. Weed generally breakfasted with Mr. Edward Ellice, one of the most influential commoners in England (sixty-two years in Parliament), who was in the practice of gathering daily about his table the lights of literature and statesmanship. Mr. George Moffat, a wealthy banker, to whom he carried a letter, hastened to give Mr. Weed a handsome dinner, in order to bring him into personal acquaintance with the members of Parliament, inviting twenty-one of the leaders in that august body to meet him. At the office of George Peabody Mr. Weed found a throng of merchants, both English and American, panic-stricken by the clamor of war. Mr. Peabody introduced Mr. Weed to Mr. McCullagh Torrens, who urged an immediate interview with Earl Russell, England, to all appearances, was hopelessly disgruntled. In his first interview with Charles Francis Adams, then minister to England, by whom he was cordially received, Mr. Weed was informed that war with America was seriously contemplated, and that orders had gone out to all the arsenals and dock-yards to prepare for immediate service. Mr. Weed dined on the evening after meeting Mr. Torrens with Sir J. Emerson Parnment, meeting there a large war party of gentlemen, among them Lord Clarence Paget, of the Admiralty. On returning from this dinner he found Mr. Torrens waiting for him at his hotel, who, having arranged with Earl Russell to receive him, directed that Mr. Weed should drive to Pembroke Lodge, Richmond Hill, the Earl's country seat, next morning at eleven o'clock. Mr. Weed found the minister quite alone, and was treated with extreme courtesy. But conversation was at first very much embarrassed by the Earl's evident belief that the Northerners were the aggressors in America. After noting the temper of his host, Mr. Weed used every endeavor to soften his resentment at the "insult to the English flag," as he called the capture of Mason and Slidell, and reminded him, in a gentle and cautious manner that, in the impressment of American seamen, our government submitted to more than six thousand violations of its flag, and waited three years before resorting to war—in 1812. The Earl listened with sur-



THE PARLOR OF THURLOW WEED'S HOME IN TWELFTH STREET.
[From a photograph by Miss Catherine Weed Barnes.]

prised interest; the facts had been sleeping in an unused corner of his memory for a long period, and springing suddenly into notice, seemed to encumber his speech. He became guarded in his utterances, and expressed a hope that the danger of a collision might be averted by the release of the Confederate Commissioners. Mr. Weed replied that English history taught that English noblemen had gone from the Tower to the block for offenses less grave than those which Mason and Slidell had committed against their government. The interview lasted over an hour and a half, when lunch was served, and "was more satisfactory in its conclusion than in its commencement." But the uneasiness of our commissioner was in no sense quieted.

Sir Henry Holland, the eminent physician of the Queen's household, visited Mr. Weed and his daughter at their hotel nearly every morning, and in his conversations with them made himself familiar with the American situation, and, as he went to Windsor Castle daily to see Prince Albert, who was then very ill, the opportunities he had for throwing oil upon the troubled waters were exceptional. Mr. Weed was kept advised by him of the sentiments of the royal pair; but family secrets confided to an attending physician were sacred, and thus Mr. Weed was obliged to keep the knowledge he received, that the Queen had modified the defiant words of the dispatch of her ministers to the United States government in such a way as to preserve peace between the two nations, within his own breast. Lord Arthur Kinnaird, whose wife was the niece of Lady Palmerston, was also warmly interested in the welfare of America, and treated Mr. Weed and his daughter in the most familiar and affectionate manner.

A gentleman writing from Europe at this period, said :

"I met Mr. Weed at a reception given by Mrs. Adams, at her residence in Portland Place, London, where nearly all the statesmen and nobility (Parliament being then in session) had gathered to pay their respects to the American Ambassador at the Court of St. James, Hon. Charles Francis Adams. It was a time of great depression for loyal Americans. Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and London swarmed with boisterous and blustering secessionists, and the London *Standard* and *Herald*, in the interest and pay of Earl Grey, as well as the Confederates through Mason and Slidell, were scattering broadcast over the continent the wholesale fabrications and untruths of their reckless and unprincipled New York correspondent, 'Manhattan.' The enemies of America, including the Tory press of England, were exultant and flushed with recent apparent rebel victories. Under these depressing influences Mr. Weed met Earl Russell, Lord Palmerston, the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Formagh, and other distinguished noblemen, and they were soon clustering around him. His simple language, unostentatious manner, and courteous demeanor, seemed to rivet the attention of all. That his ideas were correct, and his arguments convincing, was evidenced by the nod of acquiescence and approbation of almost every statesman who heard his low, measured words, every one of which seemed a minie

ball without the rifle's report. A distinguished New York gentleman called me aside and asked if I could account for such marked attention as Mr. Weed was receiving, to the seeming neglect, as it were, even of the American minister, and he almost murmured at the monopoly Mr.



GLIMPSE OF DINING ROOM FROM THE PARLOR.

[From a photograph by Miss Catharine Weed Barnes.]

Weed was enjoying. I could only reply that it was the homage great men and great minds paid to genius, talent, purity and worth. I have no hesitation in saying—and my opportunities to know have been large—that no other person could have been selected from the United States who was so thoroughly educated to a perfect knowledge of the politics, condition, and resources of the North, as well as the cause, the object, and aim of the Southern rebellion, and its certain disastrous fate and utter ruin of the Southern states. Mr. Weed portrayed the situation in his own masterly way, much to

the satisfaction of Mr. Adams (as I learned at the embassy next day), who had given the entertainment in order that Mr. Weed might interchange sentiments with British statesmen and impress upon their minds solid truths. Time has justified all the predictions and promises made by Mr. Weed on that memorable evening."

A reception was also given by Lord and Lady Kinnaird at their London residence, in order that Bishop McIlvaine and Mr. Weed might converse with gentlemen prominent in English politics and society on the civil war in America, believing that there was a general lack of information respecting the causes of the war. Mr. Weed prophesied with much emphasis on that occasion that "emancipation must inevitably follow the success of the Union arms."

It was in the library of his Twelfth Street home that Mr. Weed gave the writer a graphic account of his experiences in France, which, recorded at the moment in a note-book, is all the more interesting because in his own exact words. He said: "On the 15th of December I received a dispatch from Mr. Dayton, our minister to France, asking me to come immediately to Paris. We left London that evening at half-past eight o'clock, and at half-past seven next morning had reached our destination, and I breakfasted with Archbishop Hughes. Proceeding to the legation, we found Mr. Dayton and Mr. Bigelow in anxious consultation about the Emperor's prospective New Year's address before the Corps Legislatif, in which it was reported that he would refer to our blockade as a violation of the laws of nations and a just cause of war. This, of course, occasioned great solicitude. Some days previously Archbishop Hughes and General Scott had seen the Emperor, who, while cordial in his reception of them, was reticent in relation to affairs with our country. Learning that I had a letter from Secretary Seward to Prince Napoleon, it was deemed important that I should see him immediately. I repaired to the residence of the prince (a cousin of the Emperor), who confirmed the report in relation to the Emperor's speech, expressing his regret that he could do nothing for us. The prince, who had recently returned from America, was so outspoken against rebellion and in favor of the Union that he had no influence at court. 'The Emperor,' he said, 'was greatly exasperated, and, even if he failed to obtain the co-operation of England, would make our blockade an occasion for war.' On my return, passing through the Rue Scribe, I remembered that a letter, handed to me by a friend, Mr. Anthony J. Hill, as we were leaving the Astor House, bore the address of this street. Mr. Hill, in handing it to me, remarked that I had better deliver it as soon as I arrived in Paris. The necessity of going immediately to London prevented its delivery then. I therefore decided to do so now. I drove to

my hotel, procured the letter, and called on M. Alphonse Loubat, to whom it was addressed. He received me with great cordiality, remarking that my coming was timely, and that no time should be lost in seeing the Emperor. I said that unfortunately we were unable to obtain an audience of the Emperor until after New Year's Day, which would be too late. To this M. Loubat replied that the Emperor would come from his chateau—a few miles out of Paris—the next morning, immediately after which he would arrange an interview. Returning to the legation, I informed our friends that Prince Napoleon could do nothing for us, but that M. Loubat (to whom I had a letter) would take me to the Tuileries early the next day. They were incredulous, presuming no one private citizen had any such power: they thought he must have over-estimated his own importance. But he had inspired me with confidence, and as nothing else could be done we separated.

At nine o'clock the next morning M. Loubat called at my hotel, saying



GLIMPSE OF THE PARLORS FROM THE DINING-ROOM.

[From a photograph by Miss Catharine Weed Barnes.]

that, on reflection, he thought I had better first see Count de Morny, brother of the Emperor. He then drove with me to the palatial residence of the Count. In the ante-room several distinguished persons were awaiting an audience. The usher who received M. Loubat's card returned immediately, showing us into the Count's presence, to whom I was introduced. M. Loubat, remarking that the business on which I had called was of immediate and pressing importance, at once took his leave. For twenty minutes my interview was quite as embarrassing and seemed as hopeless as that with Earl Russell a few days before. 'Our government,' the Count said, 'is a paternal one. When the Emperor is unable to find employment for his subjects, it is incumbent on him to supply them with bread. Your blockade deprives France of its supply of cotton—a product essential to all the industries of France—and cannot be endured.' I urged the precedents for blockades by other governments. He replied: 'The laws and usages of war, largely unwritten, have been modified by time and circumstances;' and insisted that we in our civil war were not at liberty to inflict serious injury upon other nations. He said the blockade was not the only wrong from which France was suffering. 'Your government has destroyed the harbor of Charleston, from which the commerce of the world is suffering serious embarrassment and loss. For that wrong there is neither justification nor excuse.' I told him that instead of destroying the harbor of Charleston, we had simply obstructed it, and that the rocks that had been placed there could be removed when the emergency no longer existed. This, the Count said, was no answer to his point, inasmuch as the navigation of the harbor had been, and for the time being was, practically destroyed.' I remarked that there were precedents for our course even in relation to Charleston harbor.

'I am aware,' said the Count, 'that you rely on the obstructions in the River Scheldt as a precedent; but the Scheldt was a river of mere local commerce, and has no significance as a precedent for the destruction of one of the most important commercial harbors in the world.' 'It is not the Scheldt that I rely on as a precedent,' I replied with emphasis. 'What other precedent have you to rely on?' asked the Count. 'You remember,' I ventured to say, 'that in one of your early wars with England, a war which *assumed proportions inconsistent with the interests of France*, negotiations for peace were opened, but England, having your government at disadvantage, demanded concessions that the French could not accept, and the negotiations were broken off. Subsequently, the war proving still more disastrous, negotiations were resumed, and a treaty of peace only reached when France consented to the destruction of the second best harbor in her kingdom.'

The Count was evidently surprised and embarrassed ; after a short pause I added : ' In that war with England, Holland was an ally of France, and two years after the peace, Holland called upon England to insist on the fulfillment of the treaty, which called not only for the destruction of the harbor of Dunkirk, but for the demolition of its fortifications—the latter part of the requirement not having been complied with—whereupon the fortifications were demolished : so that, as the world knows, Dunkirk, with its harbor and fortifications, has been a ruin for more than a century and a half.' As the Count still seemed perplexed, and was not able to remember to what treaty I referred, I told him it was the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713. He rang his bell, and presuming he was going to send for the treaty, I remarked that I had a copy with me, and handed it to him, calling his attention to the second paragraph, as follows :

' The most Christian King shall take care that all the fortifications of the city of Dunkirk be razed, that the harbor be filled up, and that the sluices or moles which serve to cleanse the harbor be leveled, and that at the said King's own expense, within the space of five months after the conditions of peace are concluded and signed ; that is to say, that the fortifications towards the sea within the space of two months, and those towards the land, together with the said banks, within three months ; on this express condition, also, that the said fortifications, harbors, moles or sluices *be never repaired again*. All which, however, shall not be begun to be *ruined* till after that everything is put into his Christian Majesty's hands which is to be given him in stead thereof, or as an equivalent.'

The Count read these lines carefully and thoughtfully twice, and then returned me the paper, saying that he was to go with the minister of Foreign Affairs on Saturday evening to the Tuileries, where the Emperor would read his forthcoming speech to them. I thanked the Count for his courtesy, and on rising to leave, he told me that if I deemed it important to see him again, my own personal card would be sufficient to admit me."

The Emperor's annual address, when delivered, made no mention of the blockade, and the commissioners were thus assured that the threatened war with France was averted.

As Mr. Weed was in Europe in a semi-official capacity he devoted his time largely to personal interviews with prominent personages, in which he threw much needed light upon the actual situation in this country, and conquered the prevailing distrust among Europeans of the policy of our government. His labors bore visible fruit, as the world knows, in the marked change of sentiment in both England and France.

M. Loubat came to New York afterward, where he owned large possessions, and for the part he had taken received the thanks of the government. He was a man of great wealth, who had built some of the first and

most important railroads in France, which explains his intimacy and influence with the Emperor and his brother. Mr. Hill, who gave the letter to Mr. Weed, was a West India planter, with New York interests in a great sugar house, and his partner, who wrote the letter which he handed to Mr. Weed, was M. Loubat's brother-in-law.

All the apartments in Mr. Weed's home are gems of comfort. The works of art which adorn the walls of the elegant parlors were nearly all gifts to the master of the mansion from one source and another; some few he brought from Europe. Souvenirs of massive silver are also preserved by his daughter. A beautiful silver salver, solid and massive, some thirty or thirty-five inches in diameter, was presented to him by the merchants of New York on one occasion. The handsome gold chain which he wore at the time his portrait was made (the frontispiece to this number of the Magazine) was a gift from the Honorable Hamilton Fish when he retired from the governorship of the state of New York, in 1851. Books are everywhere, from the entrance hall to the attic: ingenious devices in the way of book-shelves are built between windows and doors, in corners, and wherever there is a few feet of unoccupied space. This home was for Mr. Weed a home of peace, all the enmities that gave animation to party conflicts having lost their sharp edges. He could here welcome those with whom he once had had the hottest differences; and from under this roof emanated acts of generosity to partisan opponents that can never be forgotten. No other man ever occupied so unique and extraordinary a position in American affairs. In his will, Mr. Weed gave his New York house and its appointments, furniture, silver, paintings, books, papers, etc., in fee simple absolute to his daughter, Miss Harriet Weed, who still makes it her residence.

Martha J. Lamb

CANADA

RECIPROCITY, OR COMMERCIAL UNION

Our Canadian neighbors have entered upon a lively political season, the developments of which cannot fail to affect the interests of the United States. The most prominent question before them to-day concerns the Republic as much as themselves. To be brief and plain, it is near akin to annexation, if not annexation pure and simple. The old question has been pretty quiet for some time, pending the trial of confederation, with its related experiments, material improvements, and so forth ; but it now appears determined, as in former days, to walk the earth, like Hamlet's father's ghost, for definite objects, and with an air of resolution alarming to some of the political parties. It bears varied appellations, to suit different tastes and methods of procedure, one set calling it "commercial union," another "free trade with the United States," and others, like Sir Richard Cartwright, "unrestricted reciprocity."

The labors of the commercial union advocates, supported by journals on both sides of the border, have already borne no little fruit in impressing the public mind with the importance of this measure at the present difficult time. After four bad years, felt with particular oppressiveness by the farmers, who form the great bulk of the population, the Canadians are apprehensive of still further suffering, and would welcome any scheme offering a promise of relief. The discussions in the press and elsewhere show indisputably that our neighbors are thoroughly alive to their condition and interests in this respect. Everywhere, east and west, the farmers, lumbermen and fishermen groan over the unusual duration of the hard times.

The official organs of the Dominion, whose fortunes and importance are bound up with the existing Ottawa government and its policy, oppose commercial union, on the ground that it will result in the annexation of the country to the United States ; but a large section of the people, seeing no prospect of early relief by higher British markets or easy access to United States marts, have reached the conclusion that the new proposition is well worth a trial. The possibility of even an ultimate political union with this country, however repulsively sketched by Tory papers, will hardly alarm this class, much harassed by local leeches, and whose ruin is only a

question of a brief period with present expenses and prices of products. To such victims, loss of homestead and ruin naturally seem more afflicting than closer business and political connections with the Republic.

Previous to the depression, farmers in Quebec and Ontario, for example, obtained 5 to 6 cents per pound live weight, for good cattle, which to-day bring $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents; 70 cents to \$1 per bushel for barley, now worth only 1 cent per pound, and 50 cents for oats, now selling at 32 to 34 cents; wheat which usually brought \$1.10 to \$1.30, now fetches about 80 cents. In fact the chief farm products have for the last three or four years brought little more than one-half the returns of the good years, while wages of farm servants have greatly increased. Farmers pay useful hands \$18 to \$22 a month and board, as against the \$12 to \$15 of previous and much more prosperous years; and this is due to the fact that the youth of the country are rushing to the factories of the Eastern and the prairies of the Western States. This heavy drain, with the lowness of prices, has nearly ruined farming even in the best parts of Quebec and Ontario. Consequently, any relief, not involving extremely obnoxious conditions, would be hailed with rapture by the farmers everywhere.

The bulk of the Canadians are familiar to weariness with the tirades of the Tory press against Yankee selfishness on the one hand, offset by threadbare eulogies of British generosity, protection and power on the other. "Only for the British connection we could not borrow a dollar in England, and only for the British gunboats we dare not catch a fish on our own coasts—the grasping, dishonest Yankees would play havoc with our territory and our minerals, even without regard to our cries for justice!" But it is uphill work to arouse prejudice against a nation already supplying homes to considerably over a million of Canadians, about one to every four left north, with the consciousness that within the next decade or two that vigorous, enterprising minority may be increased by another million, must of necessity be a failure. When we reflect that hardly a family can be found in the provinces that is not watching the fortunes of one or more members or relatives in the Republic, we need not be surprised at their inability to stir up ill feeling against this country. The masses who are Canadians to-day, knowing they may be Americans to-morrow, are not likely to be easily seized by any violent hostility towards the United States.

The kindly ear lent Mr. Erastus Wiman and promoters of commercial union, by the farmers and other classes hitherto, speaks volumes for their feelings on the subject. Canadian utterances leave no doubt that the majority of the people ardently desire a much freer system of trade with

this Republic, whether quite ready for commercial union or not. Prejudice and sentiment apart, the people must live, and, without ill-will towards Great Britain, they would like to be friendly neighbors and extensive dealers with the United States. There is no reason why they should not live on good terms with both great nations, and continue good customers of each, even with a closer approach to their near neighbors for business and other honorable objects.

I do not believe that, in the event of free or almost free trade with the United States, England would take serious offense at Canada. She is wiser than in the time of the Third George and Lord North, and would not lightly relinquish the advantage and prestige belonging to even a nominal connection with a great and fast-growing colony like Canada. On the contrary, the more contented and the richer it became, the better satisfied should the mother country feel, not only on moral but material grounds. Such colonies would then make still better customers, with the certainty of continuing quite as well disposed towards Great Britain. But were such a contingency at all probable, Canadians would have the consolation of knowing that they had, for the loss of British political connection with 36,000,000 of relatives, obtained a closer connection with nearly 60,000,000 on this side of the Atlantic who present the important advantage of being neighbors as well.

The feeling in regard to the fisheries is also an uneasy one in Canada. The people generally, including all parties, naturally consider it an obstacle to free, friendly intercourse and business relations with the United States, as well as a source of danger, at any time, which it would be wise to remove at the earliest moment. There is a strong desire that this troublesome question be permanently settled; and that at the least there should be a reciprocity treaty as liberal as the last, under which, between 1854 and 1866, the aggregate trade of Canada and the United States between themselves rose from an annual average of \$14,230,763 in the eight years preceding the treaty to \$50,339,770, gold, in the third year of its operation, and to \$84,070,955, war prices, in its thirteenth. Of this last volume in 1865-6, \$54,714,383 were exports from British North America. Is it any wonder the Canadians should value such a market with its still greater extent and possibilities at present? Of course the Canadian market, too, has grown no little since that year, the population now bordering on five millions, with a trans-continental railroad, other great public works, and a vast northwest region added to the old provinces. Despite present high tariff impediments to the trade between the two countries, official returns show it stood thus for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1886:

Canadian exports to the United States, \$37,304,036; imports from the United States, \$30,644,285.

The recollection of the good times enjoyed then discredits the Tory alarms of the consequence of easier intercourse between the two countries; and the simultaneous vaunts of the marvelous success of Canadian manufactures under the national policy causes unprejudiced thinkers to conclude that they should now be able to stand all Yankee competition.

Most Canadians, however, believe their neighbors committed a mistake in refusing to renew the old reciprocity treaty, and further, showed bad generalship in the tactics employed to secure the annexation of Canada. Government organs, like the *Montreal Gazette*, fairly gloat over the recent utterances of Minister Bayard, admitting that such was the object of American policy since the expiration of the treaty, that it had failed, and so forth. This, with recent United States advances towards a new reciprocity treaty, or free trade, has given these oracles a grand text for the glorification of their leaders, who originated the national policy of protection and retaliation, with other projects. "Did we not tell you," is the incessant song at present, "that this policy of self-respect, self-defense, and friendly adherence to the mother country, with the energetic pushing of our trade in all directions, would enable us to do well without a treaty—in fact, that it would bring the Americans to their senses in a very short time?" They, however, favor reciprocity, which, they say, does not menace British connection or endanger the complete control of the tariff and finances, as would commercial union.

Sir Richard Cartwright, finance minister in the Mackenzie Liberal administration from 1873 to 1878, and one of the best financiers in the Dominion, who is practically now joint leader of his party since Honorable Edward Blake's retirement, in a recent speech to his constituents in Ingersoll, Ontario, let a flood of light upon the sentiments of a great portion of the people, on this subject. With regard to the danger of annexation, he says: "There is a risk, and I cannot overlook it. But it is a choice of risks, and our present position is anything but one of stable equilibrium. Without Manitoba and the maritime provinces we cannot maintain ourselves as a dominion. And looking to their present tempers and condition, and more especially to the financial results of confederation in the maritime provinces, I say deliberately that the refusal or failure to secure free trade with the United States is much more likely to bring about just such a political crisis as these parties affect to dread, than even the very closest commercial connection which can be conceived."

The upholders of the present state of things, then, have a difficult task

on hand, to satisfy not only the farmers and other interests in the chief provinces, Quebec and Ontario, but the maritime provinces as well. So the hideous spectre of annexation looms up in whatever direction the Tory looks. With commercial union it is certain, without it, sure. What is to be done? The Dominion cannot exist, or dream of competing with the United States, without a seaboard like the maritime provinces; and Nova Scotia in the first instance, when led by the late Hon. Joseph Howe, was dragged into the confederation against her will. Nor has she ever ardently admired it, her regard certainly not augmenting with the termination of the reciprocity treaty. The people of those provinces have felt severely the loss of their former convenient and profitable Eastern States market for fish and farm products, not to speak of the irritation and danger connected with the fisheries dispute.

To the west, also, our neighbors have experienced trouble lately, Manitoba being mutinous about the refusal of the Dominion government to allow her a railroad in the Red River Valley to connect with the Northern Pacific at the boundary. The persistence of the provincial government in the scheme, which American capitalists and railroad men have undertaken to carry to a very early completion, must prove another source of danger to the union. Of course, with either the eastern or western provinces, including British Columbia, seceding, either to stand alone, or join the United States, the knell of confederation would be rung; the remaining provinces could hardly hope to maintain a separate existence before this Republic. Her resources and present immense attractions further greatly increased, British provinces on either side of Lake Superior could not fail to perceive it to their solid advantage to cast in their lot with the greater and richer union to the south.

Another most menacing rock ahead of the actual Canadian system, and particularly of the Ottawa administration, is the attitude of the different provincial governments, which have just closed their conference at Quebec. Its importance is apparent from the fact that the premier of the Liberal administration of Ontario presided, the meeting having been called by the Quebec Liberal cabinet, Manitoba, Prince Edward's Island, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia being all represented by local ministers. The last province has already declared in favor of secession if not granted more subsidy. This conference has pronounced in favor of more provincial authority, increased subsidies from the Dominion government and unrestricted reciprocity with the United States. Could anything be more serious in the prospects of the Dominion rulers? Those provinces are too strong to be despised or neglected by such a youthful political weak-

ling as the Dominion government, the central power, which cannot exist without their support. Indeed, the withdrawal of either Quebec's or Ontario's aid would destroy the organization to-morrow. If the needy provinces refuse to cut down expenses, and insist upon more revenue from Ottawa, a crisis is inevitable. The difficulties and costs of the petty half-breed struggle in Manitoba forbid, in thunder tones, any thought of fighting any more provinces for party objects or political theories.

Much has been made of Mr. Chamberlain's rebuking aspect towards the commercial unionists, and threats of British abandonment of Canada in the event of her giving the Republic the "inside place" in her dealings. The Tories enjoy this hugely while denouncing and lamenting the faintest prospect of sacrificing Canadian autonomy, or Canadian nationality. They say, such baseness, such political suicide would be inexpressibly wicked and degrading! But such horror and offended virtue show too much the air of the stage to do more than amuse the public. Of course the men in power at Ottawa, with their numerous relations and dependents, would like things to continue as they are, with true Tory instinct dreading all change which may lead to their own displacement and discredit.

But it is difficult, on calmly considering the state of the country, the party feeling in its different provinces, the numerous signs of discontent and unrest apparent, to avoid the conclusion that the Dominion is on the eve of momentous changes as regards her financial and commercial policy, and perhaps, also, her constitutional system.

L'Electeur, a Quebec City paper, illustrates the sentiments of no mean section of the French Canadians on the subject of Imperial Federation as follows: "If there be any question of choosing between being swamped one way or the other, we would prefer the American gulf and the being swallowed up in a population of sixty millions, to being absorbed into an empire on which the sun never sets, and whose inhabitants, as innumerable as the sands of the sea-shore, are counted by hundreds of millions. Such would be the fate reserved to us by the Tory school, the admirers and upholders of the odious project of Imperial Federation."

The representatives of the five chief provinces of the Dominion, at the Interprovincial conference in Quebec above alluded to, would have totally failed in fairly echoing the sentiments of their inhabitants had they pronounced in favor of any other resolution than that of Unrestricted Reciprocity. Many people from these several provinces feel a strong desire for such a change, but it was believed that tentative proceedings, mutual consultations, and abundant deliberation among local governments would have first been essayed before the adoption of a policy so bold and signifi-

cant, in face of Great Britain and the United States. But here is the venturesome step taken by the ministers of the great leading provinces of Ontario and Quebec, as well as by those of the smaller and poorer, but also very important maritime provinces, the seaboard of the Confederation. Without an ocean front, with its winter ports, the Dominion could not long maintain an independent position, or resist the immense and varied attractions of her richer, more populous and powerful maritime neighbor to the south. The stagnant condition of trade, east and west, the prolonged depression of the greatest interests, including the agricultural and lumbering, with the consequent increase of debt and poverty among the masses, have urged some remedy, even though radical, which the provincial rulers evince enough patriotism—aye, and humanity as well—to practically take in hand. The Canadians will be absorbed in the enterprise, upon which not only their industrial but their political future will depend. Here is a fresh, a live, a practical question with which to test the wisdom and virtue of the rival parties, and the right decision of which would remove from the path of the Dominion present obstacles and perils, while insuring her prospects of peace and progress, that would rapidly attract the means and population requisite to her early and effective development.

The social no less than the business connections of the two nations constantly extending, the present does seem a most favorable occasion for the termination of old disputes, the cultivation of the kindest feeling on both sides, and the establishment of a system of commercial intercourse embodying the best possible guarantees for the future peace and prosperity of the two great kindred nations, so much alike in origin, experience and probable destiny. Let any changes favor their nearer approach, instead of their further separation! It cannot be doubted that the termination of the fisheries trouble with the conclusion of a reciprocity treaty, no more liberal than even the last, would prove an important advance toward results in every way so noble and desirable.

Prosper Bender

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

SAMUEL CARPENTER THE ELDER, 1649-1714

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR AND TREASURER OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE history of the trials and vicissitudes of the men who founded and settled the thirteen colonies in America should be of the deepest interest to every true American, and a faithful record of their lives will eventually find its way into every household. In presenting to the readers of the Magazine the sixth of my series of biographical sketches of eminent colonial and Revolutionary worthies, I shall trace the leading features in the life and services of one who was prominent in the early settlement and development of Pennsylvania; a man whose name will be found connected not only with the laws which governed the people of those days, but with every literary, scientific, and educational movement of his time.

Samuel Carpenter was born in the year 1649. The place of his birth is in doubt. Gen. Wm. H. H. Davis, the historian of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, states that he came from Surrey, England. It does not follow, however, that it was his birth-place, nor do we think he was living there prior to 1673, for the simple reason, that we have in our possession a work published in 1673 (London) entitled "A Geographical Discription of England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and the Colonies in North America," in the back of which is a list of all the nobility and gentry of England and Wales, arranged alphabetically by counties. No such name as that of Carpenter appears in the list of Surrey. Now, Samuel Carpenter was a gentleman entitled to bear arms, as appears from Mr. C. P. Smith's Genealogy of the Carpenter and Lloyd families. They are as follows: "Paly of Six, argent and gules, on a chevron sable," Crest three plates argent charged with a crosspatte gules, Crest "a demi-lion rampant sable, ducally crowned or." Now these arms, in 1673, belonged to but two families; first, the Carpenters of Tillington, Herefordshire, and second, to the Carpenters of Barbadoes, to which latter family Samuel Carpenter belonged. One of the Carpenters of Tillington, George, became a lieut.-general and governor of Minorca, created a peer of Ireland, as Baron Carpenter of Killaghy, County of Kilkenny, May 29, 1719. His grandson, George, 3d baron, was created Viscount Carlingford and Earl of Tyrconnel, May 1st, 1761. These dignities expired with John Delaval Carpenter, 4th Earl, who died June

25th, 1853. The Barbadoes Carpenters settled there in 1647, at which place Samuel Carpenter and Joshua his brother joined them in 1675. They took passage from the Surrey side of the Thames, in a ship bound for Barbadoes, and hence the assertion of General Davis, that Samuel Carpenter came from Surrey.

Mr. Carpenter soon acquired a leading position in Bridgetown, he became justice of the peace, and represented the Parish of St. Michaels in the Assembly of Barbadoes. In 1683, he left Bridgetown and came to the then infant town of Philadelphia, as appears from the following record of



THE SLATE ROOF HOUSE, BUILT 1685.

[Home of Samuel Carpenter.]

The monthly meeting of Philadelphia: "Samuel Carpenter from Bridgetown, Barbadoes, signed June 23d, 1683." Mr. Carpenter brought considerable wealth with him, and in less than twenty years was rated the richest resident in the Province; Penn could not be called a resident. Samuel Carpenter's first residence is given by Thomas Holmes in his "Portraiture of Philadelphia," 1683-84. "Samuel Carpenter's lot is from Second to Front Street, and is the second above Walnut. No. 16. His first property in Pennsylvania was 5,000 acres in the Welsh tract, in Union, deeded to him March 22d, 1682. We next find him a witness to a deed of land from the Indians to William Penn, between Chester and Dublin Creeks, July 6,

1685. The first service rendered by Mr. Carpenter in a public capacity was in Dec. 1683, as appears by the following : " Minutes of Council, Dec 21st, 1683. The Prov'll Councill Ordered W^m fframpton and Sam^l Carpenter of this town Mercht's to administer on y^e behalfe of y^e Creditors and Heirs of Jno Vanborson and to make report of what they doe therein to this board." The Second Grand Jury of the Province met Dec. 27, 1683, and Mr. Carpenter's name appears among its members ; the Minutes of Council record : " The Grand Jury being attested, the Govr gave them their charge, and the Attorney-Generall attended them with the presentment." Among the indictments found by this worthy body was one of witchcraft against Margaret Matson. The evidence presented is highly amusing, but certainly does not reflect the highest credit on our ancestors' credulity. The Petit Jury brought her in guilty of being a witch, but not guilty under the indictment ; rather a questionable verdict we must admit. It only confirms an opinion still in vogue, viz. : that there is nothing so uncertain as the verdict of a petit jury. Neels Matson and Anthony Neelson went bail for her, for fifty pounds apiece, for her good-behavior for six months.

As early as 1684, Mr. Carpenter's business had reached such dimensions as warranted the Council in asking his opinion upon the subject of duties and customs.

" Minutes of Council Jany 28, 1684, Sam^l Carpenter's Judgm't towards rayesing of tax upon Liquors Vizt ; upon Brandy 12^d ye Gall ; Beer, Ale, Mum, Spanish Wine, 5^d ye Gall ; Medera, each Pipe 50s. ; french Wine 4 £ P. Tunn, and Give him this way £1,000 by way of Customs upon goods, is his best advice."

The next public duty performed by Mr. Carpenter was as follows : " Minutes of Council 29 March 1684. The Gov^r and Council Ordered that these Persons following attend the Council y^e 30th inst by seven in the morning : Jno Day, Jno Songhurst, Tho: Wynne: Tho: Hooten, Sam^l Carpenter, Jno Jones, James Claypoole, Jno Test, Patrick Robinson. March 30, 1684 Of these the following appeared viz Patrick Robinson, James Claypoole, Jno Songhurst, Sam^l Carpenter Tho: Winn and Jno Jones and were nominated a commission to collect all moneys arising under the act known as the Bill of Publick Aid. They signified their acceptance at six in the evening through Sam^l Carpenter and offered to raise £300, among their friends to answer present purposes and to obtain subscriptions." It appears that during the summer of 1684, the Council came into possession of a French Ship ; but by what means does not clearly appear, as England and France *happened* just at that particular time to be at peace, but the possession of the ship was attested by the following : " Minutes of the Council Aug 22

1684. Ordered that James Claypoole, Sam^l Carpenter, and W^m fframpton be Com'iss'rs to Dispose of y^e french ship forthwith."

May 11, 1685. Mr. Carpenter appealed to the Council in behalf of a judgment obtained by him against James Claypoole, who had appealed to the English Courts under the Duke of York's Laws, but failed to give the necessary security; the Council on the 17th September, 1685, confirmed the judgment of the lower Court, and ordered execution. July 30, he was witness to a deed of land from the Indian chiefs Shakahappoh, Malebore, Secaue, and Taugoras, to William Penn.

6th of September, 1685, the Commission to collect money under the Bill of Public Aid reported progress.

We now come to Mr. Carpenter's first appearance in the Provincial Council. James Claypoole, member of council and register general of the Province, died June 17, 1687, and the following day, the Council ordered an election to fill the vacancy, and Samuel Carpenter was elected, as appears by the minutes of Council, July 9, 1687: "Sam^l Carpenter yt was returned yesterday by y^e Sheriff of Philadelphia County to serve in Provll Councill in y^e Roome of James Claypoole for y^e remaying time he was to serve. This day signed y^e attest and took his place at y^e Board."* During this same year, Mr. Carpenter built the famous "Slate Roof House," torn down in 1867, an engraving of which, made by William C. Armstrong, accompanies this article. When Penn visited Pennsylvania the second time, this house, considered the finest in the city, was secured for his residence. Here also was born "John Penn, the American," the only one of the race born in America. This event took place November 1st, 1699, as announced in the following letter: "30th of 11th mo: 1699, (Tuesday Nov 30). Our Governor has a son born last first day night and all like to do well." The next event in its history was in 1702, when James Logan dined Lord Cornbury beneath its hospitable roof. This nobleman, a cousin of Queen Anne, in speaking of the occasion, says, "he was dined equal to anything he had seen in America." In 1703, Mr. Carpenter sold this house to William Trent, the gentleman who gave his name to the present capital of New Jersey. In 1709, Trent sold it to Isaac Morris, the Elder, in whose family it remained until 1770, when Mary Norris brought it to John Dickinson as part of her marriage dower. It remained with the Dickinsons until sold to the Chamber of Commerce in 1867. Gov. James Hamilton at one time made it his official residence, then it was leased to Mrs. Howell as a boarding-house, who numbered among her boarders Col. Dunbar, the "Tardy," and in 1759 all that was mortal

* Col. Rec., vol. I., p. 210.

of the famous Gen. Forbes, the "Conqueror of Fort Du Quesne," and aide-de-camp to the Duke of Cumberland at "Culloden," was carried from its portals, to their last resting-place. Just prior, and in fact during the Revolution, Mrs. Graydon kept a boarding-house there, to which flocked many men of note. A young ladies' boarding-school was its next occupant, but after that its glory faded away, and it is now numbered with the things of the past.

May 5th, 1688, the Council appointed Messrs. Cann, Carpenter and Growden, a committee to report on the legality of several important bills, in which they were to be assisted by the attorney-general.; Dec. 7, 1688, Messrs. Turner, Tissick, Budd, Ewer, Carpenter, and Fuller, presented a Petition to Council praying to be allowed to establish a bank. This privilege or right, the governor informed them was vested solely in Penn, but that he (Blackwell) knew no good reason why they should not issue their own personal bills to such as would take them. We apprehend they were to be of the nature of Bills of Exchange. They necessarily ran great risk from counterfeiting. In Jan., 1689, a dispute arose between Gov. Blackwell and the Council on the one side, and Thomas Lloyd, Keeper of the Seal and Master of the Rolls on the other, in relation to Lloyd's abusing the powers of his office by appointing David Lloyd to be his Deputy, without consent of the Governor and Council. But two of the Council sided with Lloyd, viz., Mr. Carpenter and Arthur Cook. The former of these two (Mr. Carpenter) declared that he did not so understand it, yet at the same time stated that he did not justify Lloyd's actions. The Council, however, decided to retain David Lloyd's Commission, Messrs. Carpenter and Cook dissenting.

On the 26th of Jan., 1689, Mr. Carpenter opposed the arbitrary action of the Council in running the line between Chester and Philadelphia, contrary to the wishes of the Welsh settlers who desired to be considered in Philadelphia, but the new arrangement was carried. Messrs. Turner, Jones, Bristow and Markham voting aye, and Messrs. Carpenter and Yardley no.

Fraud in the ballot-box and disorder at the polls seems to have been known to our ancestors as well as ourselves. On the 9th of Feb., 1689, occurred a debate on the admission of John Eckley to a seat in the Council on the ground of fraud and violence at the polls. Said Mr. Carpenter, "as to that man that appeared last viz., John Eckley, I hope thou hast nothing against him, nor his Election. If thou hast I desire to know what thou hast. I desire he may be admitted to take his place." Griffith Jones complained of great disorder at the polls, charging that several inhabit-

ants of Chester County and even some from West Jersey had voted. (Probably McMullen had been searching these records when he introduced his system into the fourth ward of Philadelphia.) The Council finally decided, however, to admit Eckley.*

On the 17th of March, 1689, there occurred a debate upon the power of the Assembly to adjourn by their own act: Messrs. Carpenter and Stockdale erroneously held the affirmative, that they *could*, but the governor and a majority of the Council very properly held the negative. Sept. 2, 1689, the governor and Council issued a proclamation announcing the accession of William and Mary to the English Throne, and giving the allegiance of Pennsylvania to the new Sovereigns, but at the same time declining to fit out a fleet for the West Indies, to take part in a war with France, as requested in a letter from the Earl of Shrewsbury, Sec'y of State for Foreign Affairs. During the debate, Mr. Carpenter said, "We cannot vote one way or other to either of the questions. We say nothing against it, in regard, it is a matter of conscience to us, I had rather be ruined than violate my conscience in this case. We do not take upon us to hinder any [one]. I do not think the Govr need to call us together in this matter; and therefore we desire we may be no farther prest in this matter." Mr. Carpenter's time expired January 1, 1690.

Philadelphia, by this time, seems to have attained a considerable size, as we find that on the 5th of February, 1696, Mr. Carpenter presented a petition to Council requesting the passage of an act to prevent the running at large of hogs, etc., in the street of the city.

July 7, 1690, Messrs. Carpenter, Richards, and Delaval appear as complainants against Jno. James, Master of a certain vessel, praying that an examination be made of as to the safety of said vessel before she leaves for England. In 1691, Mr. Carpenter and William Bradford erected a paper mill on the banks of the Schuylkill, near the mouth of the Wissahickon. May 6, 1693, Mr. Carpenter was offered the office of Justice of the Peace, but declined. July 18th, his brother Joshua was appointed.†

May 15, 1693, Mr. Carpenter took his seat in the Assembly from Philadelphia, after an absence from the Councils of the Province for three years. May 24, Mr. Carpenter was placed on the committee to revise the Book of Laws; and on the 31st on the committee to bring in a Bill of Supply. April 10, 1694, Mr. Carpenter took his seat in Assembly for the second

* Col. Rec, Vol. I., bp. 278-83.

† Joshua Carpenter, in 1693, was rated the richest man in the province next to his brother Samuel. He served as Justice of the Peace, Member 1st Select Council of Phila., 1705, and Member of Assembly and Common Council. He was not a Quaker.

time. During the debate on the Book of Laws, he said, "If now they are our laws I will stand by them, I had rather lose all I have in the world than part with our laws." November 24, 1694, Samuel Carpenter and John Goodson were appointed, by Penn lieut-governors of Pennsylvania, as appears by the following:

"William Penn, Proprietary of the Province of Pennsylvania to his trustee and loving friends John Goodson and Samuell. Carpenter; whereas I have appointed and constituted my cousin William Markham, Governor, under mee of my province of Pennsylvania &c. and taking into consideration the state of his province and his frequent indisposition, I have thought fit, reposing special confidence in your Justice, prudence, and integrity; to appoint and constitute you assistants to him in government according as is expressed in his commission by your advice and consent, or the advice and consent of one of you, to transact and govern the affairs of the said province in my absence according to the laws and usages thereof; requiring all people to give you the respect that is due to you in that station and capacite. Given at Bristol this twenty fourth day, Ninth month. 1694.
William Penn."

This act of Penn's returned Mr. Carpenter to the Council. He acted as lieut-governor until Oct., 1696, when Phila County sent him a third time to the Assembly. May 28, 1695, he was appointed chairman of the Committee to frame a new Charter. Sept 11, chairman of Committee to frame a reply to Queen Mary's letter. Member of Assembly third time, Oct 15 1696 to March 15. 1697; 31st Oct 1696, appointed Chairman of Committee of Assembly, to frame a reply to another letter of Queen Mary's. 12th Feby 1697, Mr. Carpenter's name heads a petition to the Council for the establishment of a public school. This was the first school established in Pennsylvania, and it is a matter of sincere pride to Mr. Carpenter's descendants, that his name stands first in the first movement inaugurated in the noble cause of education now so flourishing in our great Commonwealth. His wharf is described by Gabriel Thomas, in 1696, as follows: "There is likewise a very convenient wharf called Carpenter's wharf, which hath a fine necessary crain belonging to it, with suitable graneries and storehouses."

May 10th, 1697, Mr. Carpenter, entered the Council for the third time, and served continuously for sixteen years and five months; [his full term of service in the Council was twenty years and ten months; in the Assembly two years and one month; total service twenty two years eleven months]. May 12 Mr. Carpenter was chairman of a Committee to frame

a reply to the letter of Governor Fletcher of New York; May 13, Auditor to examine accounts of James Fox, Treasurer and Receiver of Taxes; May 14, Chairman of Committee to revise the laws; May 20th requested to draw up a bill to place the Post Office under Government auspices; July 15th, he is named one of the trustees in a deed for land from King Tamany to Wm. Penn, in Bucks County, S.

Feby 9, 1698, chairman Committee to inquire into the complaints by certain persons to William Penn relating to illegal trade, piracy and lawless behavior. July 25 1700, member Committee to prepare a bill against illegal trade; Feby 2, member Committee to draw up clause of Bill against illegal trade, relating to Kent County; Feb. 5, member Committee to abridge the laws against illegal trade; Feb. 14, Mr. Carpenter was appointed treasurer and receiver of Taxes for Pennsylvania vice James Fox deceased, as appears by the following "Minutes of Council 14 Feby 1700. Upon reading ye petition of ye late Assembly to ye Prop. and Govr. to appoint a Treasurer in room of ye Jas. Fox deceased. The Prop and Govr did appoint Samll Carpenter to be Treasurer for ye Province and Territories he giving security to execute itt." June 4, Member Committee to revise charter: June 5th he made a motion that a bill be prepared for raising one penny per pound and six shillings per poll for defraying the public debt of the government, the Prop and Govr direct Mr. Carpenter to draw it up, July 17. Mr. Carpenter made a report in the case of James Streater as John Redman and Edward James, recommending the Council not to interfere but to leave Streater to his remedy at Law. Feby 28, 1701, Mr. Carpenter prayed to be allowed £63 8s. being and advanced for taking the Pirate Babbitt: ordered paid from the Provincial Tax: Mr. Carpenter signed the New Charter for Pennsylvania Oct. 28, 1701, under this new charter Mr. Carpenter served twelve years in three positions viz: Member of the Council, Treasurer, and a Commissioner of Property. Feby 5th 1702, Mr Carpenter lost his son Abraham who died of the small pox. He was one of the three Trustees of the property of John Penn the American appointed in 1702, by Penn. May 5 1703 he took the oath of allegiance to Queen Anne. During this year he sold the "Slate Roof House" to Col. William Trent, and his interest in "Chester Mills" to Caleb Pusey. This Mill was built in 1699, by William Penn. Samuel Carpenter and Caleb Pusey. They were the first erected in Delaware (then Chester) County. There is still in existence a curious old iron vane which once graced the top of this Mill of peculiar shape.

The Initials stand for the names of the three partners, named above. In 1703 Mr Carpenter started the erection of mills and yards at Bristol for

building ships large enough to hold 800 hogsheads of tobacco, the ships to cost not over £3,000.

Mr Carpenter was one of the greatest improvers and builders in the Province, and at one time owned a very large property. The War of 1703 hurt him very much, James Logan writing to Penn under date of Dec 12, 1703 says, "he lost heavily because his profitable trade almost entirely failed, and his debts came upon him, while his mills sank in value and he was unable to clear himself, and from the wealthiest man in the Province in 1701, he became much embarrassed." In 1703 he was attorney in fact for Jacob Pelter of Germantown. June 4 1704 he presented his accounts of what he had received and disbursed of the Provincial Tax of one penny per pound making the sum of his receipts £206 12s. 7½d. and his disbursements £245, 7s. 4½d. and the balance due him £44 17s. 4½d. The said account was allowed provided he gave security for the sixty pounds with which he charged Col Andrew Hamilton Post Master General, as paid him in behalf of the government for the management of his said office or produce a discharge. This same year (1704) the last sloop in which he owned an interest was captured by the French Privateer "Duc D'Orleans" but was bought off again for £800. In May 1705, he lost £150, by a freshet which swept away his great dam at Bristol. See letter from Logan to Penn 17th 3 mo 1705, this same year (1705) he wrote to Jonathan Dickinson of Jamaica West Indies to induce him to purchase his estates; he also induced Isaac Morris the Elder to write in his behalf. We give the letter of Mr Morris first.

10th of 6th—mo 1705

I write this chiefly to enclose one from Samuel Carpenter, who, understanding thy inclination to buy somewhat of value here, makes the offer, that estate in Bucks is a valuable and improvable thing, but has straightened Samuel and run out abundance. I am not very well acquainted with it, but by all discourse it must be, if well managed, an immediate good income, and a growing estate for posterity, because of the quantity of the land, and the richness of the islands. I believe if thou wert here, it would please thee and suit thy genius, but advise thee not to buy Samuel clear out at first, because it is at present troublesome to manage, and be well acquainted with all its advantages and disadvantages. That honest and valuable man, whose industry and improvements have been the stock whereon much of the labors and successes of this country have been grafted, is now weary of it all, and resolved, I think prudently, to wind up and clear his incumbrance. He has sold some good pennyworths, as his

dwelling house by David Lloyds [Slate Roof House] and the Coffee House * * * * *

Penn & Logan Correspondence, Vol. II., page 40.

The following letter written by Mr. Carpenter to Mr. Dickinson, and enclosed in the above, as stated by Mr. Morris, gives us as clear an idea of the business enterprises engaged in by the early settlers of Pennsylvania, as any that was ever written. It shows us that at that early day the business men of Philadelphia had some insight into the future of their city, and enabled them to lay the foundations of those enterprises which are destined to make Philadelphia the greatest manufacturing city in the world. It is with special pride that the descendants of this estimable Quaker merchant look back to the industry, ability, and commercial enterprise of their ancestor, and with much pleasure mention his name as that of the principal founder of the future greatness of the second city in the Union. It would have amazed him much, could he have been present at the late Centennial, and mingled with the millions of visitors to that greatest exhibition the world has ever seen, and seen the vast shops and factories the palatial residences and warehouses, that covered the ground he once knew as a forest. There is a decided quaintness in the style in which this letter is written.

"I understand by Isaac Norris that thou art inclined to purchase something in this province for thy children, and it having been my lot to lay out myself much in this country, so that upon the falling off of trade and losses and disappointments many ways I have of late, and my endeavors to sell what I can to pay off debts, and, if it please God to spare my life, to disencumber myself before I die, which is, and hath been, very burdensome to me, so that, although I am possessed of a considerable estate, I am very uneasy, and look upon myself as very unhappy, and worse than those that are out of debt, although but mean, or have but little of this worlds goods. My exercise and trouble is greater in that I find it a difficult matter to sell, though to a loss, there being but few able to buy, whereas, if I had such an estate in other countries, I might soon sell to pay my debts, and have enough to spare. The occasion of these are to make thee an offer of somethings that I have, viz., a parcel of corn mills and sawmills at *Bristol*, over against Burlington. I think it was called *Buckingham* when thou wast here, within less than a quarter of a mile of the river Delaware upon a creek where a vessel of good burthen may come to the tail of the mills to load or unload. There are at present two wheels and four cutter stones, and I intend another wheel, and one or two pair more of stones: the saw mill and corn mill [wheat is here intended, as corn was then called

"maize."—Editor] in the same is new built, and the other corn mills newly repaired, and are good. The dimensions of the sawmill are 32 feet broad and 70 feet long, and stands on a bank somewhat like that of Philadelphia, where the water, when at highest, has about eight or nine feet head, and five feet fall, which is between thirteen and fourteen feet in all, to speak within compass. After it has passed through the sawmill it comes to the corn mill, in an undershot and grinds very well, so that we generally saw and grind together with the same water. We have two cranks upon the shaft of the saw mill wheel, and two carriages, and can cut with one saw seven or eight hundred feet of inch boards in a day, and more sometimes when the water is high, timber good and well followed, viz 1,000 feet or more. With two saws together she will cut 12 or 15 hundred feet in a day, or in about 12 hours time. There is belonging to these mills a pretty stream of water and constant supply to the corn mills unless in a very dry Summer; we sometimes are scant at the latter end of Summer, as many other mills are; last summer, and the summer and winter before, it was very dry, and we wanted at the latter end of the summer, but now we have enough and so it is likely to continue. We have a large pond course, two or three hundred acres of ground, which is a great benefit to the mills. Hitherto we have not had full experience of what quantity of water we may have for the sawmills yearly, but suppose we have enough to saw six months in a year, at least it may be eight months or more, in which time suppose we may saw 150 or 200 thousand of boards, as the water may continue, I suppose the profits or earnings, from the saw mills may be near £400 a year, and from the corn mills, now corn is low, £250 a year, or £650, out of which take one third for tending, is near £220: add £30 a year for charges besides, (there) remains about £400, which is the interest [at 8 p'rc't] of £5,000.

Besides these mills I have the islands that lie over against Burlington, adjacent a considerable quantity of lands and town lots, the whole being about 2,000 acres; the islands have about 350 acres, of which about one half may be made meadow; at present there is about twenty or thirty acres meadow; besides other meadow lands and pretty considerable improvements, and also a considerable quantity may be watered from the pond and will make good meadow, lying below the water to the quantity from 50 to 100 acres. There is a considerable quantity of white oak timber upon part of the land to accommodate the sawmill, for which end I bought the land where it stands, and the most of it is about three miles from the mills; it may with a reasonable charge, by making another pond, be floated down two miles, and some of it more, through the ponds to the

mills at a little charge of land carriage. I cannot be accurate in the quantity, but I have not seen a finer parcel in my travels, and I may modestly compute it to make several thousand when cut into ship plank and other scantling; and there is no danger but timber may be had in time to come, both oak and pine, floated up and down the river to the tail of the mills; it is wanted to supply Philadelphia in great quantities, and now more than ever. The next material conveniency is that these mills stand in a town but about a mile and a quarter from Burlington and twenty from Philadelphia; and the corn mills are well accustomed, and the towns and country adjacent and Philadelphia will take off the boards, scantling, plank, etc, for house work, ship, and joiners. we sell one-inch boards at the mill for 8 shillings per 100, at which rate we have 4 shillings or better for cutting. For good mills of both sorts, lands and meadows, situation and all things considered, there is not the like in these parts, and I believe if thou wast here thou would like it as well, if not better than anything thou mayest find in this country. Because I am, as I said before, much in debt, I would sell the whole or one half, which thou please. I believe it stands me in about five thousand pounds, and is worth more, being, besides the yearly income of the mills, a growing estate; but being under necessity I would sell to lose rather than miss so good a chapman and partner as thyself. I desire thee to consider of it, and if thou hast any inclination thou mayest write to some friends to view and learn the true value of these things, which I think may be understood without much difficulty. The largest of the above said islands is about a mile in length and half a mile in breadth; and suppose it may contain about 300 acres, near 100 upland, the rest swamp and cripple that high tides flow over, but may with a moderate charge be laid dry and make good meadow. I have thought of stopping a creek which I suppose will lay dry 100 of it. There is a fine mulberry walk, and an orchard, and a tenement on it, and a very pleasant place: it is just against the High street of Burlington, and hardly half a mile over the river. I am willing to sell that by itself, or one half with the rest. I have also five thousand acres of land about fourteen or fifteen miles from Philadelphia, the like from Bristol, and about eleven or twelve miles from the nearest to the river Delaware at Pemapake or Poquissing Creek, about four miles from North Wales, as much from Southampton, and settlements near. The land is good and well situate which I would sell also. And I would sell my house and granary on the wharf where I lived last, [in Walnut street, and subsequently owned by his grandson-in-law, Reese Meredith] and the wharves and warehouses, or part of them, also the Globe and long wharf adjacent. I have three sixteenths of 5,000 acres of land,

and mine, called Pickering's mine, which I would sell also. I have sold Elsenborough to Rothen Morris, who is since dead; and my house and lot [Slate Roof House] over against David Lloyd's to William Trent, and the Scales to Henry Babcock, and some other things, and the Coffee House to Capt. Finney, my half of Derby Mills to John Bethel, and a half of Chester Mill to Caleb Pusey and his son-in-law, Henry Worley. I shall not trouble thee any more with these things, but conclude with mine and my wife's kind love to thee and thine: desiring a few lines from thee,

I am thy real friend,

Sam'l Carpenter.

Penn and Logan Correspondence, Vol. I., pages 232-35.

He rented his warehouses and part of his dwelling-house to Capt. George Roche from Antigua. He received £850 for the Slate Roof House, and £450 for the Coffee House. Besides those lands above mentioned, Mr. Carpenter owned "Sepvisor Plantation," a part of the "Fair-hill Estate," containing 380 acres, where he died. From the above letter it would appear that Mr. Carpenter, at one time, owned 10,000 acres of land, three country-seats ("Elsenborough," "Sepvisor Plantation," and the "Island"), nearly a dozen mills, three wharves, with a granary, warehouses, residence and inn, a spacious town house, and possibly several vessels. His wealth was about £40,000 (\$200,000), which would represent a value nowadays of £200,000 (\$1,000,000), making him a millionaire. James Logan, in the letter to Penn 14th, 6th mo., 1706, speaking of Mr. Carpenter, says, "whose judgment I take to be the best of any man's in the Province." June 7, 1706, Messrs. Shippen, Growdon, Carpenter, Pusey, Logan, Hill, Norris and Preston, of the Council, met a large number of the members of the Assembly, at the house of Mr. Carpenter, to consider the subject of taking up arms in behalf of Queen Anne against the French, in the war between England and France known as "Queen Anne's War." After a spirited debate it was resolved to support the Queen by contributions of money, but that their principles as Quakers debarred their taking up arms. They raised £2,000 for the war, mainly through the efforts of their treasurer, Mr. Carpenter. From 1703 to the date of his death, Mr. Carpenter was frequently absent from the sessions of the Council on account of illness. His summers were often passed at the "Island," and his later years at "Sepvisor." From a letter from Jas. Logan to Penn, dated 10th, 6th mo., 1716, we find that Mr. Carpenter was real estate agent for the London Company. We now give a letter from Isaac Norris to Mr. Carpenter, written from London, dated 6th, 9th mo., 1707.

Dear Friend Samuel Carpenter;—I cannot yet get the School Charter,

the counsel having not yet given his opinion upon it. I have pressed the necessity of sending it by this fleet, because of probable Safety, and told the Proprietor that I feared I should be accounted a negligent Steward But I seldom see him, and when I do, his own affairs are so much upon the anvil that it is hard to get anything forward. If thou remember, I was also desired by our monthly meeting, to seek for a School master. I have omitted no opportunity in town or country to inquire, but can yet hear of no one likely that is willing to go.

Perhaps David Lloyd may be uneasy or displeased at the certificate I have given under my hand, at the request of G. W., &c., concerning the printed remonstrance of 1704. I was with several friends, at the chamber, and when I saw the great stress laid upon it, as from an assembly, by William Meade especially, and that in that remonstrance of 1706 a reference was insinuated to former complaints, and on the margin. I could not forbear telling them that remonstrance was not fair, nor gained above board. The copy of my certificate runs thus.:

I having been a member of Assembly of Pennsylvania in the year 1704. do certify and declare that this foregoing paper, called a Representation of the Freemen of Pennsylvani^a dated the 25^t day of 6th mo. 1704, signed as above, by David Lloyd, Speaker, did never duly pass the Assembly nor was it once read therein. Witness my hand &c"

Perhaps David Lloyd may pretend, because I have so worded the certificate, it is an evasion, and not a full declaration of the matter; but I do assure thee I acquainted Friends with a full and true state of the matter, viz, that they read heads in the Assembly, have a minute for drawing it up, and who were appointed to do it, and how many of those concerned acted in it. Likewise the concern of some Friends about it; and they being all along refused a copy, upon which G W. declared it wrong, and that it was his opinion nothing ought to pass under the Authority of the Assembly without being first perfected and read therein, and thereupon pressed me to give it him under my hand, that it was never read in the Assembly, from whence it was dated. I have got a copy of the remonstrance, and 'tis pretty enough to see Griffith Jones' and David Lloyd's memorandum upon their second reading it, after the first was lost. I am thy cordial friend.

Isaac Norris

Penn and Logan correspondence, Vol. II., pages 248-49.

In 1707, Mr. Carpenter was appointed a Master in Chancery, by the English Court of Chancery, but it does not appear that he ever performed any of the duties appertaining to said office. It may have been for a spe-

cial purpose only. The letter of Mr. Logan from which this fact is taken leaves us in the dark on that point. The following extract is from a letter from Mr. Carpenter to Jonathan Dickinson :

“Philad’a, 20th 5th mo., 1708.

“I have thy kind letter, by Israel Pemberton, of 16th 1st mo. last, and am glad thou didst not come this summer, for Crapaut, from Martinico, and several other privateers, have been on our coast, and at our Capes, and have taken several vessels, so that it is hard for any to escape them. Young, from London, who came in the Virginia fleet, bound here, was taken off our Capes, which is a great loss to the town. Bayley was put on shore, a little without Cape Henlopen. They attempted to beam her, but were kept off, and he unloaded his goods, and got off his vessel and brought her into Lewes Creek. The goods were carried overland about eight miles, and he came up by land, but has gone down again to bring up his vessel and goods. Doubtless, if he yet escape the enemy, it will be with a great deal of damage and charges. The safest time to come, to be clear of privateers, in my opinion, is late in the year, after they are gone or early to be here in the first month [March] or sooner, before they come on, for we may reasonably expect them in the summer, during the war. Our vessels have kept in for fear of the enemy, and are now hastening down to meet the York man-of-war at the Capes, to convoy them, being sixteen in number, out to sea. Friends generally well, except Samuel Jennings, who has been long weak, and not like to recover. His wife died last 2^d mo. and Benj. Walker in the winter. Isaac Norris not arrived. We expect he may be near and in danger, tho’ there is a report that the ship he should come in has arrived in Virginia. But ’tis uncertain.”—Penn & Logan Cor. Vol. II., pages 282-283.

The report of the arrival of Isaac Norris in Virginia is confirmed in a letter of his to Thos. Lloyd, dated 5th 7 mo. 1708; he says, “This day month we arrived in Virginia;” he then gives an account of his voyage. Further on he says, “Samuel Carpenter, Caleb Pusey, James Logan, both brothers Hill, and Preston, with some young men went to Turkey Point but not meeting with us here, all but the three first came down to Herring Bay.” Turkey Point is at the head of Chesapeake Bay, in Cecil County, Maryland.

Mr. Carpenter seems to have experienced trouble with his eldest son, Samuel, as appears by the following letter from Isaac Norris to Thomas Lloyd from P. & L. Cor. Vol. II., pages 400-401 :

7th mo. 30, 1709.

Dear Brother T. Lloyd: * * * * Samuel Carpenter goes passenger in this ship, and intends to see England. He is at present unsettled; yet his friends have all hopes he will make a good man. I think he far exceeds many in good nature. * * * * I have a great deal of love for him, and hope his welfare heartily. I send James Logan a guinea, to be spent with some of my friends as he and thee shall name.

ISAAC NORRIS.

We now come to a very important incident in the history of Pennsylvania—one that amply proves the ingratitude of governments toward a faithful servant. In April, 1709, occurred the trial of James Logan. By order of Council Mr. Carpenter was instructed to procure the use of Wm. Clark's ten rooms as being most convenient for the purposes of the Council during the said trial. But two mentions are made of Mr. Carpenter from April, 1709, until March, 1711. First, April 15, 1709, when he, with other members of the Council, presented to the governor a petition setting forth sundry powers they deemed themselves entitled to; and second, July 29, 1709, chairman committee to audit the account of Peter Evans, sheriff of Philadelphia.

March 5, 1711, Mr. Carpenter took his oath as treasurer under a reappointment by Penn. Samuel Preston and Anthony Palmer were appointed auditors to audit his accounts.

June 4, 1711.—Governor Gookin and Council decided to visit the Conestoga Indians, and direct Mr. Carpenter to provide means for the trip. Messrs. Carpenter, Shippen, Owen and Pusey had been especially invited by the Queen of the tribe. The meeting took place June 18, 1711, but Mr. Carpenter was prevented from attending. Mr. Carpenter's last attendance in the Council was June 8, 1713.

Mr. Carpenter married in 1685 Hannah Hardiman, a noted Welsh female preacher, a daughter of Abraham Hardiman, of Haverford, West Pembrokehire, Wales. She and her brother Abraham arrived in Philadelphia in the late spring of 1683. The following entry is found in the records of the Friends' Monthly Meeting at Philadelphia: "Hannah Hardiman, of Haverford, West, signed June 2^d 1683." Mr. Carpenter died at "Sepvisor Plantation Feby 13, 1714. His will dated Feby 6, 1714, proved April 15, 1714, Recorded in Will Book D, page 1. Phila County, was witnessed by Richard Anthony, George Painter and Charles Brockden He appointed his 'brothers Joshua Carpenter and Samuel Preston and my dear friends Isaac Norris Richard Hill and Caleb Pusey of Chester'

his executors in conjunction with his wife Hannah, and children Samuel and John Carpenter, and William and Hannah (Carpenter) Fishbourne Mrs Carpenter survived her husband fourteen years dying May 25, 1728. They had issue seven children: I. Hannah, wife of Wm. Fishbourne the Elder, born Jan'y 3, 1686, died May 26, 1728. Her grand-daughter, Elizabeth was the second wife of Thomas Wharton Jr. 1st President or Governor of Penn^a under the Constitution of 1776 and grand-father of the late George Mifflin Wharton of Philadelphia; II. Samuel, born Dec. 9, 1687, married Rachael Preston; III. Joshua, born Jan'y 28, 1689, died Feby 2, 1689; IV. John, born March 5, 1690, married in 1710 Ann, daughter of Dr Richard Hoskins and had two daughters Hannah and Martha, the former, Hannah, was the wife of Joseph Wharton (from whom descends Francis Wharton LL.D., the great writer on Criminal Law), the latter, Martha, was the wife of Reese Meredith, the friend of Washington, and father of Brig Gen Samuel Meredith, member Continental Congress, and 1st Treasurer of U. S. and of Mrs George Clymer and Mrs Henry Hill. From Reese Meredith descend the present families of Meredith, Dickinson of Trenton, Read of Albany (late Philadelphia), Maxwell of Montclair, Graham of Bloomfield, New Jersey, and Wilkesbarre Pennsylvania; branches of the Stevens and Vroom families of Trenton; the Clymers of New York, Trenton, and Washington, and the Overtons, Macfarlands, and Wards of Towanda, Pa.; V. Rebecca, born Feby 24, 1692, died March 28, 1693; VI. Joseph, born 1694, died Feby 2, 1695; VII. Abraham, born 1696, died Feby 9, 1702.

A portrait of Mr Carpenter is said to be still in existence in the family of the late Isaac C. Jones of Philadelphia.

Wm. Hart Dickinson

THE BATTLE OF TOHOPEKA, OR HORSE-SHOE

GENERAL ANDREW JACKSON'S ORIGINAL REPORT

Never before Published

Near the close of the year 1813, the American settlements in what was known as the Mississippi territory, were comprised in three portions of that country. In the district of Natchez there were about twenty thousand persons; in the eastern or Tombigbee settlements, which included the annexed portion of Florida, near Mobile Bay, there were about seven thousand persons, which included a settlement west of Amite of a population of some five thousand. The third settlement was in the Great Bend of the Tennessee River, and had a population of about eight thousand. This territory was also the home of five powerful tribes of Indians, among whom were the Creeks, a brave and warlike people.

The Creeks as a nation, for many years under Spanish influence, had shown hostilities to the American settlers, yet subsequent to the occupation of Louisiana by the United States, they had made treaties of friendship. Soon after the beginning of the war of 1812 with Great Britain, emissaries were dispatched by that government to the chiefs and headmen of the Creek nation, to excite them to an insurrection against the Americans. The beginning of this movement was the sending of Tecumseh by the Canadian authorities to unite all of the Indian tribes south of the Ohio into a league with those of the north for a general war with the United States. The Creek Indians, inspired and encouraged by their powerful allies, soon commenced depredations on the whites. On the 30th of August they appeared in force before Fort Mims. Besides twenty families who had taken refuge there, more than two hundred and fifty persons were massacred in the fort. On the 13th of the following December, General Claiborne with one thousand men, some of whom were friendly Choctaw Indians under Chief Pushmataha, attacked the Creeks under Weatherford at Eccanachaca, or Holy Ground, and defeated them.

General Jackson, who was major-general of the Tennessee militia, moved on the 10th of October from Huntsville, Alabama, with two thousand troops. He attacked the Creeks on Tallasahatchee Creek near the Coosa and defeated them. They fled, leaving one hundred and eighty-six warriors dead on the field, besides eighty-four prisoners. The loss of the Tennesseans was five killed and forty-one wounded.

his executors in conjunction with his wife Hannah, and children Samuel and John Carpenter, and William and Hannah (Carpenter) Fishbourne. Mrs. Carpenter survived her husband fourteen years dying May 25, 1714. They had issue seven children: I. Hannah, wife of Wm. Fishbourne Elder, born July 4, 1686, died May 26, 1728. Her grand-daughter, Elizabeth, was the second wife of Thomas Wharton Jr. 1st President or Governor of Penn^a under the Constitution of 1776 and grand-father of the George Mifflin Wharton of Philadelphia; II. Samuel, born Dec. 9, 1687, married Rachael Preston; III. Joshua, born Jan'y 28, 1689, died Feby 1689; IV. John, born March 5, 1690, married in 1710 Ann, daughter of Richard Hoskins and had two daughters Hannah and Martha, former, Hannah, was the wife of Joseph Wharton (from whom descend Francis Wharton LL.D., the great writer on Criminal Law), the latter, Martha, was the wife of Reese Meredith, the friend of Washington, father of Brig Gen Samuel Meredith, member Continental Congress, 1st Treasurer of U. S. and of Mrs George Clymer and Mrs Henry From Reese Meredith descend the present families of Meredith, Dickinson of Trenton, Read of Albany (late Philadelphia), Maxwell of Mont Graham of Rutherford, New Jersey, and Wilkesbarre Pennsylvania; branches of the Stevens and Vison families of Trenton; the Clymers of New Trenton, and Washington, and the Overtons, Macfarlands and Wal. Rowanda, Pa. V. Rebecca, born Feby 24, 1692, died March 28, 1711; VI. Joseph, born 1694, died Feby 2, 1703; VII. Abraham, born 1696, died Feby 2, 1703.

A sister of Mr. Carpenter is said to be still to exist in the 70th year of age in the city of Philadelphia.

Heaton McKissick

HOSTILE OF DUHUPERA

AND ANDREW JACKSON

Never before.

Between of the year 1812, the...
...the Mississippi territory, were...
...In the district of Nashville...
...the eastern of Tennessee...
...of Florida, near Mobile...
...which included a settlement...
...thousand. The third settlement...
...River, and had a population...
...the home of the people...
...a brave and warlike...
...for many years...
...the American settlers, yet...
...the United States, they had...
...the war of 1812...
...by the government, so the...
...them to an...
...of the movement was the...
...to make all of the...
...of the north...
...to the East Indians, inspired and...
...depredations on the...
...to the Indians, Fort Mims...
...them, more than two...
...the fort. On the night of the...
...thousand men, some of...
...Chief Red Jacket, attacked...
...of High Ground, and...
...Jackson, who was...
...of the Creek from...
...the Creek on...
...They had...
...eighty-four...
...killed and forty-one wounded.

The next engagement was near Talladega. Jackson's force was twelve hundred infantry and eight hundred mounted riflemen. The Indian force was not less than one thousand. The battle lasted two hours. The Indians lost three hundred dead on the field. Jackson's loss was fifteen killed and eighty-five wounded. This battle terminated the first campaign of the Tennessee troops against the Indians.

The hostile Creeks had now concentrated all of their available forces at the Horse-Shoe Bend of the Tallapoosa River. Some minor engagements occurred before the battle of Horse-Shoe. Early in March, 1814, General Jackson was appointed a major-general in the United States army, and was reinforced by the Thirty-ninth regiment of United States Infantry, under command of Colonel John Williams. In the mean time, a number of the Chocktaws from the Tombigbee and Black Warrior, and Chickasaws, and some of the friendly Creeks, had joined his standard. He attacked the enemy in his fortified position on the 27th of March, the battle continuing five hours.

The following is a copy of General Jackson's report of that battle, which utterly destroyed the power of the Creeks, and ended the war. The report was made to Governor Willie Blount of Tennessee. The original is on file in the archives of the Tennessee Historical Society.



WASHINGTON, D. C., *December*, 1887.

[*THE REPORT.*]

FT. WILLIAMS, *March* 31, 1814.

His Excellency Willie Blount :

I am just returned from the expedition which I advised you in my last I was about to make to the Tallapoosa, and hasten to acquaint you with the good fortune which attended it.

I took up the line of march from this place on the evening of the 24th inst., and having opened a passage of fifty-two and a half miles over the ridge which divides the waters of the two rivers, I reached the bend of the Tallapoosa, three miles beyond where I had the engagements of the 22nd January, and at the southern extremity of Newyenka, on the morning of the 27th. This bend resembles in its curvature that of a horse-shoe, and

is thence called by that name among the whites. Nature furnishes few situations so eligible for defence, and barbarians have never rendered one more secure by art. Across the neck of land which leads into it from the north, they had erected a breastwork of the greatest compactness and strength, from five to eight feet high, and prepared with double rows of port-holes very artfully arranged. The figure of this wall manifested no less skill in the projectors of it, than its construction. An army could not approach it without being exposed to a double and cross-fire from the enemy, who lay in perfect security behind it. The area of this peninsula, thus bounded by the breastwork, includes, I conjecture, eighty or a hundred acres.

In this bend the warriors from Oakfurkee, Oakchaya, Newyenka, Hil-labees, the Fish-Pond, and Enfaula towns, apprised of our approach, had collected their strength. Their exact number cannot be ascertained, but it is said, by the prisoners we have taken, to have been a thousand. It is certain they were very numerous; and that relying with the utmost confidence upon their strength, their situation, and the assurances of their prophets, they calculated on repulsing us with great ease.

Early on the morning of the 27th, having encamped the preceding night at the distance of six miles from them, I detached General Coffee with the mounted men and nearly the whole of the Indian force, to pass the river at a ford about three miles below the encampment, and to surround the bend in such a manner that none of them should escape by attempting to cross the river. With the remainder of the forces I proceeded along the point of land which leads to the front of their breastwork; and at half past ten o'clock. A.M. I had planted my artillery on a small eminence, distant from its nearest point about eighty yards and from its farthest about two hundred and fifty; from whence I immediately opened a brisk fire upon its centre. With the musketry and rifles I kept up a galling fire whenever the enemy showed themselves behind their works, or ventured to approach them. This was continued, with occasional intermissions, for about two hours, when Captain Russel's company of spies and a part of the Cherokee force, headed by their gallant chieftain Col. Richard Brown, and conducted by the brave Colonel Morgan, crossed over to the extremity of the peninsula in canoes, and set fire to a few of their buildings which were there situated. They then advanced with great gallantry towards the breastwork, and commenced firing upon the enemy who lay behind it.

Finding that this force, notwithstanding the determined bravery they displayed, was wholly insufficient to dislodge the enemy and that General

Coffee had secured the opposite banks of the river, I now determined upon taking possession of their works by storm. Never were men better disposed for such an undertaking than those by whom it was to be effected. They had entreated to be led to the charge with the most pressing importunity, and received the order which was now given with the strongest demonstrations of joy. The effect was such as this temper of mind foretold. The regular troops led on by their intrepid and skillful commander, Colonel Williams, and by the gallant Major Montgomery, were presently in possession of the nearer side of the breastwork; and the militia accompanied them in the charge with a vivacity and firmness which could not have been exceeded and has seldom been equalled by troops of any description. A few companies of General Doherty's Brigade on the right were led on with great gallantry by Colonel Bunch; the advance guard by the adjutant-general, and the left extremity of the line by Captain Gordon of the Spies, and Captain McMurray, of General Johnston's Brigade of West Tennessee Militia. Having maintained for a few minutes a very obstinate contest muzzle to muzzle, through the port holes in which many of the enemy's balls were welded to the bayonets of our muskets, our troops succeeded in gaining possession of the opposite side of the works. The event could no longer be doubtful. The enemy, although many of them fought to the last with that kind of bravery which desperation inspires, were at length entirely routed and cut to pieces. The whole margin of the river which surrounded the peninsula was strewn with the slain. Five hundred and fifty-seven were found by officers of great respectability whom I had ordered to count them; besides a very great number who were thrown into the river by their surviving friends, and killed in attempting to pass it by General Coffee's men, stationed on the opposite banks. Captain Hammond, who with his company of spies occupied a favorable position opposite the upper extremity of the breastworks, did great execution, and so did Lieutenant Bean, who had been ordered by General Coffee to take possession of a small island fronting the lower extremity. Both officers and men who had the best opportunity of judging, believe the loss of the enemy in killed not to fall short of eight hundred, and if their number was as great as represented to have been by the prisoners, and as it is believed to have been by Colonel Carroll and others who had a fair view of them as they advanced to the breastworks, their loss must even have been *more* considerable—as it is quite certain that not more than twenty can have escaped. Among the dead was found their famous prophet Monaholl—shot in the mouth by grape-shot, as if Heaven designed to chastise his imposture by an appro-

priate punishment. Two other prophets were also killed—leaving no others, as I learn, on the Tallapoosa. I lament that two or three women and children were killed by accident. I do not know the exact number of prisoners taken, but it must exceed three hundred—all women and children except three or four. The battle may be said to have continued with severity for about five hours; but the firing and the slaughter continued until it was suspended by the darkness of the night. The next morning it was resumed, and sixteen of the enemy slain, who had concealed themselves under the banks. Our loss was twenty-six white men killed, and one hundred and seven wounded; Cherokees, eighteen killed and thirty-six wounded; friendly Creeks, five killed and eleven wounded.

The loss of Colonel Williams' regiment of regulars is seventeen killed and fifty-five wounded, three of whom have since died. Among the former were Major Montgomery, Lieutenant Somerville, and Lieutenant Moulton, who fell in the charge made on the works. No men ever acted more gallantly, or fell more gloriously.

Of the artillery company, commanded by Captain Parish, eleven were wounded, one of whom, Samuel Gainer, has since died. Lieuts. Allen and Ridley were both wounded. The whole company acted with its usual gallantry. Captain Bradford of the 17th U. S. Infantry, who acted as Chief Engineer and superintended the firing of the cannon, has entitled himself by his good conduct to my warmest thanks. To say all in a word, the whole army who achieved this fortunate victory have merited by their good conduct the gratitude of their country. So far as I saw or could learn, there was not an officer or a soldier who did not perform his duty with the utmost fidelity. The conduct of the militia on this occasion has gone far towards redeeming the character of that description of troops. They have been as orderly in their encampments and on the line of march as they have been signally brave in the day of battle. In a few days I shall take up the line of march for the Hickory grounds, and have everything to hope from such troops.

Enclosed I send you General Coffee's Brigade report.

I have the honor to be with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

Andrew Jackson,

Major General.

THE DISCOVERY OF YUCATAN

In the year 1502, Christopher Columbus made his fourth voyage to the West, the mysterious attractive region that his brave but avaricious followers were beginning to regard as a possible *El Dorado* that might yield them unlimited riches, piles of gold, and precious stones.

The small vessels in which the intrepid travelers had to traverse the vast ocean separating the "New World" from their own beloved country were by no means commodious. The elements were none the less pitiless for that. Fair weather at first smiled upon them, but after the ships left Cuba, sea and sky seemed to lash themselves in fury; enormous waves constantly threatened to engulf the frail barks. Torrents of rain fell from the leaden clouds that ever and anon were rent by vivid streaks of lightning, first in one direction, then in another, now just overhead; while peal upon peal of thunder kept the atmosphere and all else quivering. That terrible tempest lasted several days; for many nights not a star was visible. The chronicles say that the voyagers only advanced two hundred and ten miles in sixty days, owing to the terrific gales and adverse currents.

Every one on board was more or less ill from exposure and overwork; it seemed certain that death must soon claim them all. When even the ever-brave commander had almost lost heart, land was sighted. Land! that most welcome cry, sweetest of all sounds to the ear of famished, storm-driven seamen.

It was a group of small islands.* Columbus afterward named the largest of them "Isle of Pines" (near Ruatan, in the Bay of Honduras) because of the great number of pine trees there. The Spaniards cast anchor at a short distance from the shore, quite uncertain, for the time being, of their whereabouts.

Once more the sun, unseen by them for some days past, gladdened the heart of the sailors, again casting bright rays athwart the now calm, rippling water. Never were tranquillity and repose more welcome to weary wanderers.

Columbus ordered his brother Bartholomew to go ashore and see what kind of people the inhabitants were, for the island was thickly populated. He then observed a good-sized vessel coming from the west. Before long it had reached and boarded the admiral's ship. This canoe was about

* According to Herrera, the "*Guanacos*."

eight feet wide ; occupied by twenty-five men, besides several women and children, and freighted with much merchandise.

The Spanish commander was greatly surprised that the Americans manifested absolutely no fear or foolish wonder. They were self-possessed, evidently accustomed to travel, and all were decently clothed in garments of white cotton.

Being asked by Columbus if they would like to get on board his ship, men, women, and children unhesitatingly accepted the invitation, examining everything with manifest interest and intelligence. They then displayed the goods they had brought to sell on the islands ; products of their land, utensils, tools, weapons, ready-made garments—some embroidered with many colors—and large square mantles.

In return for a few of these things they received from Columbus articles new and strange to them, therefore very acceptable, though of little real value.

Those people were the Mayas of Yucatan, then unknown to the Europeans, who persuaded one old man to remain with them a short time to be questioned about his country, while the others went to transact their business.

This was the first meeting of the Spaniards and Mayas ; in fact the latter discovered the invaders and approached to make their acquaintance. We are not informed how Columbus made himself understood by the old man, who for a time remained on board as his visitor. Some natives had been taken on board at Cuba. Possibly they had learned a little Spanish, and also knew the Maya tongue, since the people of Yucatan had commercial intercourse with the islanders. We must remember that Columbus and his followers had discovered the West Indies ten years previously, and taken possession. What more natural than that some of the aborigines should have learned to speak Spanish ?

It would seem that native traders had carried to the Mayas news of what was going on in Cuba, and that they, in consequence, were anxious to keep from their shores men who brought only sorrow and oppression to the vanquished ; for the aged Indian took particular pains to make Columbus believe that Yucatan was not worth journeying to, but that by going east he could find countries where there was enormous wealth, gold being scattered over the ground as abundantly as stones elsewhere. He gained his point, and then rejoined his people, while Columbus returned eastward. The Mayas were yet to be undisturbed for fifteen years. We can imagine how, on their return home, the traders told of their meeting with the white men, and what consternation the news must have created

among all classes ; for though the spokesman of the party had done his best to deter the strangers from coming, they might nevertheless arrive at any time.

Four years had elapsed when Juan Diaz de Solis and Vicente Yañez de Pinzon went to the same group of islands and sailed on till they came in sight of the east coast of Yucatan, but did not approach it.

Five years later, in 1511, a few Spaniards were wrecked on the coast of the peninsula. Falling into the hands of the barbarous Nahuatl inhabitants, they were killed, sacrificed to the divinities ; two only were spared for the time being, and placed in a prison cage to fatten for a future offering. They managed to escape, fled to the interior, and there found the Mayas, the true people of the country, who offered them no violence. One of those men married a native woman of noble descent ; the other refused to take a wife because he belonged to the priesthood : this was Geronimo de Aguilar, afterward interpreter to Cortez.

In 1517, on the 8th of February, three ships with one hundred and twenty Spaniards on board, commanded by Francisco Hernandez de Cordova, sailed from Santiago de Cuba in quest of lands yet unknown to the conquerors. At the beginning of March they sighted Yucatan. On the 4th they were preparing to go ashore when they saw five large canoes, full of natives, rowing toward them, making signs of peace. Without any hesitation they boarded the ships, and soon thirty of them stood on the deck of the *Capitana*. All were clothed in garments of white cotton. Their cazique gave the commander to understand that if he wished it canoes should be brought the following day to convey the white men ashore—since it was evidently their purpose to land.

This apparently kind offer was in fact the preliminary step to resistance. Once on shore, if the Spaniards had not their own boats in charge of their own men, the natives could prevent them from seizing canoes, and kill them to the last man. This was their very natural desire, for they had heard that the strangers enslaved all the people who fell under their power.

True to his word, the cazique next morning brought twelve large canoes, manned by many oarsmen. He invited the white men to his village where, he said, they would obtain provisions and everything else that they might need ; the canoes were at their service to convey what they pleased back to the ships. "*Conex Cotoch*" (come to our homes), said they. As the invaders were asking the name of that place, they supposed it was Cotoch, losing sight of the fact that those people could not reply to a question they did not understand. They therefore named the spot near which they were anchored "Cape Catoche." It is thus marked on all the maps now in use.

Seeing crowds of people on shore, the Spaniards thought it safer to go in their own boats, taking with them twenty-five ballisters and ten muskets. This was a wise precaution, for the cazique himself, while pretending to guide them to his house, gave a signal to a party of warriors in ambush. They instantly came forward discharging a shower of arrows. Fifteen of the unwelcome strangers were wounded. A hand-to-hand fight ensued, the natives displaying much courage, using their wooden lances with dire effect. Nevertheless, and in spite of the greater number of their adversaries, the Spaniards, owing to their superior weapons, were victorious. Fifteen natives were wounded, and two captured.

Meanwhile, Alonzo Gonzalez, one of the priests who accompanied the Spanish soldiers, visited three shrines, built of white stone, near by the scene of action. On the altars he found several clay figures, "some quite hideous, others of very tall women, and a few resembling the natives."

Finding there several small wooden boxes, the good father appropriated those he needed to convey a few small figures, some shallow plates, three diadems, tiny ornaments in the form of fishes, and various gold trinkets. His conscience allowed him to carry off these articles as spoil, no doubt concealed in the folds of his habit; for not till they were safe on board did he display them to his companions, who were delighted at the thought of having hit upon a land where there was gold.

The Spaniards proceeded westward along the coast, casting anchor every night within sight of land. On the fifteenth day they sailed into a large bight, and having armed themselves went ashore in search of water. The place was called Kimpech—now Campeche, in the west part of the peninsula. Near where they landed natives were drawing water; they accordingly helped themselves from the same well, not being molested.

With a good supply they were returning to the boats when about fifty men, wearing cotton mantles, came from the village inquiring by signs what they wanted, and whether they had come from where the sun rises, repeating "Castilian?" "Castilian?" Already that name was unwelcome to Yucatecan ears!

The Castilians replied that they had only desired to obtain water and return to their ships. The villagers then invited them to their houses. Curiosity and love of adventure prompted them to go in spite of their better judgment; but they kept close together and watched every movement of their new acquaintances.

They were conducted to a large stone temple whose walls were decorated with figures of serpents and other animals. Within there was a great altar from which fresh blood dripped to the floor. The Spaniards

afterward learned that human beings had just been sacrificed to propitiate the gods and obtain their protection against the white men then sailing along the coast. For already they had received news of what had happened at Catoche.

The people whom the Spaniards found living along the coast were principally descendants of the Nahuatls, who had invaded the country about the sixth century of the Christian era. Some of the Mayas adopted their barbarous customs, but the majority detested them and made the aliens dwell on the coasts, while they themselves lived in the interior. It must be distinctly borne in mind that anciently Yucatan was not part of Mexico, the inhabitants of the two places having been bitter enemies from remote times.

Men and women came with smiling faces to greet the Spaniards as they advanced. Having been led to a large open place they were told to halt. From one direction men brought loads of dry reeds, while from another came squadrons of archers, lancers and slingers. The men were protected by coats reaching to their knees, padded with cotton and salt, an excellent defense against arrows, afterward adopted by the Spaniards.

Each squadron was led by a captain, at whose command they came to a standstill, facing about like well-disciplined troops, close to the Spaniards.

Ten priests then came from a large white stone temple. They had on white gowns that reached to the ground; their hair was long and matted with blood. They carried small braziers, and with gum copal proceeded to fumigate the strangers, afterward commanding them to go forward and set fire to a certain stack of wood if they did not wish to be immediately put to death. The Europeans obeyed. Simultaneously the priests kindled the pile of dry reeds, and said not another word.

While the flames leaped high in the air, casting a ruddy glow on their faces, the warriors began to whistle, blow trumpets, beat drums, and make defiant gestures. The Spaniards were alarmed. Seizing their casks of water they hurried to the boats, were not pursued, and rejoiced when they once more found themselves safe and sound on board. The natives may have flattered themselves that they had scared them away forever.

Continuing westward, the brave adventurers came near perishing in a terrible storm that lasted four days. Two days later they again landed, at Pontonchan, now Puntachen. Near a temple they found a well and stone jars. Having lost no time in filling their casks, they were conveying them to the boat when a large party of warriors appeared, dressed in wadded coats, bearing circular shields, and armed with bows and arrows,

wooden lances, swords—likewise of wood—and slings. Their faces were smeared with black, white, and red paint. They asked the same question that had been put by those of Kimpech, repeating the word "Castilian?"

The Spanish historians say that when the warriors were assembled there were three hundred to each white man; that, nevertheless, so little intimidated were these valiant knights that they decided to remain on land till morning, as it was nearly dark. During the night no one attempted to do them any harm. At daybreak two squadrons approached, banners flying. The intruders were surrounded. Before they had time to fully realize their position eighty of them were wounded with arrows. This was a trifle compared to what the natives themselves suffered from the firearms. They retreated a few paces, their leader shouting, "*Halach uinic!*" (the chief!). Instantly Hernando de Cordova was struck by twelve arrows—eventually the cause of his death.

Though the battle lasted only half an hour, food was brought from the village to the warriors. They partook of it without leaving their post, the places of those who fell being immediately filled.

When fifty Spaniards lay dead on the field, the others formed themselves in a compact square, and breaking through the native forces, dashed toward their boats. They were pursued, the flying arrows making sad havoc among them. Panic-stricken, they now handled their small boats so clumsily that they capsized. Thus, some clinging to them, others swimming, they reached the smallest ship, then coming to their aid. While they were embarking the foemen on shore aimed hundreds of arrows, and many hit the mark.

The Europeans were now diminished by fifty-seven; only one soldier remained unhurt, the rest having two, three, or four wounds. To make matters a thousand times worse, they had no water, having been compelled to abandon their casks. Nothing was left for them but to return to Cuba. Many of the sailors being disabled, there were not enough to man three ships; the smallest was therefore set on fire.

The poor fellows soon suffered so intensely from thirst that their tongues were cracked. After many hours they came to an estuary where they hoped to find water. Fifteen sailors, uninjured because they had remained on board, went ashore with three of the less wounded soldiers. They were disappointed. There was no fresh water, and after digging a well with great labor, what they obtained was so brackish that two who drank of it immediately fell sick. Not till they had traversed the Gulf of Mexico and landed at Florida did they procure any fit to drink. There again they had to defend themselves against the natives, and the only

unwounded soldier was made prisoner. The same day one on board drank himself to death.

Ten days after reaching Cuba, De Cordova died of his wounds.

The report that a land had been discovered where there were large stone houses ornamented with all manner of figures, created much excitement, stimulating ambition. Consequently, a year later, April 8, 1518, another expedition started for the same place, the soldiers contributing money to buy the necessary ships, in the hope of finding great riches.

In this second voyage from Cuba to Yucatan the Spaniards numbered two hundred. Among them was Don Francisco de Montejo, who had armed and provisioned one of the ships at his own cost. Juan de Grijalva was in command. These few men did wonders in the way of fighting the warlike natives, but in their hopes of gold they were doomed to disappointment; that metal was exceedingly scarce in Yucatan, although Herrera says there was plenty of it in Tabasco, even the shields being mounted with it. That was the place where the Spaniards found many copper hatchets which they mistook for gold. Great was their chagrin when the supposed precious objects turned green! In 1519 five hundred men, commanded by Hernando Cortez, sailed from Santiago de Cuba in eleven ships, Francisco de Montejo being captain of one of them.

On their way to Mexico they stopped at Cozumel Island, ten miles from the eastern coast of Yucatan. There they learned that two Spaniards were living on the mainland. These were the two prisoners who had escaped from their cage in 1511. Cortez succeeded in inducing one of the islanders to carry to them a letter, and a ransom to gratify any one who might hold them captive, inviting them to join him. The one who was married had three children. He sent word that he preferred to remain where he was, saying in his letter to Cortez:

"They have made me cazique and a leader in battle; my face is tattooed, my ears pierced. What would the Spaniards say if they saw me thus? And look you! my children are pretty—for God's sake give me some of those green beads that you have, so that I may give them to them; I will tell them that my brothers sent them to me from my country. God speed you!"

The wife of this man ordered the messenger off, calling him "Miserable slave!"

Geronimo de Aguilar, who had formed no tie because he was a priest, went gladly to Cortez, to whom he became a valuable interpreter.

It is now necessary to say a few words about Francisco de Montejo, who afterward undertook the subjugation of the Mayas and left it to be completed by his son; for the war initiated in 1517 continued until 1541,

the heroic people defending their country during a quarter of a century, contesting the soil inch by inch.

Francisco de Montejo was born in Salamanca. When he went with Grijalva to Yucatan, he determined to establish himself there. In his journey to Mexico, with Cortez, he learned many things about the peninsula from Aguilar, who had lived there ten years.

At the time that the city of Vera Cruz was founded, Montejo was made alcalde of it, in which office he displayed great prudence and good sense. Later on, Cortez sent him to Spain to give to the king an account of the conquest and one-fifth of the treasures. When he arrived the king was in Flanders. Montejo found that Cortez had been misrepresented at court, and that the members of the council were ill-disposed toward him. To defend his chief he remained in Madrid from 1519 to 1526, finally prevailing upon Carlos V. to do justice to Cortez.

Meanwhile he did not neglect his own affairs, but made arrangements to undertake the conquest of Yucatan, and the title of "Adelantado" was conferred on him. Returning to America he took with him his son, twenty-eight years old, and a nephew thirteen years of age. He, himself, married a rich widow, who gave him the means to equip three ships and 500 men. With these Montejo went first to Cozumel, where he remained a short time to learn something of the Maya language. Then he went to Conil, twenty-five miles west of Catoche. Here he landed, taking possession of the country, in the name of God and for the King of Spain. Little did the Spaniards dream what a long struggle was before them!

Upon seeing so many men and horses the natives at once spread the news all over the land by means of runners. They knew that submission meant slavery, and were determined never to yield. But if they knew how to resist, the Europeans knew how to persist, and in the end their superior weapons triumphed.

And yet, in the southeast part of Yucatan, there are a few thousand people—a miserable remnant of the once proud Mayas—who, in 1847, uprose against the whites, and have ever since kept themselves free of any government save that of their own caziques, who, from time to time, lead them to war against their former masters. These Indians are decreasing in numbers. They will die out, but never again, they say, submit to Mexican control.

Alice D. Le Plongeon



HISTORICAL SKETCH OF CHRIST CHURCH, NEW YORK CITY

Few of the multitude who every Sunday pass and repass the modest, unecclesiastical looking church on the southeast corner of Fifth Avenue and Thirty-fifth Street are aware that it is the home of the first Protestant Episcopal parish formed in this city after the Revolution, and the earliest of the offshoots from the old Trinity Parish which are now so numerous. Yet Christ Church dates its organization back to the year 1793, and has ever since that date been identified with the history of this city, doing its work with zeal and fidelity through varying fortune, alternately encouraged and discouraged, and to-day looking forward hopefully to a bright and useful future. Such a sketch of its career as can be comprised within the limits of a brief notice will doubtless prove interesting to those who care for the antiquities and early chronicles of New York.

In the year just mentioned, the Rev. Joseph Pilmore was rector of the united churches of Trinity, St. Thomas and All Saints in the city of Philadelphia. In company with a Mr. Boardman he was sent to this country by Mr. Wesley in the year 1769, in response to an appeal from the Methodist Church, then and now situated in John Street, between Nassau and William Streets, and at that time called Wesley Chapel, and was one of the earliest itinerant Methodist Wesleyan preachers in America. He and his companion are described as most laborious and devoted men, mighty travelers through the wilds of America in the days of Oglethorpe. Dr. Pilmore was born about the year 1734, in the village of Tedmouth, Yorkshire, England, his parents being persons of respectability, members of the Church of England. At the age of sixteen he became acquainted with the Rev. John Wesley, who was then preaching in various parts of the United Kingdom, and through his instrumentality became hopefully pious. He was educated at the school of Kingswood, where he acquired a fair amount of English literature as well as some knowledge of the Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages, and what was of far more importance, a taste for books and mental improvement which endured through a long life. After finishing his studies he was appointed by Mr. Wesley to travel as one of his itinerant lay preachers, and given a certificate by him as a "lay helper" in the work. After his arrival in this country he determined to adopt the principles of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, and was ordained a

Deacon by Bishop Seabury of Connecticut on the 27th of November, 1785, receiving Priest's orders at the hands of the same prelate on the 29th of that month after due canonical examination.

In June of the next year he was present at a general convention held at St. Paul's Church in this city, as a representative of his Philadelphia parish, at the height of the controversy between the churches of New England, which already enjoyed the Episcopate through the Scottish line of succession in the person of Dr. Samuel Seabury, and the more southern churches which under the leadership of Doctors White and Provoost were endeavoring to obtain succession in the English line. This dissension seriously threatened for a time to prevent any general union of the church in America, the members outside of New England declining to consent to any acts implying the validity of Dr. Seabury's ordinations. Efforts were made, but unsuccessfully, to expel Dr. Pilmore from the convention as not properly ordained, and a resolution was passed recommending the respective state conventions not to admit any person as a minister who should receive ordination from any Bishop residing in America during the application then pending to the English Bishops for Episcopal Consecration. The feelings excited by this controversy were bitter, and it is probable that Dr. Pilmore, who was a man of intense personality, made enemies as well as friends during its progress. It is evident that he had made many friends, for in 1793 a petition was presented by William Post and one hundred and seventy-two other members of Trinity Parish to the Vestry praying that the Rev. Joseph Pilmore might be called as an assistant minister, and a Sunday evening lecture established. This application having been declined, the petitioners determined to organize a parish of their own, and on the third of April, 1793, filed in the county clerk's office their certificate of incorporation under the name of Christ's Church.

The infant parish at once called Dr. Pilmore as its rector, and proceeded to erect a house of worship on the north side of Ann Street between William and Nassau Streets, on land conveyed to it by Mr. George Warner, one of its earliest and most generous benefactors. Dr. Pilmore assumed charge of the parish during the following year, and continued as its rector until October, 1804, when he was compelled by the failing health of his wife, under the advice of her physicians, to leave New York and remove to Philadelphia, where he became connected with St. Paul's Church, and where he resided until his death on July 24, 1825. He was a man of imposing presence, of great flow of language and "impassioned oratory," usually commencing his sermons by reading from manuscript, but soon becoming carried away by his subject and bursting into eloquent extempo-

aneous flights of fancy. The church was usually crowded during his services, even standing room being scarcely obtainable.

The separation from Trinity, and the election of a rector who had been rejected by the parish produced an opposition from that body to the new parish, and Christ Church was refused admission to the state convention. Delegates were duly appointed every year, and application for admission made, which was as regularly rejected, until 1802, when, nine years after the organization, it was formally admitted into fellowship with the other churches, upon executing to Trinity Parish a full deed of relinquishment of any claim which it might have to any portion of the property of that corporation. It was natural for Trinity to insist upon this condition, since its property had been given to the "Rector and Inhabitants of the City of New York in Communion with the Church of England as by law established," and there was plausible ground for other such inhabitants than those belonging to Trinity Parish to claim an interest in it. Indeed, some few years after this date (in 1812) quite a lively controversy sprang up over the asserted right of every churchman in the city to vote at the election of vestrymen in that parish, and it was necessary to apply to the legislature for a special act to settle the dispute. By this time the harmony which has ever since existed had been completely established between the two parishes, and Christ Church earnestly seconded the efforts of her elder sister to effect the desired object.

On the 29th of July, 1804, the Rev. Thomas Lyell was duly elected rector in place of Dr. Pilmore, and on the 10th of March following formally inducted into the position, which he held for forty-four years until his death. In 1821 it was decided to abandon the old building in Ann Street and move farther up-town, a step rendered desirable by the growth of the City, and the close proximity of so many other churches of the same faith. In the immediate vicinity were Trinity Church and St. Paul's Chapel in their present sites, Grace Church at the corner of Broadway and Rector Street, the French Church *Du St. Esprit* in Pine Street opposite to where the Sub-Treasury now stands, and St. George's Church at the corner of Beekman and Cliff Streets. An opportunity occurred to obtain at a reasonable price five lots of land in Anthony (now Worth) Street, just west of Broadway and opposite the ground then occupied by the New York Hospital. The property, called the Anthony Street Theatre, had been fitted up as a circus by the proprietors of the old Park Street Theatre during the summer of 1817 for ballets and similar performances during the regular recess of the theatre, and when the latter was destroyed by fire on the 25th of May, 1820, the Anthony Street establishment was furnished

and used in its stead until the building on the old site was completed in August, 1821. The church purchased the property in January, 1822, and at once proceeded to erect a handsome gray and brown-stone edifice in the pointed Gothic style, which was formally consecrated on the 29th of March, 1823. A few discontented persons who opposed the removal from Ann Street organized a parish under the leadership of Rev. John Sellon, which was called Christ Church in Ann Street, and commenced a suit in chancery to have themselves declared the *simon pure* Christ Church and entitled to the endowment which had been given it by Trinity Church. But the diocesan convention declined to recognize them as a parish under that title, the Court of Chancery dismissed their bill, and they lingered along until the close of the year 1825, when Mr. Sellon resigned and the parish fell to pieces. The property was purchased by a Roman Catholic congregation, which occupied the building until its destruction by fire in 1834, when the land was sold for business purposes.

The church continued to prosper under the leadership of Dr. Lyell, who was like his predecessor a convert from Methodism, and an earnest, eloquent preacher, and pursued a course of even and uneventful prosperity until the church edifice was destroyed by fire on July 30, 1847.

The parish hired temporary quarters in the Minerva Rooms, No. 406 Broadway, which it occupied for nearly a year while the work of rebuilding the church was pushed rapidly forward. But the rector did not live to see its completion. After a pastorate of the remarkable length of forty-four years, he died on the 5th of March, 1848. We are told by a member of his family that he was confined to his room only a single week, and died of influenza. This disease, which was not painful, was endured with entire patience and resignation. "He passed quietly out of the world as an infant drops asleep, having on his countenance in death an infant's innocent smile." The funeral services took place at St. Paul's Chapel on March 7, 1848, being Ash Wednesday, and the sermon was preached by the rector of Trinity Parish, the Rev. Dr. Bernard.

There must have been much that was lovable and attractive about a man who could continue as the rector of one parish for so long a period, sustain it through every vicissitude, and retain not only the affection of every member of his own parish, but the respect and esteem of every one with whom he was brought in contact. A tablet was erected to his memory in the church, which now stands in the vestry room of the edifice at present occupied by the parish.

The church was completed and consecrated on the 29th of June following, but the vacant pulpit was not permanently filled until the next

October, when the Rev. Charles H. Halsey, at the time an agent of the Protestant Episcopal Board of Missions and previously rector of St. Paul's Church, Sing Sing, New York, was called to and accepted the charge of the parish. The rapid removal of the residence portion of the city farther up town soon rendered the location of the church undesirable, and in April, 1852, a committee was appointed to consider the subject of removal. Their labors resulted in the sale of the Anthony Street property and the purchase of four lots of ground on the north side of Eighteenth Street, west of Fifth Avenue, on which was erected the church and rectory now occupied by St. Ann's Church for deaf mutes. The new church was formally consecrated and occupied on June 30, 1854, and for some months previously the congregation worshiped in the chapel of the University, on Washington Square. On the 2d of May following the parish met a severe blow in the sudden death of their rector. He had on that day visited a new building adjoining the Everett House in Union Square, and while standing at a window in the fourth story lost his balance and fell to the street, never speaking after the fall and surviving the accident but half an hour. He was a man of great popularity, and his unexpected death awakened wide-spread sympathy for his bereaved family and congregation. He was succeeded by the Rev. F. S. Wiley, then rector of the Church of the Nativity in Philadelphia, who continued in charge of the parish until October, 1862, when increasing ill-health compelled him to resign his cure and remove to Italy, where he died at Florence, January 20, 1864. During his rectorship in July, 1858, the property in Eighteenth Street was exchanged for the church on Fifth Avenue, now occupied by the parish.

In November, 1862, the Rev. Ferdinand C. Ewer, at that time assistant to the Rev. Dr. Gallaudet in St. Ann's Church, was invited to succeed Mr. Wiley, and accepted the call. The parish continued to prosper under his care until 1868, when he became imbued with the doctrines of the so-called ritualists, and preached his celebrated sermons on "Protestantism a Failure." The result was disastrous. Originally founded by those discontented with the church doctrine of Trinity Parish, Christ Church had always been distinctly, in party shibboleth, a *low* church, and many of the congregation were unable to follow their rector in his new departure. On the other hand his great ability and striking personal qualities had endeared many to him who were unwilling to lose his guidance. So matters continued for a while, many of the dissatisfied leaving the parish and forming other connections, until November, 1871, when Dr. Ewer resigned and organized the new Church of St. Ignatius, taking with him many of the members of Christ Church, who were personally attached to him, and

leaving a wreck behind him. This condition of affairs was severely felt by his successor, the Rev. Hugh Miller Thompson, D.D., formerly of St. James' Church, Chicago, but he applied himself with great energy and ability to the work of rebuilding the parish, and had met with great success in his labors, when, in November, 1875, he received and accepted a call to the parish of Trinity Church, in New Orleans. The separation was deeply deplored by his congregation and himself, but both parties felt that the new field offered wider opportunities for usefulness, and that it was his duty to assume the new burden.

For nearly a year after his departure the parish remained without a permanent rector until, on the 11th of December, 1876, the Rev. William A. McVickar, D.D., was called to the vacant post. His ministry was attended with the happiest results, and the parish was rapidly increasing in strength and prosperity when its bright prospects were momentarily darkened by his sudden and unexpected death, which occurred on the 24th of September, 1877, after a brief illness. The sympathy awakened by this blow was heartfelt and universal, and the bishop of the diocese took occasion, at the diocesan convention, which met in the same month, to refer in most touching and appreciative terms to the great loss sustained by the church and the parish. Space is too short to allow the writer to do more than allude to the affectionate manner in which the bishop spoke of him—as he really was—"the scholar, the gentleman, the earnest, thoughtful, reverent, loving minister of God." He was succeeded by the Rev. J. S. Shipman, D.D., called November 9, 1877, the present rector.

Dr. Shipman entered Yale College in the class of '55, but, on account of seriously impaired health, was obliged to pursue the greater part of his course under private tuition. His instructor during those years in ancient languages and in philosophy, as afterward in theology, was one who is known as among the ripest scholars in the church—the Reverend Professor Joseph M. Clarke, D.D., now holding the chair of Hebrew and Exegesis in the Divinity School at Nashotah. He was admitted to the diaconate by Bishop Delancey in St. Peter's Church, Auburn, in the autumn of 1857, and to the priesthood, by the same bishop, in Trinity Church, Utica, in the autumn of the following year.

His first charge was that of the united parishes of St. John's, Whitesboro', and St. Peter's, Oriskany, in what is now the diocese of Central New York. From this charge he accepted a call, in 1859, to the rectorship of Christ Church, Mobile,—the oldest and largest parish in Alabama. In 1862, soon after the outbreak of the war, he resigned this parish to accept that of Christ Church, Lexington, Kentucky—from which, after a pastor-

ate extending over sixteen years, he came to this city. It conveys a high tribute to his tact and good judgment to say that during the troubled time of the civil war, in that borderland of conflict, where old friendships and even family ties were often severed by the passions of the hour, he succeeded in maintaining peace and kindly feeling among the different members of his congregation, and entirely avoided the bitter controversies which wrecked so many of the parishes around him. Having built the parish up until it became one of the most active and influential, as well as one of the most prosperous, in the entire diocese, he could well afford to leave it for a wider field of usefulness, although greatly to the regret of those who had known him so long and learned to love him so well—a regret which his present parishioners can thoroughly understand and appreciate. A courteous gentleman of refined manners, earnest and sincere in his work, kindly and sympathetic with all who come in contact with him, learned and eloquent in the pulpit, fearless in his denunciation of the wrong and in his advocacy of the right, he makes a deep and abiding impression on all who are brought within the sphere of his influence. Unlike many of the clergy of the day, he makes no attempt to belittle or deny the scientific discoveries of the age, but frankly admits every fact which is susceptible of proof. He acknowledges no controversy between religion and science, but claims that they are perfectly reconcilable and strives to show their absolute and entire harmony. The facts of science must correspond with the truths of revelation, and his sermons upon this subject have been some of the most thoughtful and valuable ever delivered in a metropolitan pulpit. It is beyond question that the scientific infidelity of the day must be met, if it is to be met and conquered—not by evasion or half denials, but by boldly confessing the *facts* upon which it rests and by harmonizing those facts with the statements of Scripture. To do this successfully, the champion of Christianity must be a scientist as well as a theologian, and in both these branches of learning Dr. Shipman has been a wide and careful student. Under such leadership, the historic parish of Christ Church is rapidly regaining her ancient power and usefulness, and now, nearing the completion of a century of existence, she can look upon her past with pride and to her future with well-founded hopefulness.

William L. Dames

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF OUR GOVERNMENT

At the foundation of all good government there lie certain primary principles, or forces, which constitute the framework of the vast machinery and are closely identified with the physical, moral and mental development of a nation. By these the nation is bound and held together, and a distinct national character is formed.

In our government these factors are the forces of "nationalism" and "separatism" and the "federative principle." These in their nature are analogous to the three forces of nature, the centrifugal and the centripetal forces and the force of gravity.

Nationalism is that force which, in the extreme, tends towards unification. Separatism, on the other hand, is that force which, in the extreme, tends towards dissolution.

In order to trace the development of these principles, let us consider the three forms of government the American colonies underwent.

First. The colonial, which existed from the first settlement of the country until 1776.

Second. The revolutionary, from July 4, 1776, to the adoption of the Articles of Confederation in 1781.

Third. The confederation, from March 1, 1781, to the adoption of the Constitution in 1789.

In reviewing these different forms of government, for the sake of brevity, to avoid the unnecessary repetition of historical facts, it will suffice to refer to those essential factors which were instrumental in the development of these principles. The colonial period may be characterized as one of prosperity in a large degree. The spirit was essentially progressive. Wealth, population and trade were increasing, commerce was flourishing. A taste for science, literature and social refinement was being developed. Life and property were under the strong protection of the law. No taxes were levied unless by the representatives of the people. Freedom of conscience as well as difference of opinion was guaranteed to all.

Many of the usages and customs which the colonists adopted from their mother country were modified or abrogated. The simplifying of the law of the transfer of real estate and records of title, as well as the adoption of the Roman canon of inheritance, instead of the old English law of inheritance, were some of the many changes. In fact, every sign was indicative of advancement.

This progress, owing to the enjoyment of the same general rights and privileges by the colonists, irrespective of their differences in nationalities, was common to them all. It was these same rights and privileges which formed the connecting link between them. The result of this prosperity, as well as their "profound love of liberty and their deep sense of the value of political responsibility," gave rise to a general spirit of independence.

This independent life that was pulsating through the entire colonies gave rise to the "force of separatism," as to foreign nations, and thus it gave impetus to the "force of nationalism." It was then that the colonies were gradually assuming a national character.

During this period there was hardly any party sentiment. The inhabitants were Whig or Tory because they had been such in their mother country, or because it was natural that a division of sentiment should exist. Upon the passage of the stamp act, the party spirit for the first time began to manifest itself, but it was not until the declaration of independence that a true party sentiment was aroused. The parties were extremely bitter toward one another. This was more the result of passion than principle.

It was upon the adoption of the federal constitution that questions and principles of government began to be discussed and party spirit began to be based upon principle. One faction urgently advocated a strong government, the other argued warmly in favor of local self-government and state rights.

At the outbreak of the Revolution it was indispensable that there should be harmony and unity among the colonies, in order to carry on the war against England. Thus a Continental congress to conduct the belligerent affairs and to act for the general good was recommended. This proposition met with universal favor, and it was not long before each state had chosen its delegates and sent them to the Continental congress.

It was this congress that adopted that solemn document—the Declaration of Independence—an outgrowth of the exigencies of the times. In this document are embodied the two principles of "nationalism" and "separatism."

The great trouble with the revolutionary administration was its want of delegated authority; therefore it soon dawned upon the colonists that in order to promote the interests and secure the safety of the Union it was necessary to draw up articles of confederation and perpetual union. After congress had agreed upon these articles, they were submitted to the different states to authorize their representatives to sign them.

Many of the states objected to the articles, because a standing army was to be raised and maintained in peace and in war, and because each state,

irrespective of size, was entitled to but one vote. Finally, all signed except Maryland. The reasons why Maryland objected sprang from "the relations of the vacant lands in the Northwest." It maintained that the colonies ought to relinquish their claims to these lands for the purpose of creating a "common fund for a common benefit."

Maryland after some time was prevailed upon, and instructed her delegates to sign the articles. This opposition on the part of Maryland was the signal of good results in the future.

"This government differed from the revolutionary in only one respect—it rested upon authority." The form was federal, otherwise it was substantially the same as the revolutionary government. It was remarked by an observer about the Articles of Confederation :

"By this political compact the United States congress have the exclusive power for the following purposes without being able to execute one of them: They may make and conclude treaties, but they can only recommend the observance of them. They may appoint ambassadors, but they cannot even defray the expenses of their tables. They may borrow money in their own name on the faith of the union; but they cannot pay a dollar. They may coin money; but they cannot purchase an ounce of bullion. They may make war and determine what number of troops are necessary; but they cannot raise a soldier. In short, they may declare everything but can do nothing."

The state of affairs during this period was anything but encouraging to the union. All the states were at war with one another in commercial matters. "Congress, without a shadow of authority, endeavored to conduct the government. The central authority was only an authority by sufferance, and therefore at the caprice of the state legislature." The currency was bad. No foreign nations would enter into diplomatic relations. The country was in a deplorable state.

The people began to realize that it was essential to yield many of their claims and privileges to the national government, that the "impending dangers" were growing more serious from day to day, and that it was very likely that the "power and independence of the states" would be "substantially annihilated," unless a decisive and important step should be taken to meet the growing wants of the people. Thus statutes were passed by the different state legislatures, releasing their rights and claims to the western land to the national government. This gave rise to the passage of the Ordinance of 1787. "The adoption of this Ordinance led to the acceptance of the 'federative principle,' a principle purely American in origin."

It will now suffice to show the legal application of these principles and their vital importance. The federative principle is a principle of fundamental law. It is capable of development, and it has for its object "to adjust the mutual relations between the forces of nationalism and separatism. These in their nature are essentially political. Our present success and prosperity are largely due to the strong feeling of nationalism. The federative principle insures not only "a complete local self-government but gives the nation a world-wide power."

The United States Supreme Court is the "final arbiter and interpreter" of the fundamental law of the land. It is a court of common law, of equity as well as of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction.

In order to interpret the meaning of a particular provision in the Constitution it becomes necessary to resort to the preamble which sets forth the object and motives for which the Constitution was framed. Political parties have often taken their stand upon the two phrases, "We, the people of the United States," and "do ordain and establish this Constitution of the United States."

The doctrine of the partition of powers exists by implication in the Constitution.

The following are some of the legal results of the partition of power:

First. "Over political questions the courts have no authority, but must accept the determination of the political departments of the government as conclusive."

Second. "The several departments of government are equal in dignity and of co-ordinate authority."

Third. "Neither department can subject the other to its jurisdiction, or strip it of any portion of its constitutional powers." (Cooley's *Principles of Constitutional Law*.)

"Congress in 1870 passed an act for the purpose of regulating both federal and state elections. The constitutionality of this act was questioned. It was given to the Supreme Court for decision, and they decided that the law was constitutional as to the federal part, but not as to the state."

One of the strongest decisions made in favor of nationalism was in the case of *Chisholm vs. State of Georgia*, in 2 *Dallas*.

The court said: "Whoever considers in a combined and comprehensive review, the general texture of the Constitution will be satisfied that the people of the United States intended to form themselves into a nation for national purposes. They instituted for such purposes a national government, complete in all its parts, with powers legislative, executive

and judiciary, and in all these powers extending over the whole nation. Is it congruous that, with regard to such purposes, any man, or body of men, any person, natural or artificial, should be permitted to claim successfully an entire exemption from the jurisdiction of the national government?"

On the other hand, one of the most extreme decisions in favor of separatism was in the slaughter-house cases.

Some of the points decided in these cases were: "Whatever is not conferred is withheld, and belongs to the several states or to the people thereof."

"The presumption must be, that the state rightfully does what it assumes to do, until it is made to appear how, by constitutional concessions, it has divested itself of the power, or by its own constitution has for the time rendered the exercise unwarrantable."

"A state law granting to a state corporation the exclusive right for a term of years to control the slaughtering of cattle in and near to one of its cities, and requiring that all cattle and other animals intended for sale or slaughter in that district shall be brought to the yards and slaughter-houses of the corporation, and authorizing the corporation to exact certain prescribed fees for the use of its wharves and for each animal landed or slaughtered, may be maintained as a state regulation of police." (Cooley's *Principles of Constitutional Law*.)

The bulk of decisions, however, are in favor of nationalism. The reason for this may be found in the court adhering closely to the meaning of the instrument, and thereby disregarding all questions of a political or historical nature.

Hence, it is apparent that the fundamental principles of our government are in conformity with the laws of nature; that they are the result of a development, and are in harmony with the principles of evolution; that there has been a strong tendency towards unification or law and order, and not towards dissolution and anarchy. The forces of nationalism and separatism represent the strong and weak, the progressive and reactionary elements the positive and negative in our politics.

Franklin A. Becker

MINOR TOPICS

MARCH 25: NEW YEAR'S DAY

INTERESTING DATA ABOUT THE ENGLISH CALENDAR

"The day on which the year of our Lord in the Church of England beginneth" is the designation of the 25th of March in the old English prayer-books; and this, not in reference to the church year, for that began then as now with Advent, but meaning thereby the civil year. So recently was the change made from this day to January 1st—scarce a century and a quarter ago—that our great grandfathers kept New Year's Day on this Feast of the Annunciation, and for over four centuries previous in our Fatherland Lady Day had ushered in the new year.

The recurrence, then, of this 25th day of March, now simply a minor festival in the calendar, but to our ancestors full of all the associations, religious and social, of a happy new year, suggests a short article on the civil calendar, and gives me an opportunity to say something of the changes in our modern year, and to explain one or two perplexing difficulties.

The etymology of the Roman names of the months, retained in our own calendar, shows that March was their first month, because September, October, November and December were respectively their seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth months. Quintilis and Sextilis, the original names of July and August, testify to the same fact. I shall not dwell on the calendar of Julius Cæsar, save to say that his reform substantially rectified the disorders of the then civil year, fixing its length at $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, and dividing it into twelve months, nearly as they exist now. The quarter-days, neglected yearly, were combined every fourth year, and the accumulated twenty-four hours became a new day in these leap years, and was inserted after the 24th of February. This arrangement was correct in principle, but a small error in practice brought back the old disorder, and threatened, in coming ages, to interrupt the regular recurrence of the great astronomical periods.

Let us attempt an explanation. The true solar year is not 365 days 6 hours long, but is about eleven minutes shorter. To intercalate, then, every fourth or leap year twenty-four hours, or a whole day, is to insert about forty-five minutes too much; or, which is the same thing, is to insert the day forty-five minutes too soon, and therefore it hastens by that amount of time the coming of any particular date; say for instance the vernal equinox, on the 21st of March. This date well illustrates the point, for it was in reference to it that the Julian calendar had to give way to the modern reform of Pope Gregory. Let us start with the Council of Nice, A.D. 325, in which year the equinox coincided with its true date, March 21st, and but for this annual excess of eleven minutes in reckoning, it would con-

tinue always to fall on that day. The true year, however, being eleven minutes shorter than the calendar year, it is plain that the vernal equinox would anticipate its calendar recurrence by this number of minutes every year, or by forty-five minutes every fourth year; and in about 130 years it would anticipate it by a whole day. That is to say in A.D. 455 the equinox would fall on March 20th; in A.D. 585 it would fall on March 19th, and so on for all subsequent intervals of 130 years. To rectify such a mistake as this, we must needs drop a day in A.D. 455, and call March 20th the 21st; or, if neglected then, we must drop two days in A.D. 585, and call March 19th the 21st.

This is the exact result of the practical error in the Julian reckoning, and what was actually done in his reform of the calendar by Gregory XIII. in the year A.D. 1582, at which time the discrepancy amounted to *ten* days. The Pope ordered the ten days to be dropped in that year by calling the 5th of October the 15th, thus bringing the solar and calendar years together. To keep them together in future, while he kept the old leap-year system, he introduced a compensating device, which averages the losses and the gains, and balances the scheme. This was to make the century years, such as 1700, 1800, 1900, 2100, etc., non-leap years, except every fourth century, such as 1600, 2000, etc., which were to remain leap years. This scheme keeps the calendar right for all future time.

The Papal countries of Europe at once adopted the Gregorian calendar, or new style; but England persisted in ignoring the change of style for nearly two centuries, and it was not till A.D. 1752 that she adopted the reform. At that time another day had been lost, and eleven days had to be accounted for. Russia still holds on to the old style, and her reckoning is now twelve days behind the rest of the world.

These are the principles of the English calendar, and in applying them it will be plainer and more interesting to take some special date. For this purpose I select Washington's birthday.

The family Bible records Washington's birth on "ye 11th day of February, 173 $\frac{1}{2}$," and on the spot where stood his humble home was placed, in 1815, by his step-grandson, G. W. P. Custis, a stone slab inscribed: "Here the 11th day of February, 173 $\frac{1}{2}$, George Washington was born." These records fix the date under the old style, and this was the date on which he kept his birthday till he was twenty years old. He would have written it February 11, 1731. It was near the end of that year, about six weeks before New Year's Day, 1732, which was March 25. He would have been twenty years old, then, on February 11, 1751, but that day never came, for the year 1751 ended December 31, and the year 1752 began the next day, January 1, the British Parliament having just changed New Year's Day from March 25 to January 1, and applied the change for the first time to the year 1752. The change simply shortened the year 1751 by taking away January, February and March, and putting them at the beginning of the year 1752. His twentieth anniversary, then, would fall February 11, 1752.

So much for the year ; let us now correct the day of the month. The act of Parliament in its preamble states : "Whereas, the Julian calendar hath been discovered to be erroneous, by means whereof the spring equinox, which, at the Council of Nice, A.D. 325, happened on the 21st of March, now happens on the *tenth* day of the same month ; and the said error is still increasing, therefore, etc., etc." It then enacts, in order to drop the eleven intermediate days, that the day after the 2d. of September, 1752, shall be reckoned and called the 14th of September, thus making September of that year to have only nineteen days. This change, as well as the one setting back the beginning of 1752 from March 25 to January 1, was naturally applied to all previous dates, and thus Washington's birthday has ever since been known and taken as February 22, 1732.

The dropping of those days gave great offense to the populace of London, as is evident from the caricatures of the time. Those who are familiar with Hogarth's pictures satirizing the politics of his day will remember the flag displayed at the "Election Entertainment," containing the words, "Give us our eleven days," which shows how unpopular this reform of the calendar was, and how it was resented by the people as an arbitrary interference with their social life.

A few words of further explanation will close this article. Dates previous to 1752 are likely to mislead us only in the months of January, February and March, for these are the only months whose place has been changed. Consequently, in the dates of letters prior to 1752 we often see both years put down, but only in these three months. Take, for illustration, Oglethorpe's letters from Savannah, as published in the Historical Society's collections, where occur the dates February 27, 173 $\frac{1}{2}$, March 17, 173 $\frac{5}{8}$, January 29, 173 $\frac{3}{8}$, etc., all of which, by new style, are to be considered the latter year. As these dates, however, are copies of the MSS. letters, the true days of the month, according to our reckoning, must be obtained by adding *eleven* days to each date. This does not apply, of course, to published dates in English history, for they have already been rectified to suit the new style, of which, besides the case of Washington's, Franklin's birth is an example, whose date is received as January 17, though it is known to have occurred on the 6th.

WM. S. BOGART

SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.

PROFESSOR RIVERS' REPLY

EDITOR OF THE MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY : Some printed sheets have been sent to me containing remarks of Professor Oliver P. Hubbard on a passage of mine in the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, to which I ought, at least in part, to reply. Neither the extremely careful editor of that work, nor the competent critics on North Carolina history to whose judgment what I had written was submitted, noticed any fault in the passage on which Professor Hubbard com-

ments. The historian Martin stated that Governor Burrington in 1731 sent Dr. Brickell to the western Indians. On his authority, with proper reference, this was repeated by me; and as that section of the Province was then a *terra incognita*, any attempt to explore it was commendable, any information about its inhabitants especially interesting. The governor himself made some little attempt in that direction. (*Colonial Records of North Carolina*, Vol. III., p. 489.) The repetition of Martin's statement was a kindness to the much-abused governor. In my remark no comparison was made between Brickell and Lawson; no "literary judgment" given. The note of Mr. Winsor (Vol. V., p. 344) was sufficient criticism on the character of Dr. Brickell's book. That my remark makes me the "champion" of Brickell and "responsible" for his statements, whether about buffalo calves or Indian towns, is strange reasoning. If he said there was a town of Iroquois (whom the Tuscaroras had joined) in North Carolina in or about 1731, how am I responsible for it? I do not know that these Indians were there, "some 500 miles from their native seat." The governor of North Carolina says some of them were there, in September of that year. His language is: "We expect our Indians will be attacked by those of South Carolina. The Northern Indians called the Five Nations are in alliance and amity with ours, and have promised to assist them with a thousand men, part of which are already come into this Province" (*Colonial Records*, Vol. III., p. 202). But Professor Hubbard says Brickell was not in North Carolina that year, that he accomplished his journey "before the governor was appointed in England, near ten months before he arrived in North Carolina; and, more, Brickell left the country before the governor came." If this be so, who was the "John Brickell" who with others in North Carolina thanked the king for appointing Burrington governor in the address dated April 1, 1731? (*Colonial Records*, Vol. III., p. 135.) Can it be proved that this John Brickell was not the same as he who published the book in 1737?

Professor Hubbard says: "We will assume that Brickell set out the 25th February, 1730." I have not a copy of Brickell within reach, and suggest that Professor Hubbard examine if the date be old style. If this is so, the year will be 1731, which will bring Brickell in contact with Burrington, corroborate Martin at least in date, and explain the "John Brickell" of April 1, 1731.

WM. J. RIVERS

CHESTERTOWN, MO.

P. S.—Since the printing of the chapter on the Carolinas four volumes of the *Colonial Records* of North Carolina have been published. The larger partis from MSS. in England. This new material enables me to see where amendments could be now made, although the editor of these valuable records had kindly assisted me so far as the MSS. had come to hand while the chapter was in preparation. The prefatory notes to each volume point out and briefly discuss defects and errors in the histories of the colonial period.

THE NORTHWESTERN COUNTRY IN 1797

The following extracts from a journal kept by Major Caleb Swan, paymaster to the Western Army, were transmitted to his friend, Capt. Frederick Frye, of the artillery, stationed at Governor's Island, New York, in 1798, who gave them for publication to Dr. E. H. Smith, editor of the *Medical Repository*, where they originally appeared :

D'Etroit, October 10, 1797.

"THIS country is yet new, and almost in a state of nature, like its inhabitants. It is true, the soil is extremely rich and fertile; and it is to a superabundant burden of vegetation, and a flat surface for hundreds of miles together, producing much stagnant water, that we may attribute the unwholesomeness of the climate, which is almost certain to affect the inhabitants with bilious complaints every fall." *

General Wilkinson arrived here in June, this year; and, after making some prompt arrangements for the garrison, proposed a voyage to Michilimackinac, and invited me to accompany him; and on the 4th day of August, we embarked in a sloop of about 70 tons burden. We had a safe and pleasant trip, not only to Michilimackinac, but even into Lake Superior; and returned to this place, on the 4th of last month, highly gratified indeed.

We first left this place, and traversed Lake Sinclair, a handsome circular lake, about twenty-five miles across. We then proceeded up the river of that name, which is broad and very handsome, for about forty miles, to a rapid at the entrance of Lake Huron; traversed this immense, beautiful lake, three hundred miles long; and arrived, on the 15th of August, at a streight which unites it to Lake Michigan. This streight is broad; and the Isle de Bois Blanc, or White-Wood Island, Round Island, and Michilimackinac Island, form a cluster in the middle of the streight, and afford a romantic and majestic landscape from the sea. The Isle de Bois Blanc is eleven miles and a half long, and from two or three wide, lying parallel to the two coasts of the streight, but nearest to the south side. Round Island is about three miles in circumference, and lies at the upper or south-west end of De Bois Blanc. The Island of Michilimackinac is circular, and lies between the upper end of De Bois Blanc and the north-western coast of the straight? having a channel of about one mile and a half between it and De Bois Blanc, and a channel of nine miles between it and the north-western coast of the straight. It measures seven miles and three quarters in circumference, and is nearly circular. On the south side of this island, there is a small bason, of a segment of a circle, serving as an excellent harbour for vessels of any burden, and for canoes. Around this bason the village is built, having two streets of nearly a quarter of a mile in length, a Roman chapel, and containing eighty-nine houses and stores; some of them

[* These remarks have particular reference to the neighbourhood of D'Etroit.]

spacious and handsome, with white lime plastering in front, which shews to great advantage from the sea. At one end, and in the rear of the town, is an elegant government-house, of immense size, and finished with great taste. It is in the form of $\parallel \rightleftharpoons \parallel$; one story high, the rooms fifteen feet and an half in the clear. It has a spacious garden in front, laid out with taste; and extending from the house, on a gentle declivity, to the water's edge. There are two natural limpid springs in the rear of the house, and a very lively grove of sugar-trees, called the park. Suitable out-houses, stables, and offices are added; and it is enriched on three sides with beautiful distant prospects. Twenty rods from the rear, there is a sudden and almost perpendicular ascent of about a hundred feet of rock, upon the top of which stands the fort, built of stone and lime, with towers, bastions, &c., occupied by our troops and commanded by Major Burbeck. About half a mile from the fort, in the rear, there is an eminence, which I estimate to be about two hundred and fifty feet from the surface of the water. This spot commands an extensive and sublime view of the adjacent country. The fort, the village, the neighbouring islands and channels seem prostrated at your feet; while, to the south-west, you look into the immensity of Lake Michigan, which loses itself in the southern hemisphere; and, to the north-west, the great Lake Huron lies expanded to the bounds of the horizon. It was a beautiful morning when I had this view.

This celebrated streight is the only key to the immense, lucrative skin-trade, now solely carried on by British subjects from Montreal with the nations of Indians called the Sauteurs or Chipewas, Sioux, Reynards, &c., who inhabit the water-courses that fall into the Mississippi between the Illinois and the Falls of St. Anthony. Canoes are loaded and fitted out by these traders every year from Michilimackinac. They commonly set out in July, and return in June, July, or August the year following to Michilimackinac, from whence they started. Here they are again met by the Montreal canoes, with fresh goods, exchange loading, and each return from whence they came. The Montreal canoes penetrate to Michilimackinac by way of Grand River, which, with the exception of a small portage, conveys them to the northern point of Lake Huron, and return by the same route. Those from Michilimackinac penetrate the interior, or Indian country, by way of Green Bay, an arm of Lake Michigan; thence through Fox River into the Mississippi and its tributary streams, and return also to Michilimackinac by the same route.

On the 22d of August we left Michilimackinac, and on the 23d anchored in the streight of St. Joseph, which leads to Lake Superior. At this place Nature has displayed very handsomely again. The mouth of the streight is about thirty miles wide, but so strewed over with innumerable small circular islands that it is difficult to obtain a view in any direction of more than six or eight miles. Indians have sometimes been lost among these islands for weeks together. They extend into Lake Huron, and continue along the north-west coast of the lake for an hundred and eighty miles, and are called by the savages the Meneto, or Devil's islands. From the entrance of the streight, at a place called the *Detour*,

it is nine miles to the new British garrison, built on the point of the island of St. Joseph, commonly called the Carraboo Island. This is the largest in the streight, being about twenty-five miles long, and from ten to three broad.

On the 23d of August we left the vessel, embarked in three canoes, ascended the streight in what is called the canoe channel, and encamped at Muskito Point.

The 24th, at one o'clock P.M., we arrived at the Falls of St. Marie, called *le saut de St. Marie*. These falls are about three-quarters of a mile long and half a mile wide, the rapid not violent, and the perpendicular of the whole fall about thirty feet. There is a small kind of village on the United States side, containing sundry large ware-houses and a few decent dwelling-houses, occupied by the agents of the Canada North-west Trading Company. There is not a clear white woman in the place.

On the 26th we set off, in two bark canoes from the upper end of the portage, for Lake Superior. . . . At one o'clock, P.M., we entered Lake Superior, looked fairly into it, drank of its waters, ate our dinner, and put about, with a fine fair wind. We reached the falls again at four o'clock in the afternoon; placed experienced guides with strong paddles in the bow and stern of each canoe, hoisted the fifteen stripes, and launched into the bosom of the cataract. In a moment we were safe in the bason at the bottom of the falls!

We embarked early on the 27th. Having a strong current and fair wind, we descended in the ship channel and reached the vessel at Carraboo Island at nine o'clock in the evening.

The 29th we put to sea again; and on the 4th of September, at sun-down, reached this place.

I inclose to you, herewith, degrees of heat which were ascertained by regular observation with Farenheit's Thermometer every day, by which you will perceive that the temperature of the lakes differs widely from that of the Atlantic country."

ON comparing the Table of Observations, which is annexed, with observations made on the same days in this city, the difference will appear so remarkable that the reader may suspect some error in the instrument made use of by Major Swan, and such were my suspicions. But crossing the East River to Governor's Island in company with that gentleman on the 4th of March, 1798, he observed that the wind, which we then felt, and which was very brisk, resembled, in point of temperature, that which he experienced on Lake Huron on the 14th and 15th of August, 1797, and added that, on the same evening, a frost affected the gardens at Michilimackinac so severely as to destroy the greater part of the vegetables.

E. H. SMITH

TABLE of the Degrees of Heat observed on FARENHEIT'S Thermometer, from August 4th to September 4th, 1797.

1797.	6 o'clock A. M.	12 o'clock M.	7 o'clock P. M.	Average.	REMARKS, where.
<i>August</i> 4.	66	63½	59	62¼	Lake Sinclair.
5.	59	66	63½	62¼	Do.
6.	55½	65	66	62	River Sinclair.
7.	60	67	67	64	Do.
8.	59	61	61	60	Do.
9.	57	62	52	57	Do.
10.	58	62	61	60	Do.
11.	63	59½	60	60	Lake Huron.
12.	57	60	61	59	Do.
13.	55	55½	55	55	Do.
14.	50	49	47	48	Do.
15.	45	66	54	55	Michilimackinac.
16.	52	70	53	58	Do.
17.	54	69	60	61	Do.
18.	52	67	62	60	Do.
19.	54	64	56	58	Do.
20.	53	64	58	58	Do.
21.	62	63	63	62	Do.
22.	54	61	59	58	Streights of St. Joseph.
23.	57	65	60½	62	Do.
24.	50	63	60½	57	Do.
25.	46	53	49	49	Falls of St. Marie.
26.	46	49	50	48	Lake Superior.
27.	50	56	49	51	Streights of St. Joseph.
28.	40	50	46	45	Lake Huron.
29.	51	54	57	54	Do.
30.	40	57	53	53	Do.
31.	50	56	49	51	Do.
<i>Septem.</i> 1.	48	57	47	50	Do.
2.	51	59	50	53	Do.
3.	49	58	50	52	River Sinclair.
4.	48	56	49	51	Lake Sinclair.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

Mayor Lewis of Fredericksburg to General Lafayette,

And Lafayette's Reply to the Mayor's Address of Welcome.

[*Editor of Magazine of American History:* The perusal of your interesting article on Lafayette's visit to America in 1824, in the December issue of your Magazine, reminds me that I have in my possession the original of the autographic welcome to Lafayette by Mayor Lewis, of Fredericksburg, Virginia, and also the original of the response of Lafayette to the Mayor's words of welcome. These it will give me pleasure to place at your disposal for the pages of the Magazine. WILLIAM ALEXANDER SMITH.]

General La Fayette

In the name of upwards of 4000 of my fellow citizens of the towns of Fredericksburg and Falmouth I bid you a cordial welcome to this section of Virginia. Not very remote from one of the most important scenes of your heroic achievements in the cause of our beloved country, the inhabitants of this district feel a long and fondly cherished veneration for your illustrious name, and tender you the expression of their affectionate regards and high consideration with unfeigned sincerity and delight.

The presence of the friend and companion of Washington excites the tenderest emotions and associations among a people whose town enjoys the distinguished honor of having been the residence of the Father of his country during the days of his childhood and youth, a people among whom also the gallant Mercer lived, and the veteran Weedon died.

Our limited population and facilities will not admit of the pageantry of a splendid reception to our generous benefactor. We cannot vie with our sister cities in the erection of triumphal arches, the display of military parades and other magnificent exhibitions—but in feelings of unmingled gratitude and love towards your venerable person we cannot yield to any, and are happy in the assurance that this is the offering which will prove most grateful to one who having done so much to break the fetters of tyranny from the human mind has evinced how highly he can estimate its free and unbiassed sentiments. In the various manifestations of public homage and exultation which have everywhere greeted your arrival on our shores. We have however truly sympathized—we have rejoiced to see that the

national feeling has so cordially responded to the voice of duty and obligation, and that in the unweried and reiterated efforts made to honor your illustrious presence, it has been strikingly evinced that the nation considers itself as owing you a debt which can never be repaid.

Numbering ourselves among those who most deeply feel the weight of obligation imposed on us by your chivalric and magnanimous devotion to the honor and interests of America we again beg you to accept the tender of our most respectful salutations and cordial welcome to our land.

Lafayette's Reply to the Mayor.

I cordially rejoice, Sir, in the happy opportunity to revisit this district where the United citizens of Fredericksburg and Falmouth, in addition to the obligations they had formerly conferred upon me, are pleased to welcome my arrival with new and highly valued testimonies of their friendship.

At this place, Sir, which recalls to our recollection several among the most honorable names of the Revolutionary war, I did many years ago salute the first residence of our paternal chief, and received the blessing of his venerable mother, and of his dear sister. Here now like at Mont Vernon, we are left to mourn for departed friends and parents. An immense Washington monument has already been located on the whole basis of American independence, as indeed to our own revolution we may proudly beget the emancipation of those new and vast southern republics, in behalf of which, at every step of my progress through the United States I have found the unanimous spirit of the people most warmly interested.

With a profound sense of your flattering and affectionate reception in this city, with a lively satisfaction for the great improvments I have the pleasure to witness, I beg you, Sir, and ask of you gentlemen, to accept my devoted wishes and respectful acknowledgments.

Interesting Letters of General Knox and Henry Clay.

From the Collection of Hon. T. Romeyn Beek, M.D., of Albany, now in possession of Mrs Pierre Van Cortlandt.

General Knox to Mr. Walker.

West Point
15 Feb^r 1783

Dear Sir,

In the proportions of pay mentioned in yesterday's orders, the Sergeant of Artillery are rated at the same, as a Sergeant of Infantry whereas a Sergeant of Artillery's monthly pay is ten dollars. The same with respect to the Sergeants of sappers and miners.

There is no mention of any proportion of the artillery artificers, some of the most meritorious men in the service, enlisted for the War and unpaid as much as any other part of the Army. Although their pay is twenty dollars per month for the privates and twenty five for the Sergeants, yet probably they might be contented with the same proportion, at present as the artillery.

I pray you to mention these matters to His Excellency and let me know the result

I am dear Sir

your hum. serv^t

M^r. Walker

H Knox

Henry Clay to Henry J. Randall.

Washington, 11 o'clock, 28 Dec. 11.

Dr Sir :

We have this moment heard of the melancholy catastrophe which occurred at Richmond, and the whole city participates in the distress which it must have occasioned with you. How many hearts are wrung with distress by the horrible events which are evolved in one short hour ! My poor friend Col. Clay, by whose side I write you this letter, is among the number who are penetrated with grief by this sad misfortune. He has just learnt that his unhappy child, the pride of his life, has perished in the flames. The accounts which have as yet reached us, left you when all was consternation, and of course are less satisfactory those could be desired. The object of this letter therefore is to interest you so far as to collect & transmit to me the particulars connected with her destruction. The afflicted bosom sometimes derives partial relief from dwelling on the sorrowful detail of circumstances attending the death of the object whose loss it deploras.

Yr friend

H. Clay.

NOTES

LADIES' HIGH HATS in 1831—It is amusing to note how history repeats itself. The following in the *New York Mirror* of February 12, 1831, will be read with a smile: "The women! They come to the theater with hats on their heads big enough to overshadow a little German principality. Nobody that has the misfortune to sit behind one of these need ever expect to see the stage, or, indeed, anything else but feathers, and bows, and unpronounceable fripperies. If they would only keep this prodigious concatenation of incongruous matter still, it would be something; one might occasionally get a peep by moving from side to side, or dodging under the disk of the prodigious luminary. But this seems quite impossible—the majestic object is perpetually in motion—shaking, and nodding, and nodding this way and that, so that all attempts to avoid it are as futile as those of some unfortunate mariner trying to get round Cape Hatteras in a gale. I have had such trials of skill with these hats as would amaze you, but all in vain. They form a perpetual screen between me and the stage, of which I have not had a full view since the invention of these unbecoming, unladylike appendages.

"LAURENCE LONESOME"

"BOSTON FOLKS ARE FULL OF NOTIONS—These proverbial sayings have more truth in them than is commonly imagined. They contain short rules for clearing up doubts and perplexities which would otherwise require a lengthy process of investigation.

VOL. XIX.—No. 1.—6

When the Indian chiefs lately paid us a visit, all ranks of people were seized with a notion of gazing at them, though the sight of an Indian can be no novelty in this country. Observing an uncommon gathering in the street, people running out of houses and shops, without hats, I eagerly inquired the cause (supposing there was a fire or some terrible calamity), when, behold, two Indians were taking a walk. In this manner they were harassed daily, till I believe the poor fellows were heartily glad to take their departure.

What was the reason? Why, Boston folks are full of notions.

A new bonnet arrives from London—the ladies flock to pay homage to it with all the zeal of enthusiasm. Is it because nobody here has ingenuity enough to construct a handsome bonnet? No; but because Boston ladies are full of notions.

Notwithstanding the laws of the town forbid expensive mourning dresses, and common sense, as well as common prudence, remonstrates against the waste of so much property as is thrown away in funeral and mourning equipages, yet people have a notion of appearing on such occasions in all the pomp of parade, and of decorating themselves with all the elegance of dressing for a ball. Why is this? Boston folks are full of notions.

But of all the notions, none is so contemptible as that of imitation. Our first-rate beaux and belles ape foreigners, while they in turn are aped by the grades below. When returned from church, the first question is, how was Miss Such A One dressed? The color of her gown,

even to a shade, is observed, and every stripe and figure of her ribbon with mathematical nicety. If every article of dress does not precisely correspond with this paragon of taste, the shops must be ransacked for a match. How can we account for this? Why, Boston folks are full of notions."—*Massachusetts Mercury*, May, 1793.

PETERSFIELD

BUCKEYES. ORIGIN OF THE NAME—Mr. A. A. Graham, Secretary of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, has recently published in the *Ohio State Journal* an answer to the question repeatedly asked, "Why are the Ohio people called Buckeyes?" Mr. Graham quotes from a brilliant after-dinner speech by the celebrated Dr. Daniel Drake, the botanist of the Ohio Valley, at a public dinner given on the forty-fourth anniversary of the city of Cincinnati. Dr. Drake said the buckeye tree was one of a family of plants but a few species of which exist on the earth. The wood is soft, and "when the first 'log cabin' was to be hastily put up, its softness and lightness made it precious; for in those times laborers were few and axes once broken in hard timber could not be repaired. It was, moreover, of all the trees of the forest, that which best arrested the rifle bullets of the Indian. When the infant Buckeyes came forth to render these solitary cabins vocal and make them instinct with life, cradles were necessary, and they could not be so easily dug out of any other tree. Thousands of men and women, who are now active and respectable performers on the great theatre of Western society, were once rocked in buckeye troughs.

It is not merely a native of the West, but peculiar to it; has received from the botanists the specific name of *Ohioensis*, from its abundance in our beautiful valley; and is the only tree of our whole forest that does not grow elsewhere. What other tree could be so fit an emblem of our native population?

In all our woods there is not a tree so hard to kill as the buckeye. The deepest girdling does not deaden it, and even after it is cut down and worked up into the side of a cabin, it will send out young branches—denoting to all the world that Buckeyes are not easily conquered, and could with difficulty be destroyed.

Finally, the buckeye tree derives its name from the resemblance of its nut to the eye of the buck, the finest organ of our noblest wild animal; while the name itself is compounded of a Welsh and a Saxon word, belonging therefore to the oldest portions of our vernacular tongue, and connecting us with the primitive stocks, of which our fathers were but scions planted in the new world."

LIFE-LONG FRIENDSHIPS—A remarkable, life-long, elevated, and most interesting friendship existed between John Jay, Egbert Benson, and Peter Van Schaack. The three men received their collegiate education at King's College, New York City, at the same time and prior to the Revolution, and where the friendship was formed that lasted through life. Each chose the profession of the law and achieved eminence. Mr. Jay was the first chief-justice of the state of New York, and later of the United States; he was also governor of the

state, and was twice sent as United States minister to Europe.

Mr. Benson was the first attorney-general of New York ; was afterward made a judge of the Supreme Court of the state, and subsequently held other offices.

Mr. Van Schaack at the age of twenty-five was appointed reviser of the colonial laws, covering a period of eighty years' legislation for the colony. The completion of this great work is thought to have impaired his sight, as he afterward became blind, which, however, did not prevent his instructing young gentlemen in the law. The sons of Chancellor James Kent, Chief-Justice Spencer, Rufus King, and many others, were his pupils.

The intercourse of the three gentlemen was infrequent in their declining years, except by correspondence, and Mr. Jay and Mr. Van Schaack were much in retirement ; but Mr. Benson frequently traveled through the state in his one-horse wagon. On one occasion he took Mr. Van Schaack with him and drove one hundred and fifty miles to Bedford, to visit their mutual friend, Chief-Justice Jay. This was the last time these three illustrious men met.

All three died within a short time of each other, and each was upward of eighty years of age at the time of his death.

H. C. V. S.

MANLIUS, NEW YORK, December 1, 1887.

FRANKLIN'S GLASSY-CHORD—*London*, Jan. 12, 1762. In the *Bristol Journal* we find advertised "The celebrated *Glassy-Chord*, invented by Mr. Frank-

lin, of Philadelphia ; who has greatly improved the Musical Glasses, and formed them into a compleat Instrument to accompany the Voice ; capable of a thorough Bass, and never out of Tune.

Miss Davies, from London, was to perform in the Month of January, several favourite Airs, English, Scotch and Italian, on the Glassychord (being the only one of the Kind that has yet been produced) accompanied occasionally with the Voice and German Flute. *Vivat Rex & Regina.*"

W. K.

PORTRAITS OF THE SIGNERS AND FRAMERS OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES—The Constitutional Centennial Commissioners wish to obtain authentic portraits of the following persons to be engraved for their forthcoming memorial volume : David Brearly, of New Jersey ; Jacob Broom, of Delaware ; William Churchill Houston, of New Jersey ; William Pierce, of Georgia ; William Houstoun, of Georgia ; Robert Yates, of New Jersey ; John Pickering, of New Hampshire ; Richard Caswell, of North Carolina ; Willie Jones, of North Carolina ; John Lansing, of New York ; John Francis Mercer, of Maryland, and William Beavunt, of North Carolina. Of the last four they have engravings, but would prefer photographs from the originals. The commissioners will be greatly obliged to any one who will inform them where original portraits can be found. Address,

HAMPTON L. CARSON,

Secretary.

1300 Locust St., Philadelphia.

QUERIES

COLLEGE OF NEW JERSEY FIRE COMPANY—Hageman in his *History of Princeton*, 1879, Vol. II., page 17, states that there is no record of a fire company established there prior to February 11, 1788. "There had been in College, among the Students, an engine and apparatus and an organization to help extinguish fires before that day."

MacLean's *History of the College* has no reference to this fire company. Will

some of your antiquarian readers give us college boys some information about our ancient "fire laddies?"

SOPHOMORE

LIKENESS OF CHRIST—What valid reason is there for the belief that any true likeness of Christ exists?

ROMAYNE

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA.

REPLIES

DANIEL WEBSTER [xviii. 443, 540] —*Editor of Magazine of American History*: I notice in the current number of your publication Mr. King's quotation of Webster's speech to his serenaders, on the evening of the day of General Scott's nomination for the Presidency in 1852—the day of Mr. Webster's most bitter disappointment. That quotation is quite imperfect, and the actual speech is so Websterian in its lofty dignity, in its poetic beauty, and in its sublime self-respect, that we should not "willingly let it die."

Mr. Webster expected the vote, in convention, of the Southern delegates. They deserted him, and, returned from their sacrifice, at Baltimore, of the great senator and secretary, they proceeded to his home to pay their hollow compliment.

I cut the speech from a New York paper (I think the *Times*), as it was published "by authority." It bears the marks of careful review by its author.

Mr. Webster said: "I thank you, fellow citizens, for this friendly and re-

spectful call. I am very glad to see you. Some of you have been engaged in an arduous public duty in Baltimore, the object of your meeting being the selection of a fit person to be supported for the office of President of the United States. Others of you take an interest in the result of the deliberations of that assembly of Whigs. It so happened that my name, among others, was presented on the occasion; another candidate, however, was preferred. I have only to say, gentlemen, that the convention did, I doubt not, what it thought best, and exercised its discretion in the important matter committed to it. The result has caused me no personal feeling whatever, or any change of conduct or purpose. What I have been I am, in principle and in character, and what I am I hope to continue to be. Circumstances or opponents may triumph over my fortunes, but they will not triumph over my temper or my self-respect.

Gentlemen, this is a serene and beautiful night. Ten thousand thousand of

the lights of heaven illuminate the firmament. They rule the night. A few hours hence their light will be extinguished.

"Ye stars that glitter in the skies,
And gayly dance before my eyes,
What are ye when the sun shall rise?"

Gentlemen, there is not one among you who will sleep better to-night than I shall. If I wake I shall learn the hour from the constellations, and I shall rise, in the morning, God willing, with the lark; and though the lark is a better songster than I am, yet he will not leave the dew and the daisies and spring up to greet the purpling east with a more blithe and jocund spirit than I shall possess.

Gentlemen, I again repeat my thanks for this mark of your respect, and commend you to the enjoyment of a quiet and satisfactory repose.

"May God bless you all."

JAMES O. PUTNAM

BUFFALO, NEW YORK.

LANGUAGE [xviii. 539]—According to history, George I. of England could not speak the language of the people over whom he ruled, who, as Elector of Hanover, was called by parliamentary law of the English succession late in life

to the British throne. The same was also nearly true of his son and successor, George II., whose ignorance of the English language was such as to subject him to the ridicule and contempt of his subjects.

E. W. B. CANNING

LANGUAGE [xviii. 539]—*Editor of Magazine of American History*: In reference to "Language" under Queries in December, 1887, permit me to say that William the Conqueror, of England, answers the question. In this connection, Webster tells us in his Unabridged Dictionary that "It was not, indeed, the intention of William to suppress the language of his new subjects. He is said to have made an attempt, though an unsuccessful one, to acquire it himself.

E. W. WRIGHT

KENDALLVILLE, INDIANA.

LANGUAGE [xviii. 539]—It was the excellent English Constitution that ruled the English nation when it had a king who knew nothing of the language of his subjects. George I. never liked England, and England never liked George I. He kept his wife in prison thirty-three years, and was very unkind to his son, who was very imperfectly educated in the English tongue. S. S. S. W.

NEW ORLEANS.

SOCIETIES

THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its stated December meeting at the Library, in Second Avenue, on the evening of Tuesday, Dec. 6, President John A. King in the chair.

The paper of the evening was read by Mr. Edward Eggleston, on "Nathaniel Bacon, the Rebel," a chapter of early American history, presented in a fresh light, and in a style of exceptional interest. Mr. Eggleston found the greater part of his data in the archives of the British Museum, where he, with much tact and discretion, evolved a graphic picture of those stirring scenes. The aspect of affairs in Virginia during the period of Bacon's career was presented in terse, clear paragraphs.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its regular meeting on the evening of the 29th of November, in the Cabinet, President Gammell in the chair. "The African Slave Trade" was the subject of an able and exhaustive paper read by Mr. William B. Weeden. He spoke of the traffic in negroes as being in 1695 considered the most lucrative of British commerce. Luckily for New England, however, the climate was too hard for the introduction of the negro as a paying investment. But New England entered upon this path of twisted social development with no more and no less consciousness than prevailed elsewhere at that time. The Winthrops and other Puritan colonists accepted Indians as slaves. Mr. Weeden said that "Rhode Island was evidently the main port of the slave trade in New England, and Newport went into the slave

traffic in 1676. A free supply of rum carried the Newport men into it. Newport and Boston vessels went out laden with rum, molasses, bread, and other articles of food. They had tried dry goods in exchange for slaves in Africa, and were not successful; rum, flour and bread were the only successful mediums of purchase.

ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—A regular meeting of the society was held October 31, in Library Hall, Utica, New York, Hon. Ellis H. Roberts in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read by Dr. M. M. Bagg, the recording secretary, and approved by the society, after which General C. W. Darling, the corresponding secretary, announced a large and valuable collection of donations, consisting of bound books, pamphlets, curios, etc. President Roberts then called attention to the fact that one hundred years ago next March, Jedediah Sanger arrived at and founded the place now called New Hartford, in Oneida county. He suggested that it would be proper for this society to arrange for the celebration of a centennial anniversary. Hon. J. F. Seymour moved the appointment of a committee of ten persons to make arrangements for such celebration. The motion prevailed by a unanimous vote, and the following committee was appointed, with power to increase its number: Hon. John F. Seymour, Chairman; Alexander Seward, Joseph R. Swan, George L. Curran, William S. Doolittle, Hon. R. U. Sherman, Hon. Morgan Butler, Lynoth B. Root, Rev. I. N. Terry, Wm. M. Storrs.

HISTORIC AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

The time-honored custom of giving receptions on the first day of the new year, exclusively to gentlemen, which first coming into use in New York City has spread over the entire continent, but has been suspended for a brief period in this great cradle of its American beginnings, is about to be revived. Such is the confidentially whispered news, from the most undoubted authority, and it is thought the custom in its revival will find greater favor in the metropolis than ever before within the memory of the oldest inhabitant. In this connection it is curious to note the efforts made more than half a century ago to dispense with this new year's holiday. The following extract is from the *New York Mirror* of 1831 :

"The innovation contemplated touching the custom of visiting on this holiday, has sounded an alarm through the ranks of the merry and hospitable inhabitants of Manahatta. Several well-written communications upon the subject have been received. One correspondent attributes it to a wish, on the part of those who have recently 'emerged from obscurity, to dispense with the impertinent visits of their former companions.' This, however, is a mistake. In our community, there is no occasion to draw lines of distinction between families 'just emerged from obscurity,' and those whom wealth, or office, or the talent of some ancestor has elevated to influence or importance We dwell in a republic. We acknowledge no 'nobility' but such as have earned the title themselves, by industry, integrity, perseverance, education or talents. We have nothing to do with the stars, titles, and distinctions of Europe. Returning to 'New Year's day' from our digression, we have no fears respecting the continuance of all its light and pleasant ceremonies ; and perhaps there is no surer method of establishing them more firmly, than that pursued by the caprice of a few who have certainly the right to close their doors against their friends, whenever they find their society irksome, and their visits intrusive."

"How have you been impressed with New York, geographically and architecturally ?" was asked of the Duke of Marlborough by a representative of the *New York World*, shortly before his departure for England. He replied :

"I thought as I strolled up Broadway the other day that this city seemed to me like some huge antediluvian monster, some gigantic ichthyosaurus. Its head and huge jaws lay away there towards the bay, where the shipping of every part of the world is anchored. One of the fore feet rested on Jersey City and the other on Brooklyn. Its heart, the centre of its circulatory system, was there in Wall Street and its neighborhood, while I fancied I was walking along its huge backbone. Its level, sparkling tail extended away by Riverside Park and its Riverside Drive, the future site of the most magnificent city of wealth and refinement the world has ever seen. Here will be the future financial capital and money market of this country. Its phantom sister, San Francisco, lies on the western coast, and these two great cities, like the two great silent ones in 'King Solomon's Mines,' watch calmly and silently over the destiny of this country. When Europe shall

have had her day, and the classical South Sea Islander stands on the crumbled London Bridge and reviews the history of the English race, if such a day shall ever come, America and her twin cities will still flourish. Many problems lie before her which her children will solve as we know not. We cannot integrate the entire curve of a nation's future history. It will, however, be a pleasure and a source of instruction to other travelers besides me to think over these problems and construct in imagination a system of the future which, although we shall not live to see the accomplishment of any one of these problems, we shall in imagination have lived as far as it is permitted to know the thoughts and feelings of a future age."

In the death of the elegant scholar, James Carson Brevoort, the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY* has lost one of its staunch friends, a constant reader and a frequent contributor. Brooklyn had no more public-spirited citizen, and literary and scientific societies no more efficient member. He was a son of Henry Brevoort, who was an intimate friend of Washington Irving, and also of Sir Walter Scott. James Carson Brevoort went to Spain with Washington Irving as his private secretary and attache to the legation, and became thoroughly familiar with the Spanish language and literature. After his return to this country he married, in 1845, the only daughter of Judge Leffert Lefferts, whose homestead comprised a large tract of land in the Bedford section of Brooklyn. Mr. Brevoort thereafter resided in the old Lefferts mansion, which, with its spacious grounds, is a landmark in Bedford Avenue. His library occupied a large portion of the house, and has long been one of the most interesting private libraries in the country. In 1852 he was elected a trustee of the Astor Library, and served for twenty-six years, subsequently acting for two years as superintendent of the library. He assisted in 1863 in the formation of the Long Island Historical Society, of which he was the first president, holding the office for ten years. He was a regent of the University of New York, and received the degree of LL.D. from Williams College. Among the many literary and scientific societies of which he was a member were the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the New York Historical Society, the American Geographical Society, the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania Entomological, Numismatical, and Historical Societies, and the Academy of Natural Sciences. He was a fluent and agreeable writer on a great variety of subjects, and a special student of wide learning.

Shortly after the appearance of *Knickerbocker's History of New York*, in the early part of this century, Sir Walter Scott wrote to Mr. Henry Brevoort, the father of James Carson Brevoort, saying, "I beg you to accept my best thanks for the uncommon degree of entertainment which I have received from the most excellently written history of New York. I am sensible that, as a stranger to American parties and politics, I must lose much of the concealed satire of the work; but I must own that, looking at the simple and obvious meaning only, I have never seen anything so closely resembling the style of Dean Swift as the annals of Diedrich Knickerbocker. I have been employed these few evenings in reading them aloud to Mrs. Scott and two ladies who are our guests, and our sides have been absolutely sore with laughing. I think, too, there are passages which indicate that the author possesses power of a different kind, and has some touches which remind me of Sterne. I beg you will have the kindness to let me know when Mr. Irving takes pen in hand again, for assuredly I shall expect a very great treat, which I may chance never to hear of but for your kindness."

The Rev. Dr. Joseph Parker, in his recent lecture on Mr. Gladstone, at Chickering Hall, in alluding to the learning and versatility of his distinguished subject, described him as speaking in modern Greek in the Iona Islands, discussing in Italian the critical beauties of Dante at a dinner of Italian literati, talking with the burly German chancellor in his native guttural, and conferring with Parisians in faultless French; while, back in England, he entranced financial experts in Parliament, turning the figures of the budget into poetry and adding a charm to the driest statistics. On one occasion Mr. Gladstone, after speaking at Dr. Parker's church on Christian preaching, so that all felt they had been listening to the master professor of homiletics, the Beethoven of pulpit music, went to the House of Commons, where he met a delegation from Plumstead Common, "and," said the orator, "I answer for his talking of Plumstead Common with as much intensity as if it was the center of the universe, for the proper understanding of which the sun, moon and stars must stand back!"

Dr. Parker drew some very graphic comparisons between Disraeli and Gladstone. The former was indolent in his movements, and walked slowly and apparently with much effort. The reverse was true of Mr. Gladstone. Once when he dashed past Disraeli into the House of Commons, the latter looked after him and said: "Ardent creature!" Two hundred words could not have described him better. Dr. Parker remarked, in his inimitable style, that "Disraeli also said of Gladstone that 'he had not one redeeming vice.' Both statements were true, but Gladstone could hardly return the compliment."

Few ladies in the city of New York have ever been more thoroughly identified with private charities, of every variety, than the late Mrs. John Jacob Astor. She was a ministering angel to the wants of the poorest children of the city through many channels, not merely with her money and her far-reaching plans for their benefit, but with the touch of living sympathy. She founded an Industrial School under the Children's Aid Society, and has supported and worked in it for twenty years. She knew the circumstances of every needy family connected with the school, and was accustomed to provide for them, not by the giving of alms, but by wise arrangements for educating and training them to labor. The Easter and Christmas festivals always saw her among a throng of these ragged little ones, and such days were made brighter to those who had few pleasures, not merely by her wise gifts, but by her kind and sympathetic presence. The children of the poorest foreign laborers of New York felt that they had in her a true friend. At times she made special visits to the bedsides of the sick and the dying, to speak words of sympathy and religion. Through her instrumentality a whole generation of hundreds of needy and distressed boys and girls have been saved from poverty and crime and started on courses of honest self-support.

She was specially interested in the newsboys, frequently visited their lodging-houses, and gave them many a bountiful thanksgiving dinner. The homeless condition of the street boys touched her sympathies; almost her last act for the public was to provide, as she had done during the past ten years, for sending one hundred of these lads to distant homes. She was one of the chief patrons of the Children's Aid Society; and she took a deep interest in plans for civilizing and educating the Indians. With social distinction, the possessor of every grace of culture and refinement, and an enormous fortune at her disposal, yet her quiet, unobtrusive piety and intelligent philanthropy will be her everlasting monument in the hearts of grateful multitudes.

BOOK NOTICES

GUATEMALA. THE LAND OF THE QUETZAL. A sketch by WILLIAM T. BRIGHAM, 12mo. pp. 453, New York, 1887; Charles Scribner's Sons.

Central America, is probably destined at some future time to bear approximately the same relation to the rest of the Continent that Italy now bears to Europe. Her climate, her mountain ranges, her lakes, rivers and forests all combine to give her a natural setting worthy of the most brilliant of terrestrial gems. Two of the foremost nations of the earth are now engaged in a struggle to see which shall first cut through the barrier between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. One or both of these inter-oceanic canals will within a few years be opened to the commerce of the world, and a highway of nations will be marked out through this almost unknown land, whose ancient monuments are now attracting the attention of European Archæologists. Central America was the birthplace of a civilization which apparently long antedates that of Greece and Rome. Commerce and exploration have alike neglected her. The best coast-charts map the shores but imperfectly, and there are still thousands of square miles of wholly unexplored territory between the Isthmus of Tehuantepec and the Lake of Nicaragua.

"No country," says Mr. Brigham, "on the northern half of the American Continent has a finer climate or more beautiful and varied scenery, or is a more attractive field for the genuine traveler. Valleys rivaling the paradises of the islands of the Pacific; uplands not unlike the plateaux of the Indian Neilgerries; forests as dense and luxuriant as those of Brazil; lakes as picturesque as those of Switzerland; green slopes that might have been taken from the Emerald Isle; glens like the Trosachs; desert wastes that recall the Sahara; volcanoes like Ætna; and a population as various as in that land whence comes the Indian name—all these features make but the incomplete outline of the Guatemaltecan picture. . . . No dangerous beast or savage man attempts the traveler's life. No lurking danger or insidious pestilence is in his path." The author has been moved to undertake this work by the conviction that the region is destined to play an important part in the future civilization of the continent. Railways are already projected in various directions through this tropical Eden, and when they come the natural charm must largely vanish, though they may bring prosperity and a higher civilization in their train.

Camera in hand, Mr. Brigham has for three years gone back and forth through the highways and byways of the republic which now bears the name of a kingdom that once included the whole

Isthmus from Tehuantepec to Darien. The territory of Guatemala is variously estimated in round numbers at from 40,000 to 50,000 square miles; and the population at the highest estimate does not exceed 1,500,000. Probably the mean height of Guatemala above the sea level, is not less than 5,000 feet, and the territory embraces a multitude of mountain ranges of the most picturesque character.

For Mr. Brigham's pages of illustrations and context we have nothing but praise. During his journeyings he was alive to everything of archæological and ethnological interest, and his photographs of the wonderful monolithic monuments that abound among the ruined cities are highly interesting and valuable.

This "sketch," as the author modestly calls it is the first that has been produced since modern photographic methods rendered landscape and architectural portraiture possible on a comprehensive scale. The book is the most valuable and suggestive in its way of any that has appeared for nearly a generation, and we cordially commend it to all collectors of Americana.

BEN HARDIN. His times and contemporaries, with selections from his speeches. By LUCIUS P. LITTLE. 8vo, pp. 640, Cincinnati, 1887. Robert Clarke & Co.

One of the most interesting characters in the history of Kentucky during the first half of this century was the civil and criminal lawyer, Ben Hardin, who was in active law practice forty-six years. He took a prominent part in the exciting events of his time, was an eloquent and forcible public speaker, with ready wit for all occasions, and special genius for influencing a jury. Judge Little has been the first writer to make practical use of the rich materials his life affords, and with scholarly ability has produced a handsome book of rare excellence. It embraces much historical information of the first moment, and is entertaining as well as instructive from cover to cover. The seventeenth chapter, entitled "The Bardstown Pleiades," contains sketches of Felix Grundy, Judge John Rowan, John Hayes, Benjamin Chapeze, Governor William P. Duval, and Governor Charles A. Wickliffe, who with Ben Hardin, says the author, "formed an intellectual galaxy of rare splendor—for they were all stars—each unconsciously shedding light on the other."

To the early career of Mr. Hardin many interesting pages are devoted. He was married in 1807 to the daughter of Colonel Ambrose Barbour, a lovely young lady who had a crowd of suitors, among whom Mr. Hardin was distinguished for his ready wit. He is described at that date as of "fair complexion, bright blue

eyes, and hair of reddish tint, dressed handsomely, with lace ruffles on his shirt-bosom and at his wrist falling over small, white hands." His wife, we are told, in after years said that "one day as he sat busily writing, the ruffle at his wrist dabbled in the ink and on his paper, so much to his annoyance that he impatiently tore it off. He would never in future wear ruffles, and gradually fell into indifference in regard to his dress." As a lawyer Mr. Hardin's style was apparently a combination of the refinement of the East with the more forcible and vigorous manner of the Western school of oratory. He used not only wit and drollery, but invective and sarcasm in a very effective manner. The book teems with anecdotes and incidents illustrating these qualities, and also quotes copiously from his speeches in further illustration.

"The Circuit Bench for half a century," is one of the notable chapters in the volume. It is followed by a terse description of the professional characteristics of Mr. Hardin, which will interest every lawyer. In the range of his practice Mr. Hardin was employed on one side or another of every important case in that part of the country. The author says, "from boyhood he was noted for a remarkably retentive memory. The impression a fact or idea made upon him forever fixed it in his mind. He forgot nothing. The connection of remote facts with his case never escaped his attention. If there ever was a natural lawyer, he was one. His powers of perception and observation were remarkably quick and penetrating. From the briefest and most confused statement of a client he not only caught the salient points of a case, but intuitively supplied its details. The falsehood or equivocation of a witness rarely deceived him. He was laborious and untiring in professional labor—delighting in all its details. His mind was ever on the alert." One pleasant chapter is devoted to Mr. Hardin's characteristics as a humorist—although illustrations of this trait abound throughout the work. The appendix is an addition of great value, and the book has a carefully-prepared index.

PATRICK HENRY. By **MOSES COIT TYLER.**
16mo, pp. 398. Boston, 1887: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

The valuable series of hand-books entitled, "American Statesmen" has now attained high rank in biographical literature, and receives a worthy addition in the present volume. Professor Tyler's exhaustive researches among the archives of colonial and revolutionary literature have made him familiar with a vast amount of material unknown to the general public, and often unsuspected even by those who make a business of seeking whatever is rare in those well-worked fields. Among the sources of infor-

mation from which he has drawn, Professor Tyler acknowledges his indebtedness to the Hon. William Wirt Henry, of Richmond, a grandson of Patrick Henry, who has for a generation been collecting manuscripts and other papers from the different branches of the great orator's family. Many readers will peruse with interest the chapter devoted to an estimate of Patrick Henry's literary acquirements. It has often been asserted that he was a born orator, and that his grammar, such as it was, came to him by inspiration. Thomas Jefferson said of him in 1824, that "he read nothing and had no books;" but Professor Tyler believes that his indifference to books, as well as his provincial and archaic pronunciation were assumed for the sake of popularity with the masses. His manuscripts compare favorably with those of the great actors of the revolutionary period, and are evidently not the work of an illiterate person. His training appears to have been for the most part received at the hands of his uncle and father, who were accomplished classical scholars, and drilled him in Virgil and Livy till by absorption, if in no other way, he imbibed a literary style that stood him in good stead later in life. That this volume of a most excellent series is unexceptionable in literary style and taste goes without saying in view of its authorship, and it presents in a more readable shape than ever before the life of this remarkable man.

THE STUDY OF HISTORY IN AMERICAN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES,
by **HERBERT B. ADAMS, Ph.D.** [Bureau of Education, Circular of Information, No. 2, 1887]. 8vo, pp. 299, pamphlet. Government Printing House, Washington, 1887.

It is a fact worthy of notice that national attention is at last directed with much vigor toward the history of higher education in the United States. It was discovered that the origin, development, academic status, and practical usefulness of many of our older and better institutions of learning were scarcely known beyond their own scholastic environment, and an organized inquiry was recommended. The first monograph on this important theme was written by Herbert B. Adams, Ph.D., associate professor in history in the Johns Hopkins University, and is entitled "The College of William and Mary." It was the introduction, so to speak, to the more elaborate monograph under review, in which the author applies the historical method to the discovery of the most approved methods of teaching history, and of organizing historical departments in our American schools and colleges. He opens the work with a carefully prepared digest of the growth of historical studies at Harvard College. For nearly two centuries

history held a dependent position there. Not until the year 1839, was it placed upon its own footing and allowed to advance along modern lines. The study of history in Yale, what there was of it, from the beginning of the college is also traced in detail. A distinct chain of American history was first instituted in 1877. Professor Adams says that "Columbia College, in New York, may fairly claim the honor of being the first collegiate institution, in America, to recognize history as worthy of a professorial chair. Arrangements appear to have been made in the original faculty of arts for the teaching of law and history." The information which Professor Adams has collected in this work is important. He describes the present system, and library administration of Columbia, illustrating its aims, "to organize so thoroughly its literary resources in any given field, like history or political science, that they can be speedily massed upon any given point with the precision and certainty of a Prussian army corps in the execution of a military maneuver." At Cornell University, President White has laid great stress on the idea of educating American youth in history and political science. It has been the leading idea of his life. "He is not only one of this country's pioneers in teaching history and politics, but he opened a way to teach these subjects for many a student who had courage to pursue them in days when there was little demand for such knowledge." A chair of American history was suggested by President White as early as 1868, and soon afterward established. The year 1881 marks the initiation of a general course of four years in history and political science, leading to the degree of bachelor of philosophy. Professor Adams has wisely confined his attention to chapters of actual American experience, and to things done or attempted by particular institutions and individuals, whose work and methods he has studied from authentic records. He has opened a new line of inquiry, and we commend his admirable monograph with emphasis as full of suggestions to all who are interested in educational institutions.

MODERN ITALIAN POETS, ESSAYS AND VERSIONS, by W. D. HOWELLS. 16mo. pp. 368, New York, 1887: Harper & Brothers.

The author's early Italian experiences are responsible for this volume, as for many another from the same pen. In view of Mr. Howells' literary record it is certainly ungracious to say that the diplomatic service of the United States is a failure. If he had not served as consul in Italy, it may be, doubted whether he would have followed the literary bent that in him lay. However this may be he now proves that he has not forgotten his early enthusiasm for Italian let-

ters. Whether a great many American readers really care for the score of Italian poets here enumerated, may be questioned. Certainly popular ignorance on the subject is dense. For most Americans, Dante is the only Italian poet—rather a limited showing for a land whose very atmosphere is supposed to stimulate the divine afflatus. We venture to predict, however, that the present volume will go far to stimulate an interest in this neglected department of foreign literature. It is without a rival in the English language. There is absolutely no other source of information to which the reader can turn for what is here presented in a most attractive and entertaining guise.

In general terms the volume may be said to cover the hundred years preceding 1870, and to trace, through the poetry of that period, the slow growth of civil and religious liberty. Mr. Howells shows that the poetry of that century had much to do with the great intellectual movement, one of whose crises is found in the French Revolution.

It must not be surmised that all these pages are filled with politics and statecraft. Mr. Howells' humor is apparent alike in selections and comments, and the English translations which we assume are Mr. Howells' own, are often highly amusing and witty. The volume is issued in a plain, refined-looking binding with gilded top and uncut leaves, altogether just such a book as a litterateur might present as a Christmas offering to his lady-love.

SKETCH OF AMERICAN FINANCES, 1789-1835. By JOHN WATTS KEARNY. 16mo, pp. 160. New York, 1887: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

In a republic like ours, whose affairs seem to be largely the sport of circumstance, and whose ballot-box is too often tossed back and forth between corrupt parties, it is indeed wonderful that the financial policy has always been shaped by a wise discretion. At present the main question is, "What shall we do with our surplus?" and for a long time to come the problem of paying off the public debt must be a vital question. Year after year the great tax-paying public is made to realize the grave consequences that may result from a lack of wisdom on the part of the administration, and any mistake is sure to be felt throughout the wide relationship of trade and commerce. This is no new thing in our history. From the date of the adoption of our constitution down to 1835, similar questions held a prominent place in all public discussions, and in the volume before us the author succinctly reviews the financial history of the period. A wholesome lesson may be learned from the history of the sagacity with which the difficult problems of the time were successfully met and

overcome, from the chaotic post-revolutionary period to the final extinguishment of the debt, a quarter of a century before the civil war.

THE LIVES OF THE PRESIDENTS JOHN ADAMS AND THOMAS JEFFERSON.

By WILLIAM O. STODDARD, 16mo, pp. 358. New York: White, Stokes & Allen.

Not unlike "Epochs of Modern History" in its general motive, the "Lives of The Presidents" presents American history in a series of pictures that combines many of the best aspects of condensed compilation. The lives of Adams and Jefferson afford in very many respects a favorable contrast, or at least a contrast that admirably serves the purpose of the literary narrator. The administration of Jefferson, succeeding as it did that of Adams, marked the decadence of Federalism and the advent of Democracy. Adams, the type of New England aristocracy, Jefferson a Virginian frontiersman, but married to a daughter of the Randolphs, one of the proudest of the old Dominion tobacco planters. The period of transition from Federalism to Democracy was the first of the great political revolutions through which our country has passed; revolutions whose intensity of partisan rancor would have rent in sunder any government less elastic than that guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. Mr. Stoddard has brought to the preparation of these narratives an acknowledged literary skill that leaves little to be desired. No author can touch upon contemporary politics—for Jeffersonian Democracy is still contemporary—without offending one side or the other. Mr. Stoddard has apparently been actuated by a desire to preserve that judicial frame of mind that should characterize a historical writer. His estimate of the two statesmen is liberal, and incidentally the pictures of colonial life are highly entertaining and instructive.

THE ART OF PROJECTING. By Prof. A. E. DOLBEAR. 12mo, pp. 178. Boston, 1888: Lee & Shepard.

The first edition of this interesting little hand-book was published 1877, only ten years ago, but such strides have been made in the improvement of lights and in photography that the necessity for a new edition is obvious. Electric lights have largely widened the possibilities of the magic lantern. The new matter in the volume has to do largely with the comparatively new theory of vortex-rings as allied to the constitution of matter, and a most interesting series of original experiments is fully described with the simple and ingenious apparatus necessary for their production. The familiar magic lantern with its scientific equipment occupies a large

part of the book, which will be found useful by teachers and students in all the experimental departments of physics. Illustrations render the context easily comprehensible, and make it available for the class-room.

NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL HISTORY OF AMERICA. Edited By JUSTIN WINSOR. English Explorations and Settlements in North America, 1497-1689. Vol. IV. Royal 8vo, pp. 578. 1886. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Company.

The fourth volume of Mr. Winsor's great historical work opens with an elaborate introduction on the "Physiography of North America," and its effect on the men of European origin, by Professor Nathaniel S. Shaler, of Harvard. He argues that the general features of the continent are not only of scientific interest, but "of the utmost importance to the history of man's development upon these several lands." He points out with admirable precision the physical conditions of the first European settlements in North America, and suggests that the English colonies were peculiarly fortunate in those upon which they fell. He claims, and we have no occasion to disagree with him, that "there is no area in either of the Americas, or for that matter in the world outside of Europe, where it would have been possible to plant English colonies, that would have been found so suitable for the purpose; climate, soil, contact with the sea, and a chance of dominion over the whole continent." An exhaustive study of "The Cartography of the Northeast Coast of North America, 1535-1600," by Mr. Winsor, illustrated with a great number of early maps and outlines, is perhaps the most valuable contribution among many of great excellence in the whole work. It represents an extraordinary amount of research, and the discriminating use of vague and obscure material, and it will delight antiquarian students through all future ages. "Acadia," by Charles E. Smith, and "Frontenac and his Times," by George Stewart, Jr., of Quebec, are chapters of special merit, and much more readable than those usually brought into juxtaposition through co-operative methods of making history. Mr. Stewart's subject is one of remarkable interest, with a human side which has not been obscured altogether in the fog of scientific inquiry, and the paper has a genuine literary charm. We have a clear picture given us of the most conspicuous figure which the annals of early colonization in Canada reveal. "When Frontenac sailed for the colony, he was a matured man of the world, and fifty-two years of age." He was bold, arbitrary, and domineering, and thus did not get on well with many of the colonists. He made the fatal mistake of quarreling with the Jesuits and the seminary priests—the

two religious orders whose influence was important. His individuality and his exploits are presented with great force by Mr. Stewart, all through his Canadian career, with the history of the colony and its various complications with its neighbors interwoven with the skill of a true historian.

The most unequal and disappointing part of the volume is the sketch of the "Dutch in new Netherland," by Berthold Fernow. There is so much that might have been said of that picturesque and thrilling period of early New York history—when a great commercial monopoly planted a colony in the wilderness, and found it a perpetual conundrum as well as a pocket-picking enterprise—as it was managed—that the meagre account given in this noble volume strikes us painfully. New Netherland occupied a central and peculiar position among the colonies, and could easily have furnished rich material for profound and conscientious study. "New Sweden, or the Swedes on the Delaware," by Professor Gregory B. Keen, is exceedingly well written; that colonization scheme failed, but the pains-taking research of the author has brought the whole subject into a better light than heretofore. The comprehensive scholarship of Mr. Winsor is apparent in his critical notes to every chapter and theme. His contributions are models of scientific historical research, leaving little in that special field to be desired.

MATTHEW CALBRAITH PERRY. A Typical American Naval Officer. By WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS. 12mo, pp. 459. Cupples and Hurd. Boston: 1887.

Our readers will remember with much interest the able and scholarly biographical article that was published in this Magazine in May, 1885, on Commodore M. C. Perry, and particularly the fine portrait of the Commodore, then engraved from a photograph for the first time for our pages. Mr. Griffis, the author of the article, has since extended it into the comprehensive and instructive volume now under review.

To the two Perrys, Oliver Hazard and Matthew Calbraith, the nation owes a lasting debt of gratitude, and it is a matter of congratulation that Mr. Griffis has compiled so excellent a biography of the latter, and so valuable a contribution to the literature which records our national history.

Passing quickly over the earlier years of Perry's boyhood, the author divides his biography into seven divisions, extending over half a century of years. This arrangement, admirably devised and yet more admirably executed, simplifies the story which Mr. Griffis has to tell, and assists the reader to easily understand the political significance and national importance of

the various wars, expeditions and negotiations in which M. C. Perry was concerned. While yet quite young he was a naval officer on vessels, taking active parts in the events preceding and during the war of 1812. He was executive officer of the first American man-of-war sent to Africa, and chose the site of the first free-black settlement in Liberia; and subsequently was active in extirpating the slave trade from the western coast of Africa. He was one of the most energetic and daring officers in Porter's fleet when the pirates were to be exterminated from American waters. He defended our fishermen from the brutal insolence of English and Canadian officials. He was the father of our steam navy, and the first to demonstrate the superiority of the steam ram as a weapon of offense in warfare. He founded the first naval-apprenticeship system. He opened Japan to the nations of the world without shedding a drop of human blood. It is at once apparent that his biography must be largely the history of these institutions and events.

Complete as we find the volume, there is, yet, a most surprising omission. The only engravings in the entire work are those which illustrated the previously mentioned article in the Magazine of American History; but these engravings are not credited by the publishers to their original source, nor does the book contain the slightest acknowledgment of the courtesy of this publication in permitting their use; it is a grave omission and should be corrected in future editions of the book.

APPLETON'S CYCLOPÆDIA OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY. Edited by JAMES GRANT WILSON and JOHN FISKE. Vol. III. Grinnell—Lockwood. 8vo, pp. 768. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

In the third volume of the American Biographical Dictionary, just issued, thirteen pages are



D. G. Kullback

devoted to Abraham Lincoln in an excellent article by Colonel John Hay. Alexander Hamilton is the subject of a paper by Henry Cabot Lodge, occupying a little more than five pages, who says with much emphasis, "As time has gone on, Hamilton's fame has grown, and he stands to-day as the most brilliant statesman

given eleven pages, in a study of his life and services, by John Fiske. Nathaniel Hawthorne receives admirable justice from the scholarly pen of George William Curtis, in a paper about the same length as that devoted to Alexander Hamilton. Dr. G. Holland, many of whose pub-



W.D. Howells.

we have produced. His writings abound in ideas which there and then found their first expression, and which he impressed upon our institutions until they have become universally accepted, and so very commonplace that their origin is forgotten." Robert E. Lee receives a discriminating and admirably written tribute, of about six pages, from the pen of George Cary Eggleston. Ex-President Hayes find an appreciative biographer in Hon. Carl Schurz, whose paper occupies nearly ten pages. The career of



T. Sterry Hunt.

lished works, it is well remembered, were so popular that they reached a sale of more than one hundred thousand copies each, and who was the accomplished editor of the *Century*, has only about half a page allotted to his biography, and the biographer's name is not revealed. We are glad to see that his portrait is given, and it is a very good likeness. William Dean Howells finds an appreciative friend in Charles Dudley Warner, who in a page and a half presents the great novelist in his real character, with a list of his works. The Rev. Mark Hopkins, D.D., the distinguished educator and theologian, pres-



P.W. Higginson

Washington Irving is sketched by Donald G. Mitchell. Thomas Jefferson is allotted some nine pages, and James Parton is the author of the article. Henry Hudson, the navigator, is the subject of a short but valuable paper by General Meredith Read. Andrew Jackson is



John Jay

ident of Williams College from 1836 to 1872, is sketched in just one half page; Samuel Houston, and Archbishop Hughes, each in about a page and a half. An interesting biographical sketch of Thomas Sterry Hunt, the scientist, is well condensed into about three-fourths of a page. He

developed a system of organic chemistry that was essentially his own, in which all chemical compounds were shown to be formed on simple types represented by one or more molecules of water or hydrogen. His bibliography includes upward of two hundred titles of separate papers that appeared in reports of the geological survey of Canada, the transactions of learned societies, and scientific periodicals. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who has contributed so largely and so delightfully to current literature, is given even less space than his scientific contemporary. The sketch of Fitz-Greene Hallock, the poet, occupies more than two pages, written by the editor of the dictionary, General Wilson. The first chief justice of the United States, John Jay, one of the greatest statesmen of the Revolutionary period, and one of the signers of the definitive treaty of peace with Great Britain, is the subject of an able paper by his grandson, Hon. John Jay. Sketches of the sons of the chief justice, Peter Augustus, and William, are included in the family biography; also a sketch of Hon. John Jay the diplomatist, and present president of the Huguenot Society of America—the son of William Jay.

We notice there is a short biographical sketch of David Hartley in the volume, and we naturally supposed the excuse for going out of the country for a subject was the friendship of that British statesman for this nation, and the fact that he signed the definitive treaty of peace. But no mention whatever is made of this last-named interesting act, which is a very serious oversight. Nor is there any notice of David Hartley's cousin, Robert Milham Hartley, whose long life in New York city was devoted to founding many of its most important philanthropic institutions, now in noiseless and successful operation, and whose thirty-four volumes of reports on the condition of the poor are quoted by writers on social and economic subjects in Europe as well as America. He was also, for nearly half a century, a regular contributor to the religious press. The omission of his name from a work of this character is all the more noticeable from the fact that sketches are given of Thomas Hartley, the soldier, and J. S. Hartley, the sculptor. But then again we do not find in the volume any mention of the eminent divine and author, Rev. Isaac Smithson Hartley, D. D., of Utica, who has written several works of permanent value. Possibly the Appendix may contain some of these names.

Charles Kemble the actor, and his daughter Fanny Kemble, form the subject of a one-page article by John William Weidemyer; and Miss Jeannette Gilder writes of Clara Louise Kellogg. The Empress Josephine has a place in the volume; and considerable space is devoted to Benito Pablo Juarez, President of Mexico.

This third volume contains ten portraits in steel, of prominent public characters, the homes of some of the biographical subjects, and a countless number of small portraits engraved on wood, which, as a rule, are exceptionally well executed. Five of these—portraits that will be quickly recognized—we are able to present to our readers through the courtesy of the publishers. As will be seen, this great work has its inequalities, but it promises to be the best of its kind in the country for some time to come, and cannot otherwise than be an actual necessity for all libraries in America whether public or private.

A STORY OF THE GOLDEN AGE. By JAMES BALDWIN. Illustrated by Howard Pyle. 16mo, pp. 286. New York: 1887. Charles Scribner's Sons.

The beautiful illustrations of this volume—noteworthy even in these days of profuse engraving and process-work—fix the attention on turning the first page. There are a dozen of them, all by Howard Pyle, whose success with pen and pencil has been conspicuous, and they serve vividly to illuminate the context, which is by the well-known author of "The Story of Roland," and "The Story of Siegfried." The aim of the book is to lead up to an appreciative study of Homer, and to that end the legends relating to the causes of the Trojan War are woven into a continuous narrative. Pyrrhus and Philoctetes, the silver-bowed Apollo, and silver-footed Thetis Alpheus and Arethusa, Prometheus, Palmedes and Odysseus, appear and disappear in the pages with all their charming accessories of mystery and immortal power; and the author has conceived the clever notion of introducing maps, supposed to have been drawn extempore by the narrators to illustrate their tales. Truly Homer is an immortal poet, and if this volume leads its readers to the enjoyment of his creations, whether in the original or in any of the many excellent translations, it will have accomplished a worthy work.



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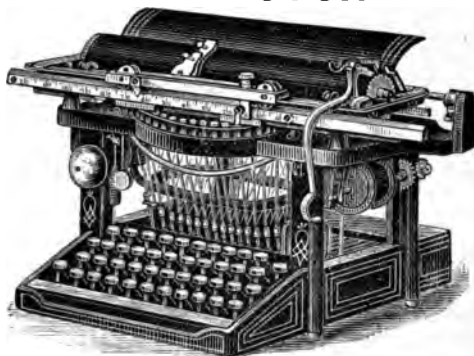
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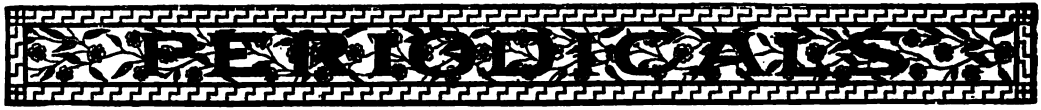
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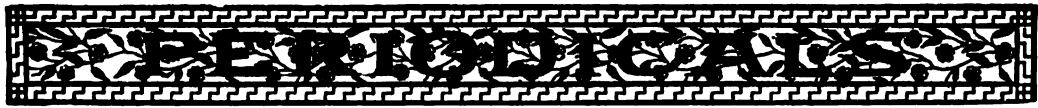
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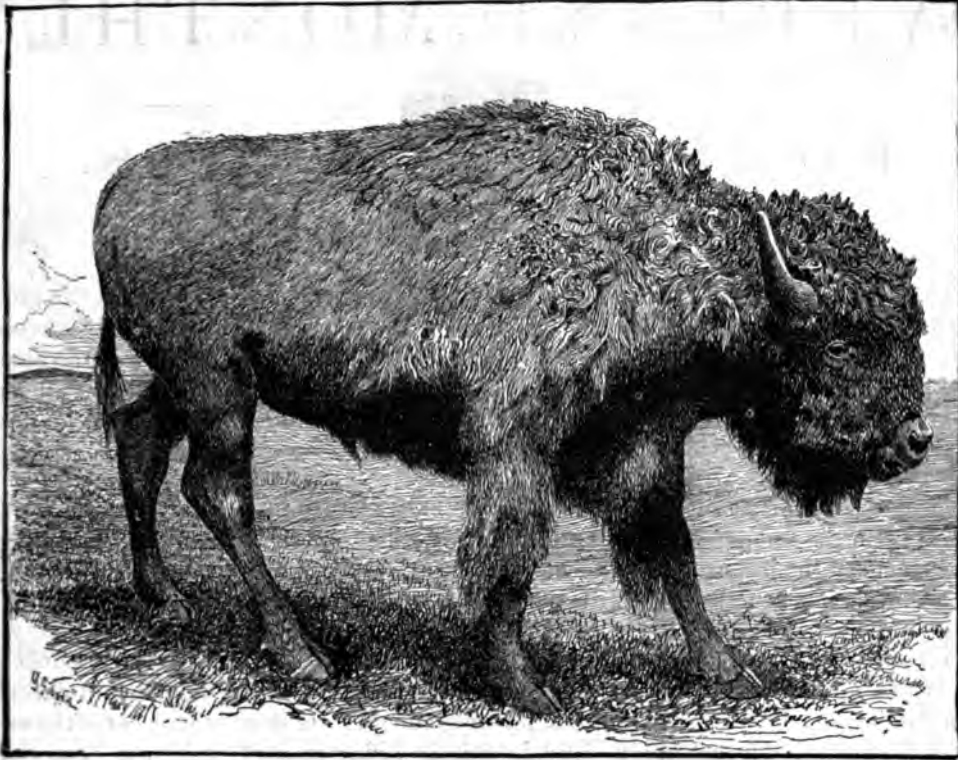


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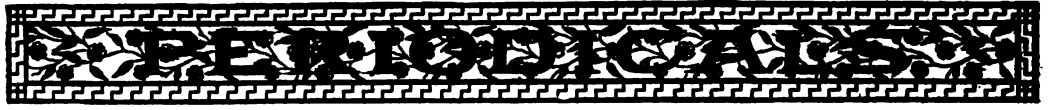
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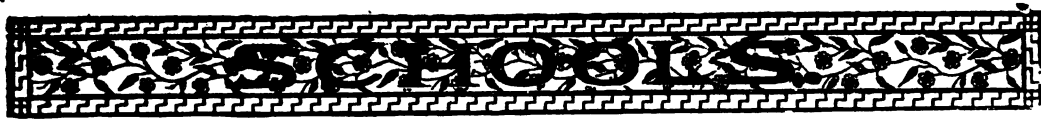
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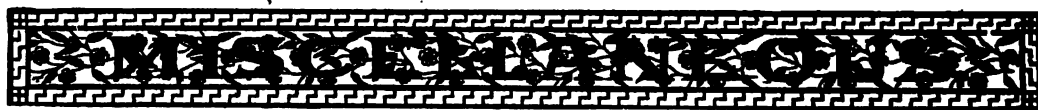
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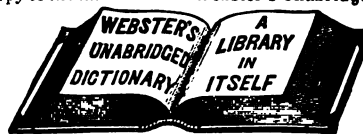
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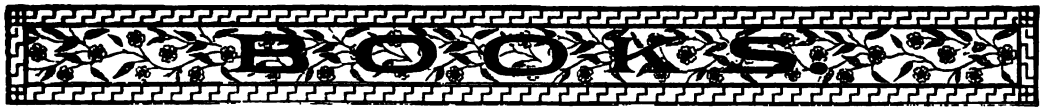
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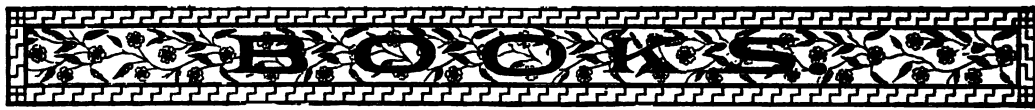
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George Washington

[Original Painting by Gilbert Stuart in the gallery of Lenox Library.]

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XIX

FEBRUARY, 1888

No. 2

GEORGE WASHINGTON

THE near approach of the one hundredth anniversary of the inauguration of the first President of the United States, the most sublime event in human history, has already quickened the American pulse and roused an earnest inquiry as to whether new and useful lessons may not still be learned from a critical study of the career of the man who was reputed the first soldier of his time, and who was elected ruler of a nation without a dissenting vote.

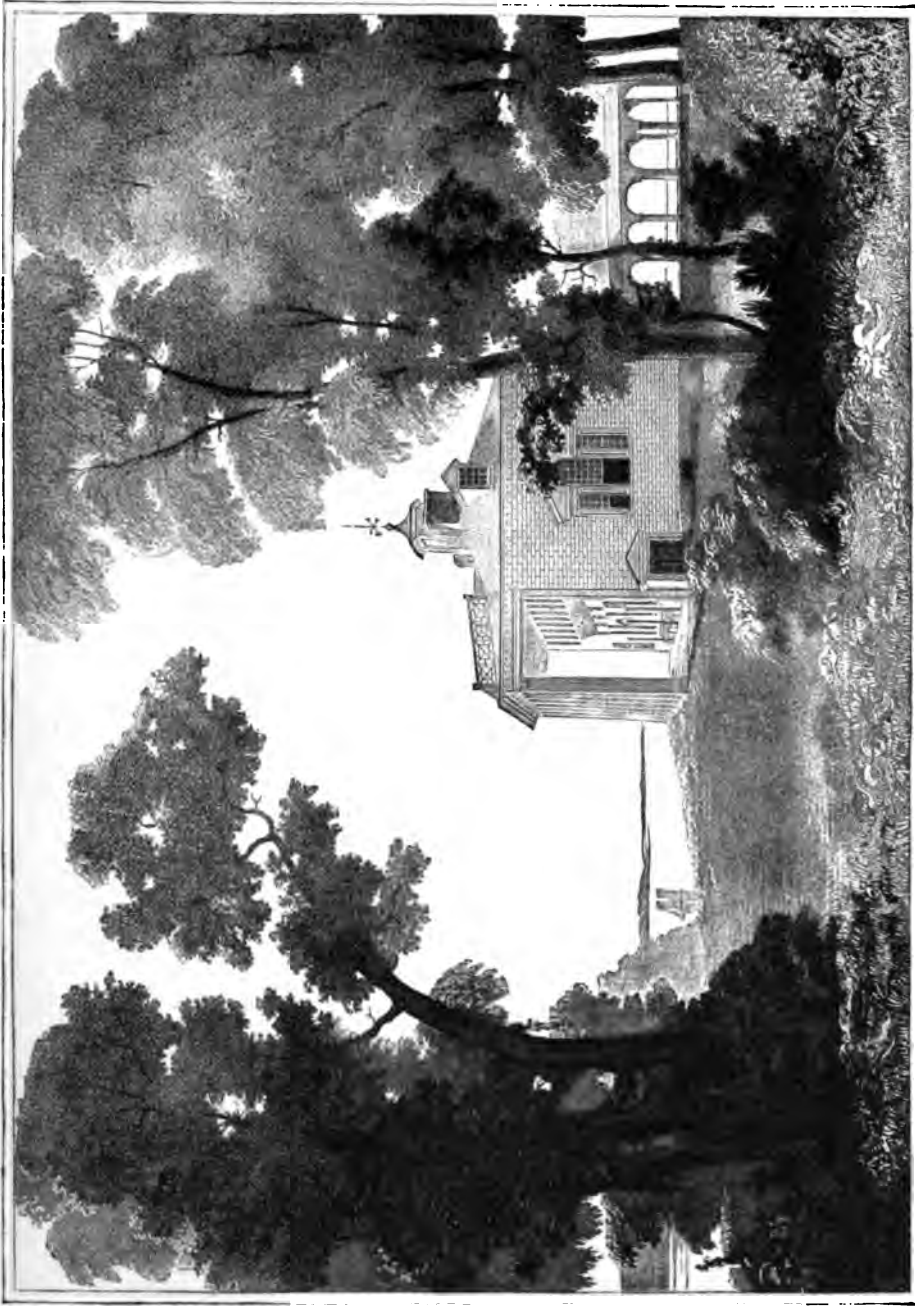
The present generation has been more or less for some years under the despotism of a fashion which aimed to foster self-esteem in small minds through the demolition of heroic ideals. But fashions change—and this one in particular has gone by. We are not as a people hero-worshippers—our dangers in that direction are few; at the same time, we are richly endowed with appreciative intelligence as to what our country is and hopes to be, and through what instrumentalities it originally started on the high road to its present rank among nations.

The annual celebration of Washington's birthday on the 22d of February, and the imperishable interest attending every fresh discovery of Washington's unpublished correspondence or rare portraits, reveals a national sentiment worthy of our race. The leader of our armies in a cause that seemed at many periods during the progress of the Revolution a forlorn hope, and the guide of our bewildered legislators when independence was finally achieved, will never fail to hold the highest place in the American heart; and his fame is secure to the ends of the earth so long as his own written words exist. It has been truly said that his letters illustrate as nothing else can the solid and enduring charm of a great, complete, well-rounded and self-poised character.

In the general sweep of events Washington became a pioneer through the force of circumstances; he embarked with lofty heroism in a new and vast political experiment; he created precedents, he controlled men. There was no miracle in his birth and growth and fitness for high positions. The habit of deifying him has been a mistake as pernicious as that of try

ing to belittle him. The average schoolboy of to-day glories in the fact that the hatchet story has been pronounced a myth. Childhood has a natural aversion to models of goodness ; and childhood reaches from the cradle to old age. A bright little girl of five years on one occasion was taught a few of George Washington's rules of deportment, which were jotted into one of his early note-books. Two of these made a great impression upon her mind—the impropriety of leaning on the table at meals, and of interrupting conversation. She was watchful for any transgression of these rules on the part of the older members of her family, and when she caught a culprit would shout to the top of her little voice, "George Washington!" One morning the tiny maiden was lifted into her high-chair at the breakfast table in bad humor, and resting her chubby arms on the festive board covered her pouting face with her baby hands. In an instant a chorus of merry voices screamed aloud, "George Washington!" The child did not seem to relish being caught in her own trap. She neither smiled nor took her arms from the table, but looking up with a curious expression on her somber face, said, in an even voice, "I guess I'll let George Washington slide."

It is not easy to do justice to such a many-sided character as that of Washington in an ordinary biography. The man is too large for the biography. But truth in fractions will never be amiss. Short studies may be of surpassing value if fiction is denied an entrance gate. We can well dispense with the hatchet story when there is so much worth knowing without it in the boyhood and youth of Washington. He was reared in a home where the absence of moral and religious training would have been esteemed a disgrace, and when he stepped into public notice he was untrammelled by troublesome and deteriorating habits. His breeding was that of a gentleman. Industry was one of his cardinal virtues, and it formed one of the chief elements in his subsequent fortunes. The gravities and responsibilities of life took possession of him early. In field sports, in skilled horsemanship, in surveying with its attendant fatigue, exposure and expedients, in the use of the rifle, and in the care of a rural domain, all the manly qualities, both physical and mental, were pretty evenly developed. He had the best training possible for military life in a new country, and it is refreshing to notice that he was never afflicted with waste moments. The wonder often expressed by the pleasure-loving class of American citizens, how the "Father of our Country" could have lived so long and seen so much that was funny, and *never laughed*, finds but a faint response in actual history. Washington, as is well known, had a human side from first to last, and although much anx-



MOUNT VERNON.

[Engraved from an artist's unfinished sketch. Through the courtesy of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.]

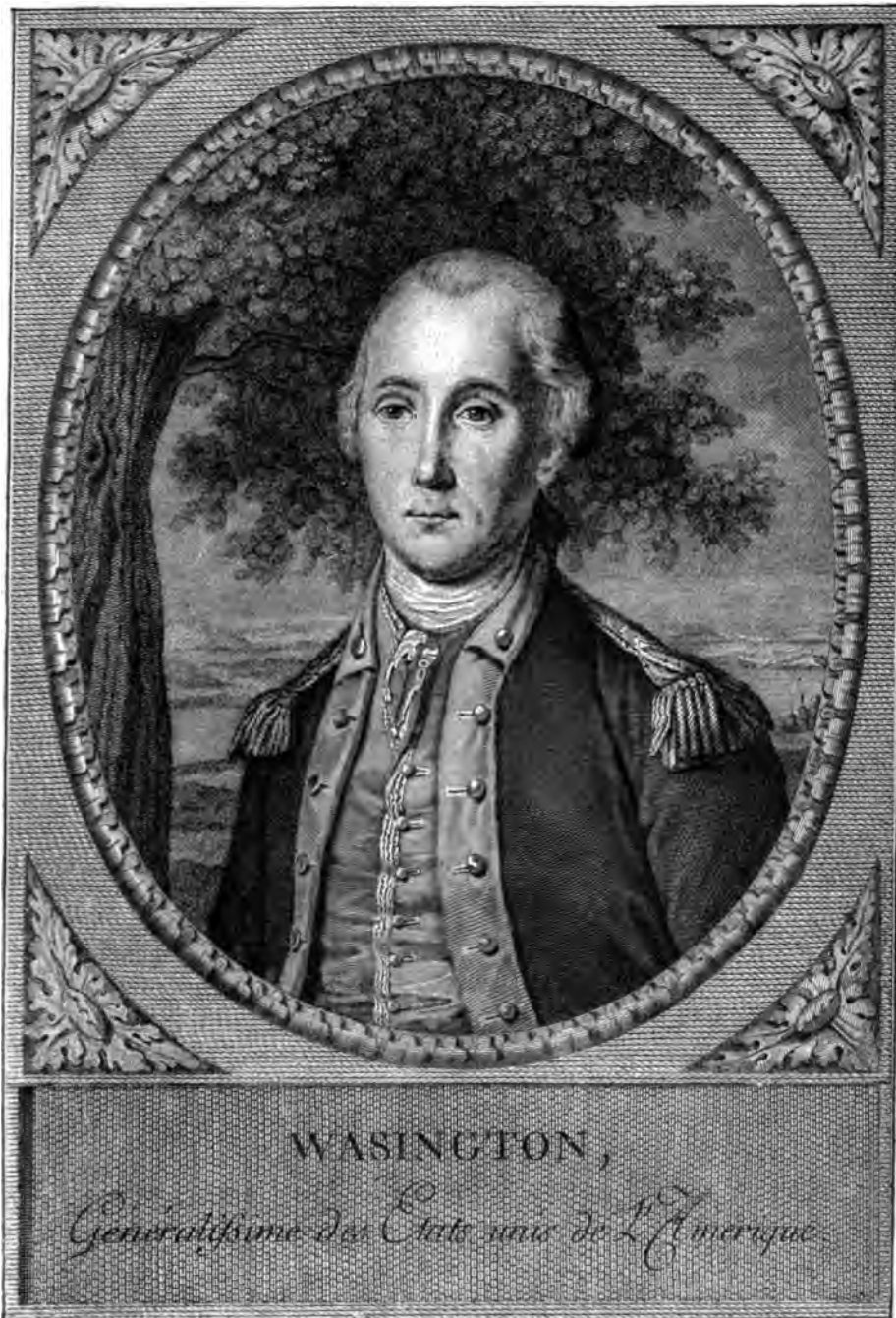
iety and responsibility gave him a serious aspect and his smiles were rare, yet he was by no means wanting in a sense of humor, could enjoy a good story, and see its point and laugh as heartily (if not as frequently) as other men. Then again, the carpers who dwell upon Washington's occasional exhibitions of temper do him good instead of evil service, for had he not possessed hot passions, as well as good sense, strong impulses tempered by sound judgment, and quick and vigorous determination, how could he have wielded the loose and undefined power delegated to him with such blessed and far-reaching results?

In his perfect self-control our first President was inimitable. This trait had reached its meridian when he came to New York in 1789. His genius for keeping tranquil when most perplexed was only paralleled by his precision in details, and his executive skill in accomplishing an enormous amount of work. The elegant Stuart portrait which forms the frontispiece to this number of the Magazine * represents him as he appeared on state occasions, in a full suit of black velvet, his hair somewhat blached by time and powdered to snowy whiteness. His magnificent figure was neither unreal nor marble. He stood six feet three inches high in his slippers, as straight as an arrow, was broad-shouldered and well-formed, with no superfluous flesh, and is said to have weighed some two hundred and thirty pounds. His arm was long and muscular, and his hand immeasurably large. He was fifty-eight years of age, with a character at that date so rounded by discipline, firm and true, kindly and sweet, kingly and grand, as to have withstood all subsequent storms of criticism as unshaken and uninjured as the air when a boy wings an arrow into it. The personal influence he exercised tied as with a knot of steel the conflicting forces together. His irresistible magnetism disproves the notion that he was the cold, unsympathetic and forbidding personage some historians have tried to make him appear. He was dignified even to a lofty reserve, which was essential in such an anomalous condition of social affairs, and

* The Magazine of American History has, prior to this date, published eighteen different portraits of Washington, in preceding volumes, as the following references indicate :

Vol. III. 87 ; From miniature by Birch.
 Vol. III. 466 ; Medallion after Houdon.
 Vol. IV. 1 ; From Stuart's Athenæum head.
 Vol. IV. 81 ; Group of four portraits, by Stuart, Trumbull, Peale, and Houdon.
 Vol. IV. 119 ; St. Mémin crayon head.
 Vol. V. 85 ; Portrait on bank-note.
 Vol. VI. 81 ; Portrait by Trumbull.
 Vol. VII. 80 ; Pen and ink head by Latrobe.

Vol. IX. 81 ; Portrait by Sharpless.
 Vol. X. 177 ; Portrait by Trumbull.
 Vol. X. 387 ; From Trumbull's painting in City Hall.
 Vol. XI. 90 ; Portrait in possession of Vaughan.
 Vol. XI. 513 ; From miniature by Mrs. Sharpless.
 Vol. XII. 550 ; Cameo head by Madame Bréhan.
 Vol. XII. 552 ; From miniature by Copley.



WASHINGTON,

Generalissime des Etats unis de L'Amerique

he was sublimely prudent. He was apparently never free from the painful consciousness that he was establishing an untried, unheralded, unforeseen precedent in the world. And the intensity of his thinking—which some of the great artists have almost succeeded in portraying—stamped itself upon his features. Art cannot be expected to do full justice, however, to the idea, the moral power, the real greatness of Washington.

One of the penalties of distinction is the multiplication of portraits, and Washington suffered with the serenity of a martyr until sittings for his picture became intolerable. He was gracious to Peale, Trumbull, Stuart, Savage, and some others, but the incessant demands upon his time—for every American portrait-painter wanted to try his hand on the distinguished subject, and foreign artists were constantly appearing in this country for that purpose alone—and the wretched productions of his visage on banners, fans, seals, buttons, transparencies, wall-paper, cotton prints, melancholy samplers, and nearly every object in the economy of trade and domestic life, harassed and disconcerted him. He was completely tired out when Pine applied for a sitting. He wrote to Hopkinson, "at first I was impatient at Pine's request and as restive under the operation as a colt is under the saddle. The next time I submitted very reluctantly, but with less flouncing. Now no dray horse moves more readily to the thill than I go to the painter's chair."

Trumbull was so much with Washington that he became familiar with his moods and variations of feeling and of temper for nearly a quarter of a century; he saw him in military costume, in citizen's clothing, in full dress at the banquet, on horseback in the field, and in deep thought in the councils of war and of state. His portraits of Washington are spirited, and as they represent him in the prime of life are by some preferred to those by Stuart. Rembrandt Peale, when only seventeen, secured a sitting from Washington, and is reported as saying that the honor agitated more than it inspired him. He completed a portrait, however, in 1795. Charles Wilson Peale, the father of Rembrandt, painted the early portrait of Washington as a Virginia colonel. His brother, James Peale, becoming much interested in the subject, painted in 1778 a very striking portrait of Washington from life, clad in the military uniform of the period, and this portrait, which became the property of Mr. David C. Claypoole of Philadelphia, was subsequently purchased by James Lenox, and is now one of the choice treasures in the Lenox Library.

The Earl of Buchan commissioned a Scotch artist, Archibald Robertson, to cross the Atlantic and paint for him a portrait of Washington.

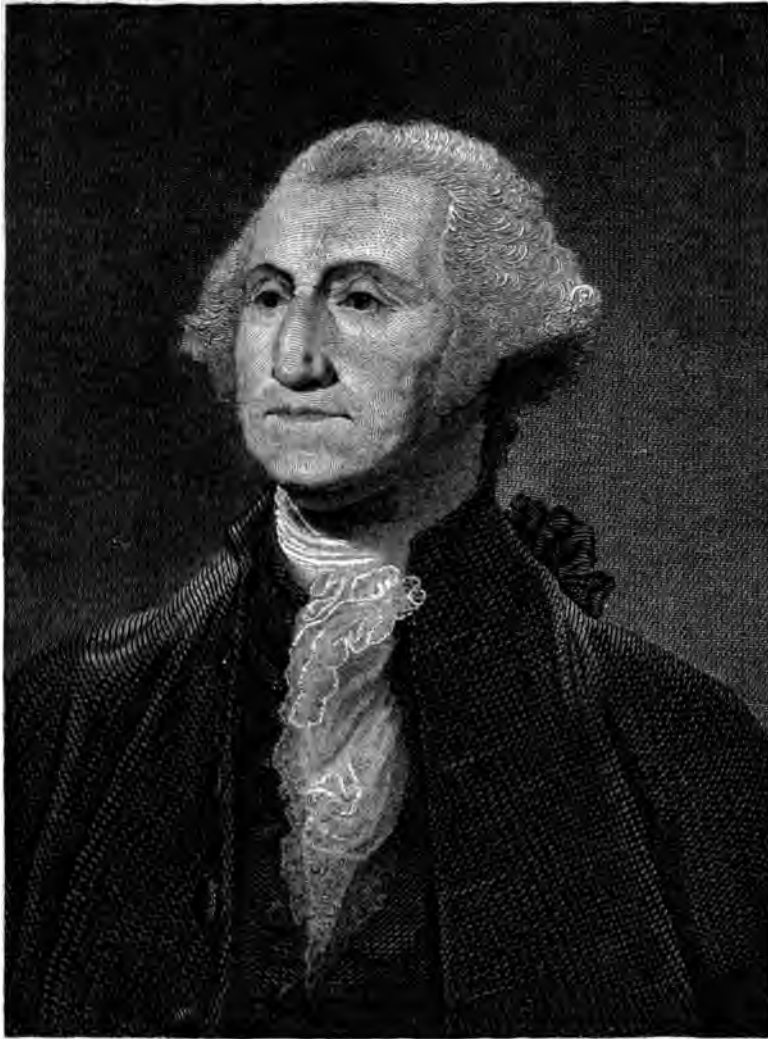


WASHINGTON.

Original Painting by James Peale, now in Lenox Library.

This artist, toward the end of December, 1791, obtained sittings in Philadelphia from both the President and Mrs. Washington, and painted their miniatures, which he retained in his own possession, that of Washington being converted into a brooch and worn by the ladies of his family. The portrait in oil afterwards finished for the Earl of Buchan gave excessive satisfaction. Robertson seems to have found great difficulty in quieting and securing a familiar expression from his Presidential sitter, and relates that finally Mrs. Washington came to the rescue, "whose easy, polished and familiar gaity and ceaseless cheerfulness almost accomplished a cure." The artist himself was timid and much worried, and the President "with his accustomed kindness" invited him to a family dinner where, contrary to his usual habits, the stately Washington engrossed most of the conversation, "and so delighted the company with humorous anecdotes that he completely set the table in a roar."

Stuart's first portrait of Washington was painted simultaneously with that of Rembrandt Peale in 1795. From the moment this early picture was finished Stuart was overrun with orders. The Marquis of Lansdowne wrote from England for a full-length portrait, and Stuart painted it in a barn in the rear of the house where he lived in Germantown, near Philadelphia. It was Stuart's masterpiece, and created a great sensation in Europe. While this celebrated painting was in the artist's hands it was seen by Mr. William Constable of New York, who was so much charmed with it that he ordered a similar one painted for himself. Twice while Stuart was at work upon the latter Mr. Constable drove in his chariot and four from New York to Philadelphia to watch its progress. On one of these journeys he was accompanied by Daniel McCormick, a rich bachelor residing in Wall street, famous for his mixture of generous hospitality, convivial habits, economical notions, and strict religious principles, who meeting Stuart hurrying along the street one day with a Turkey rug on his arm, asked him what he was going to do with it. "It is for my studio," replied Stuart. "You extravagant dog," exclaimed McCormick, "why did you not buy a Kidderminster for your studio? It would have answered as well." Stuart answered quietly, "some day you will say I have done right." When the painting was finished (in which the rug was skillfully introduced), and Mr. Constable and Mr. McCormick came in to see, approve, and admire it, Stuart nudged McCormick with his elbow and remarked, "Well, what do you say now to my rug?" "You have done right," was the emphatic reply. This painting was sent when finished to Mr. Constable's house, in New York, where it was shown to throngs of visitors. It is in perfect preservation at the present time, and in the posses-



WASHINGTON.

Original Painting for Marquis of Lansdowne: Engraved by James Tittler, A. R. A.

sion of Mr. Constable's grandson, Mr. Henry E. Pierrepont, of Brooklyn. Before it was sent to New York, however, Stuart painted a half-length Washington from it, which Mr. Constable presented to Alexander Hamilton, and which is now in the possession of that great financier's grandson. Ere long Stuart painted several full-length portraits of Washington. The

one which appears as our frontispiece was executed for Mr. Peter Jay Munro of New York, in 1799. It was purchased by Mr. James Lenox in 1845, and is at present "No. 70" in the gallery of the Lenox Library.

To trace the history of each of Stuart's many portraits of Washington would be of unique interest were it among the possibilities. Replicas of his famous Athenæum head are very numerous. A highly finished copy was made in 1810 for Hon. Josiah Quincy, and is still in the family homestead at Quincy. Houdon rose to distinction during this period so remarkably prolific of original characters, and crossed the seas to exercise his chisel in transferring Washington's features to marble. Stuart, when asked on one occasion to give his candid opinion as to the merits of the various busts and portraits of Washington, replied: "Houdon's bust comes first, and my head of him next," referring to the Athenæum head.

On coming into the new Presidential office Washington took up his abode in New York city. His official duties were legion, and the questions coming up for discussion and settlement among the most intricate and important this world has ever known. He spent many hours of each day with Jay, Hamilton and Knox, shaping the course and conduct of the departments of the new government; and he adopted such a time-saving policy, fitting all his duties in with his pleasures systematically, that he was able to take necessary recreation and indulge moderately in society. He walked about the city at his pleasure, and was naturally the observed of all observers. He really looked at his best when on the promenade. He rode daily on horseback, and he drove with Mrs. Washington and others every pleasant morning, sometimes in the post-chaise and sometimes in the chariot. His horses were numerous and the finest the country produced, and it is said that their hoofs were freshly painted every morning. He drove four and not infrequently six before his carriage, with outriders in livery, the stylish establishment preceded usually by two secretaries on horseback. His circumstantial note-book furnishes the best picture extant of the social side of his first year of Presidential life, a few extracts from which, in this connection, will entertain all readers who have not hitherto had access to this rare record:

"October 1, 1789. Exercised in my carriage this forenoon. The following company dined here to-day, viz: Mr Read of the Senate, Colonel Bland and Mr Madison of the House of Representatives, Mr Osgood and his lady, Colonel Duer, his lady and Miss Brown, Colonel Lewis Morris and lady, Lady Christina Griffin and her daughter, and Judge Duane and Mrs Greene. . . .

Saturday, Oct. 3. Walked in the afternoon and sat about two o'clock for

Madame de Brehan to complete a miniature profile of me which she had begun from memory, and which she had made exceedingly like the original.

Sunday Oct. 4. Went to St Paul's chapel in the forenoon. Spent the remainder of the day in writing private letters for tomorrow's post.

Monday Oct 5. . . . Exercised on horseback between the hours of nine and eleven in the forenoon, and between five and six in the afternoon on foot. Had conversation with Colonel Hamilton on the propriety of my making a tour through the Eastern States during the recess of Congress, to acquire knowledge of the face of the country, the growth and agricul-



MARTHA WASHINGTON.
From the miniature by Robertson.

ture thereof, and the temper and disposition of the inhabitants towards the new government, who thought it a very desirable plan, and advised it accordingly.

Tuesday Oct 6. Exercised in the carriage with Mrs Washington in the forenoon. . . .

Wednesday Oct 7. Exercised on horseback, and called on the Vice-President. In the afternoon walked an hour. . . ."

On the 15th of October Washington started on his tour through the New England States and returning reached New York on the 13th of November. On the Sunday after his return we find the following entry in his notebook:

"November 15. Went to St Paul's Chapel in the forenoon—and after returning from thence was visited by Major Butler, Major Meredith, and Mr Smith, South Carolina. Received an invitation to attend the funeral of

Mrs Roosevelt (the wife of a senator of this state) but declined complying with it—first, because the propriety of accepting the invitation of this sort appeared very questionable—and secondly (though to do it in this instance might not be improper) because it might be difficult to discriminate in cases which might thereafter happen. . . .

Tuesday Nov 17. The visitors at the Levee to day were numerous.

Wednesday Nov 18. Took a walk in the forenoon and called upon Mr Jay on business, but he was not within. On my return paid Mr Vaughan, senior, a visit, informal. Sent a commission as District Judge of South Carolina to the Honorable William Drayton of that State.

Thursday Nov 19. The following company dined here to-day, viz: Mrs Adams (lady of the Vice-President), Col Smith and lady, and Miss Smith Mrs Adams niece, Governor Clinton and lady, and Miss Cornelia Clinton, and Major Butler his lady and two daughters.

Friday Nov 20. The visitors of gentlemen and ladies to Mrs Washington this evening were numerous and respectable. . . .

Tuesday No 24. A good deal of Company at the Levee to-day. Went to the play in the evening—sent tickets to the following ladies and gentlemen and invited them to seats in my box, viz, Mrs. Adams (lady of the Vice President) General Schuyler and lady, Mr (Rufus) King and lady, Maj'r Butler and lady, Col^o Hamilton and lady, Mrs Green—all of whom came except Mrs Butler, who was indisposed."

The theatre was in John street, north side, near Broadway, and the play to which Washington refers was *Darby's Return*, written by William Dunlap. Music commenced and the audience rose when the President and his guests entered the building. Darby was of course the principal character in the play; he was an Irish lad who had been to New York, and was recounting his wonderful American experiences to his friends in Ireland. He went on to say:

"Here, too, I saw some mighty pretty shows,
A revolution without blood or blows;
For, as I understood, the cunning elves
The people all revolted from themselves."

Washington smiled at this humorous allusion to the change in the government; and the eyes of the audience were fixed curiously upon him as Darby continued:

"A man who fought to free the land from woe,
Like me, had left his farm a soldiering to go,
Then having gained his point, he had, *like me*,
Returned, his own potatoe ground to see.

But there he could not rest. With one accord
He is called to be a kind of—not a lord—
I don't know what; he is not a great man, sure,
For poor men love him just as he were poor."

Washington changed color slightly, and looked serious. When Kathleen asked :

"How looked he, Darby? Was he short or tall?"

and Darby replied that he did not see him, because he had mistaken a man who was

"All lace and glitter, botherum and shine"

for him until the show was out of sight, Washington's features relaxed and he laughed as heartily as his friends around him.

Turning again to the note-book:

"Wednesday. Nov 25. Exercised on horseback between breakfast and dinner—in which, returning, I called upon Mr Jay and Gen Knox on business—and made informal visits to the Gov'r (George Clinton) Mr Izard, Genl. Schuyler, and Mrs Dalton. The following company dined with me, viz: Doctr. Johnson and lady and daughter (Mrs Neely), Mr Izard and lady and son, Mr Smith (So. Carolina) and lady, Mr Kean and lady, and the Chief Justice, Mr Jay. After which I went to the dancing assembly, at which I stayed until ten o'clock.

Thursday. Nov 26. Being the day appointed for a thanksgiving, I went to St Paul's Chapel, though it was most inclement and stormy—but few people at church.

Friday, Nov 27. Not many visitors this evening to Mrs Washington.

Saturday, Nov 28. Exercised on horseback.

Sunday, Nov 29. Went to St. Paul's Chapel in the forenoon.

Monday. Nov 30. Went to the play in the evening and presented tickets to the following persons, viz: Doctr. Johnson and lady, Mr Dalton and lady, the Chief Justice of the United States and lady, Secretary of War and lady, Baron de Steuben, and Mrs Green.

Tuesday. Dec 1. A pretty full Levee to-day—among the visitors was the Vice-President and all the senators in town. Exercised on horseback between ten and twelve. Read the papers relative to our affairs with the Emperor of Morocco, and sent them to Mr Jay to prepare answers to them.

Wednesday, Dec 2. Exercised in the post chaise with Mrs Washington—visited on our return the Vice-President and family—afterwards walked to Mr King's—neither he nor his lady were at home, or to be seen.

Thursday, Dec 3. The following gentlemen and ladies dined here, viz:—

Genl. Schuyler, his lady and daughter (Mrs Van Rensselaer) Mr Dalton and his lady, the Secretary of the Treasury and his lady, General Knox and lady, Mrs Green, Baron de Steuben, Col Osgood (Postmaster-General) and the Treasurer Majr. Meredith.

Friday Dec 4. A great number of visitors (gentlemen and ladies) this evening to Mrs Washington. The Governor of New Jersey, and the Speaker of the House of Assembly of that state, presented an Address from the legislature thereof, and received an answer to it, after which they dined with me.

Saturday, Dec 5. Exercised on horseback between ten and twelve o'clock. The Vice-President (John Adams) and lady and two sons, Col Smith and lady, and his sister, and Mrs Adams neice, dined here.

Sunday, Dec 6. Went to St Paul's Chapel in the forenoon.

Monday Dec 7. Walked round the battery in the afternoon.

Tuesday Dec 8. Finished my extracts from the Commissioners Report of their proceedings at the Treaty with the Creek Indians—and from many other papers respecting Indian Matters and the Western Territory. A full Levee to-day.

Wednesday Dec 9. Walked round the battery.

Thursday. Dec 10. Exercised on horseback between ten and twelve o'clock. The following company dined here to-day, viz: Mrs King, Mr and Mrs Few, Mr and Mrs Harrison, Mr and Mrs Wolcott, Mr Duer, his lady, and Miss Brown, Mr Griffin and lady, and Lady Christina and her daughter.

Friday Dec 11. Being rainy and bad no person except the Vice-President visited Mrs Washington this evening.

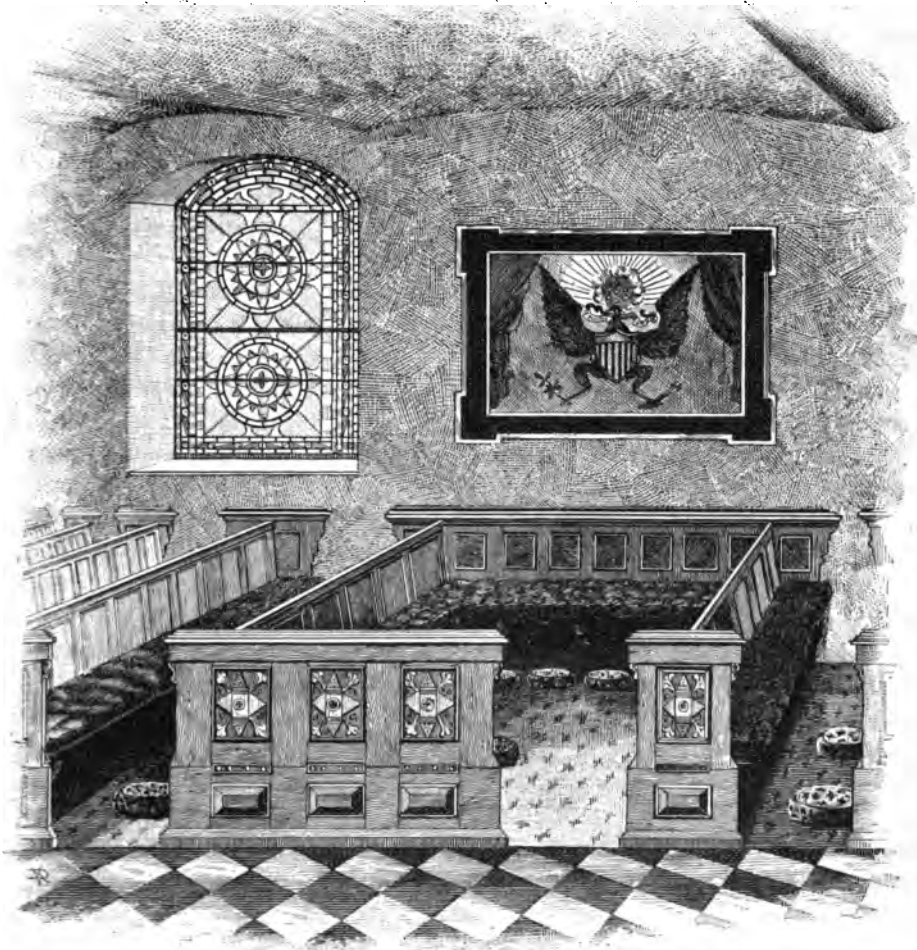
Saturday. Dec 12. Exercised in the coach with Mrs Washington and the two children (Master and Miss Custes) between breakfast and dinner—went the fourteen miles round.*

Sunday, Dec 13. Went to St Paul's Chapel in the forenoon.

Monday, Dec. 14. Walked round the Battery in the afternoon.

Tuesday Dec 15. Exercised on horseback about ten o'clock—called on the Secretary of the Department of War, and gave him the heads of many letters to be written to characters in the Western Country, relative chiefly to Indian affairs. Visitors to the Levee to-day were not very numerous, though respectable.

* "The fourteen miles round," to which Washington refers, was over the old picturesque Bloomingdale road on the west side of Manhattan Island, leaving what is now Riverside Park near the high bluff where General Grant's tomb attracts the world, by a cross-road, to the Kings-bridge and old Boston roads in returning.



THE WASHINGTON PEW IN ST. PAUL'S CHAPEL.

[The pew in which Washington worshiped in St. Paul's Chapel is on the north side of the chapel under the gallery about half way between the chancel and the vestry room. Directly opposite it on the south side of the chapel is the pew then occupied by Governor George Clinton.]

Wednesday Dec 16. Dined with Mrs Washington and all the family, (except the two children) at Governor Clinton's—where also dined the Vice-President, his lady, Col. and Mrs Smith, the Mayor Col Varick, and his lady, and old Mr Van Berkel and his daughter.

Thursday Dec 17. The following company dined here, viz: the chief justice of the United States and his lady; Mr King, Col and Mrs Law-

rence, Mrs Gerry, Mr Egbert Benson, Bishop Provost, and Doct. Lynn and his lady.

Friday, Dec 18. Read over and digested my thoughts upon the subject of a National Militia, from the plans of the militia of Europe, those of the Secretary of War, and the Baron de Steuben.

Saturday, Dec 19. Committed the above thoughts to writing in order to send them to the Secretary of the Department of War, to be worked into the form of a Bill, with which to furnish the Committee of Congress which had been appointed to draught one.

Sunday, Dec 20. Went to St Paul's chapel in the forenoon.

Monday Dec 21. Framed the above thoughts on the subject of a National Militia into the form of a letter, and sent it to the Secretary of the Department of War. Sat from ten to one o'clock for a Mr Savage to draw my portrait for the University of Cambridge in the State of Massachusetts at the request of the president and governors of the said University.

Tuesday Dec 22. A pretty full and respectable Levee to-day—at which several Members of Congress, newly arrived, attended.

Wednesday, Dec 23. Exercised in the Post chaise with Mrs Washington. . . .

Thursday Dec 24. The Secretary of War coming according to appointment, he was instructed, after conversing fully on the matter, what answers to return to the Executive of Virginia, and to the Representatives of the frontier counties.

Friday Dec 25. *Christmas Day*. Went to St Pauls Chapel in the forenoon. The visitors to Mrs Washington this afternoon were not numerous but respectable . . .

Monday Dec 28. Sat all the forenoon for Mr Savage, who was taking my portrait.

Tuesday. Dec 29. Being very snowing not a single person appeared at the Levee . . .

Wednesday, Dec 30. Exercised in the carriage . . .

Saturday Jan 9. Exercised with Mrs Washington and the children in the Coach the 14 miles round. In the afternoon walked round the Battery.

Sunday, Jan 10. Went to St Paul's Chapel in the forenoon—wrote private letters in the afternoon for the Southern mail. . . .

Thursday Jan. 14. . . . The following gentlemen dined here to-day. viz: Messers Henry and Maclay, of the Senate, and Messers Wadsworth, Trumbull, Floyd, Boudinot, Wyncoop, Sency, Page, Lee, and Matthews, of the House of Representatives and Mr John Trumbull.

Friday Jan 15. Snowing all day—but few ladies and gentlemen as visitors this evening to Mrs Washington.

Saturday Jan 16. Exercised in the coach with Mrs Washington and the two children, about 12 o'clock. . . .

Saturday Jan 23. Went with Mrs Washington in the forenoon to see the Paintings of Mr John Trumbull.

Sunday Jan 24. Went to St Paul's Chapel in the forenoon. . . .

Friday Jan 29. Exercised on horseback this forenoon; during my ride, Mr Johnston, one of the Senators from North Carolina, who had just arrived, came to pay his respects, as did Mr Cushing, one of the Associate Judges—the latter came again about 3 o'clock, introduced by the vice President. . . . The visitors to Mrs Washington this evening were numerous and respectable.

Saturday. Jan 30. Exercised with Mrs Washington and the children in the coach in the forenoon. Walked round the Battery in the afternoon.

Sunday. Jan 31. Went to St Paul's Chapel in the forenoon. Mr Wilson one of the Associate Judges of the Supreme Court paid his respects to me after I returned from church. Spent the afternoon writing letters to Mount Vernon

Wednesday Feb 10. Sat from 9 until 11 o'clock for Mr Trumbull to draw my picture. . . .

Thursday. Feb. 11. Exercised on horseback in the forenoon. The following dined here: Messrs Leonard and Grout of Massachusetts; Huntington and Sturges, of Connecticut; Silvester, of New York; Sinnickson, of New Jersey; Gale, of Maryland; and Bland, Parker and Moore of Virginia.

Friday Feb 12. Sat from 9 o'clock until 11, for Mr John Trumbull, for the purpose of drawing my picture. A good deal of company (gentlemen and ladies) to visit Mrs Washington this afternoon. . . .

Thursday February 18. Sat for Mr Trumbull from 9 o'clock until 10; after which exercised in the postchaise with Mrs Washington. On our return home called on Mrs Adams, lady of the Vice President. The following company dined here to day, viz: Judge Cushing and his lady; the Postmaster General and his lady, and Messers Boudinot, Griffin, Coles, Gerry, and White, and their ladies"

Martha J Lamb

UNPUBLISHED WASHINGTON LETTERS

It gratifies the pride of the patriotic American to find in that representative institution, the British Museum, that a most conspicuous place is accorded to everything relating to Washington, as it affords satisfactory evidence that his fame is cherished in the mother country as a part of the common heritage of the great English-speaking race. Every written or printed word is preserved with scrupulous care, and fills the chief place in the large collection of Americana in the museum. In some respects this



Henry Bouquet

Engraved from portrait in collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.

is superior to anything we have in this country, and purchases of new material are constantly being made. Doubtless the time will come when our government, less influenced by demagoguery and false notions of economy, will be engaged in collecting material relating to the origin, establishment and growth of the Republic, but then the originals will be in Europe, and copies only will be available. When that time comes, and governmental takes the place of individual effort, one may hope for a general depository

under the control of an officer sufficiently intelligent and patriotic to appreciate the public nature of his trust. It should be as far removed from the State Department as possible. There is no better model than the British Museum.

When in London last year I made a careful examination of most of the manuscripts relating to America, and directed copies to be made of some of them for the readers of the MAGAZINE. The Haldimand papers include the official reports and correspondence of Colonel Henry Bouquet, who rendered such signal service to the colonies from 1756 to 1765. Letters of Colonel Washington—twenty-five in number, all in fine condition—addressed to Colonel Bouquet, are in this collection. Portions of eleven of these only are given by Sparks in *The Writings of Washington*, and these so altered and amended as to bear little likeness to the originals. The charge made by Lord Mahon and the *Evening Post*, that Mr. Sparks had “taken an unwarrantable liberty with the text, altering, omitting and adding, as might suit his caprice, and that for the purpose of embellishment and of conforming the work to his own standard of taste has tampered with the truth of history,” is so fully confirmed by the Bouquet-Washington letters that Lord Mahon, if he had had access to them, would never have qualified the indictment, as he did, as to additions. Mr. Sparks, in defense, declared that not a line had been anywhere intentionally or knowingly added to the text, and that all he had done was “to correct obvious slips of the pen, occasional inaccuracies of expression, and manifest faults of grammar.”

I give below a few examples in parallel columns :

As given by Sparks.

Letter 3d July 1758. “My men are very bare of regimental clothing, and I have no prospect of a supply. So far from regretting this want during the present campaign, if I were left to pursue my own inclinations, I would not only order the men to adopt the Indian dress, but cause the officers to do it also, and be the first to set the example myself. Nothing but the uncertainty of obtaining the general approbation causes me to hesitate a moment to leave my regimentals at this place, and proceed as light as any Indian in the woods. It is an unbecoming dress, I own, for an officer; but convenience rather than show, I think, should be consulted.”

As written by Washington.

“My men are very bare of cloaths (Regimentals I mean) and I have no prospect of a supply—this want so far from regretting during this campaign, that were I left to pursue my own Inclinations, I would not only cause the men to adopt the Indian dress but officers also, and set the example myself: Nothing but the uncertainty of its taking with the General [Forbes] causes me to hesitate a moment at leaving my Regimentals at this place, and proceeding as light as any Indian in the woods. Tis an unbecoming dress I confess for an officer, but convenience rather than shew I think should be consulted.”

In the paragraph following Colonel Washington wrote, "I will today or tomorrow, send an officer and some *alert white men* with another party of Cherokees," etc. Sparks makes this read "*a greater number of white men.*" "I must confess," continues Washington, "that I think these scalping parties of Indians we send out will more effectually harrass the enemy (by keeping them under continual alarm) than any party of white people can do; as small partys of ours are not equal to the undertaking, and large ones must be discover'd by their scalping partys early enough to give the Enemy time to repel them by a Superior Force." The last clause of this very clear statement is transformed by Sparks in the following remarkable manner: "*For small parties of the latter are not equal to the task, not being so dexterous at skulking as Indians; and large parties will be discovered by their spies early enough to have a superior force opposed to them.*"

Washington writes "*and fatiguing many more.*" Sparks writes: "*and wearing down the rest.*" Again Washington says: "You are pleased to desire my opinion with regard to making an irruption into the enemy's country with a strong party. As such an enterprise at this juncture when we may suppose the enemy have or are collecting their principal force in that vicinity would require a formidable party," etc. Sparks recasts it thus: "You are pleased to ask my opinion of the propriety of making an irruption into the enemy's country with a strong party. *Such an enterprise Sir, at this juncture, when we may suppose the enemy have collected, or are collecting, their whole force at Fort Duquesne, would require a formidable detachment,*" etc. And again as to repairing General Braddock's road, Washington says: "It is impossible for me to send out any men to repair it as Col^o Mercer and Cap^t Dagworthy got every tool for that purpose I had." Sparks attempts to improve on it thus: "It is impossible for me to send out any men to repair it, as I have no tools for that purpose."

In another letter Washington says, "You make me quite happy by your coinciding in opinion with me," etc. Sparks: "*You flatter me much,*" etc.

These will suffice as specimens of Mr. Sparks's editorial work. For the information of the reader I give below accurate copies of such of Washington's letters to Bouquet as Sparks mutilated, and of the fourteen letters which he omitted altogether, and which have not been printed heretofore.

WASHINGTON TO BOUQUET.

Camp near Fort Cumberland

Sir

3^d July 1758.

Your favours of the 27th Ult^o and first Ins^t I have had the Honor to receive.*

According to Order I march'd from Winchester the 24th and arriv'd at this place yesterday in the afternoon with five Companies of the first Virginia Regiment and a Company of Artificers of the second, as you may observe by the Inclosed return.

My March by bad Teams, and bad Roads, (notwithstanding I had sent the Artificers and a covering Party on three days before me) was much delayed. I herewith send a Return of the Provisions and Forage that came up under my Escort we lost three of the Bullocks and that in driving—I cant absolutely say for what purpose the Forage is intended, or where to be lodgd—it was engag'd by M^r Walkan at Sir In^o St Clair's request and I believe for the light Horse. The principal part of it met us at Pearsalls on the South Branch; and neither myself, nor any person else was empowerd, or even desird to receive and pay for it: I was at a loss how to act but thought it most advisable to bring it on—if it is not intended for the light Horse as I apprehend, I should be glad of your directions concerning it, for Capt^a Stewart who possibly may be Instructed for this purpose I left equipping his Troop at Winchester and is not yet joind me—

As I cant suppose you intended to order any part of my Men upon the Roads, till joind at this place by Col^l Byrd; I shall decline sending any upon that service till his arrival; which I suppose may be to morrow as he was preparing to March the 26th after me.

I enclose you an exact Return of the Maryland Troops in Garrison at this place—also of their Provisions—and of the Kings Stores and shoud be glad to know what strength you would have this Garrison consist of, how many days Provisions left for them and what quantity of Ammunition—I brought one half of all that was ordered from Winchester by Sir In^o St [sic Clair] and left the other half to follow with Col^l Byrd. Powder excepted, and of that article there was only 16 Barrels in the Stores there besides 6 others that were made up into cartridges—which are also brought up between us.

M^r Walker in consequence of Instructions from M^r Hoops (who I believe proposd to supply us from Roys Town) put a stop to a further purchase of Provisions: You will see by the Returns for what number of days I am supplied, and I desird Col^l Byrd to bring as much to this place as woud serve his Men a fortnight at least. I am at a loss to Know whether Officers servants that are not Soldiers, are allowed to draw Provisions and shou'd be thankful for your directions as I have had many applications on y^t head.

There are few Tools for the services required—but before a Supply could be got to this place from Sir In^o St Clair or Governor Sharpe the work (with what few we have) I hope may be near done. Rum too I fear, will be a scarce Article with us.

Pray what will be done with that Company of Byrds Regim^t Ordered to take Post at Edward's and Pearsalls—shall they continue there, or Join their Regiment—I left in consequence of y^t Orders an Officer & 30 men (Invalids) at Fort Loudoun for safety of the Stores &c lodged there, and also a Sergeant and 12 at Pearsalls to secure that Post, and keep open that Road for Expresses (for no more can be expected from so small a command)—Byrd I hope will leave 6 or 8 of his Invalids or bad men at Edward's for the same purpose—

* The first, second (except the opening sentence), fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, ninth and twelfth paragraphs omitted by Sparks.

There came 28 Waggon to this place with me, and I believe if they were wanted, 10 more might be had upon the St Branch strong and good; but carrying Horses are certainly more eligible for the Service we are destin'd.

I have used my best endeavours to get my men equipd with powder Horns and shott pouches and have procured 330 of the former and 339 of the latter, besides the Linnen ones with which we are compleat.

I have receiv'd a very scanty allowance of Tents to the 5 Companies with me, viz. Sixty nine only, out of these most of the Officers must be supplied, or lye uncoverd—they will readily pay for what they receive if required.—No Bell Tents were sent to us.

My Men are very bare of cloaths (Regimentals I mean) and I have no prospect of a supply—this want so far from regrett^d during this campaign, that were I left to pursue my own Inclinations, I would not only cause the Men to adopt the Indian dress, but Officers also, and set the example myself: nothing but the uncertainty of its taking with the General causes me to hesitate a moment at leaving my Regimentals at this place, and proceeding as light as any Indian in the Woods. Tis an unbecoming dress I confess for an Officer, but convenience rather than shew I think should be consulted, the reduction of Ba^h-horses alone is sufficient to recommend it, for nothing is more certain than that less Baggage will be required, and that the Publick will be benefitted in proportion.

I was desirous of being thus full in my letter to you, how far it may be consistent with good Policy, as there is at least a possibility of its falling into the enemy's hands I know not, but I shall be directed in these Affairs by you—

With very great regard I am, Sir,

Y^r most Obed^t and most Hble Serv^t

G. Washington

Sir

Since closing mine of this date a dispute has arose between an Assistant Commissary of M^t Hoops (namely M^t Joseph Gailbraith) and I ab^t Salt—Our stock of Meat is mostly Fresh and he refuses to provide Salt for it—whether it is his duty or not to do it, I can't say—but unless it is done, the men must inevitably be visited with fluxes and other disorders that may render them incapable of immediate service—There is some Salt at this place belonging to Virginia, which I shall make use of till I receive your Orders on this head.

There is one In^o McCullough here, who would make an exceeding good Waggon Master, and we shall certainly want one or two, if all the waggons that I have together with those which Col^o Byrd may bring should be detain'd in the Service.

I should be glad to know if such persons are allow'd, and if they are, how many Waggons each takes charge of, and their pay per day—*

I am Sir,

with very g^t regard

y^r most obed^t Hble Serv^t

G^o Washington

To. Col^o Bouquet—Commanding

His Majesty's Forces at Rappahannock Town.

Committed to Sparks

Camp near Fort Cumberland
7th July 1758.

Sir,

Col^o Byrd with 8 Companies of his Regiment arrivd here yesterday. He left many sick men behind him as may be seen by the Inclosd return—This diminution, together with the Company posted at Edwards's and Pearsalls reduces our strength considerably.

I am a good deal at a loss therefore to know how to act for the best, since your last Orders for joining you at Rays Town were not positive, and seemd to be given on a supposition that Mr Walker either could not, or was not to supply us with provisions here—your doubts on this head will in some measure, be obviated when you see Mr Walker's letter to me, and the Returns of our provisions which I now send.—If this therefore was your motive for desiring a Garrison to be left at this place and for me to March on to Rays Town with the remainder of the Virginia troops, you will I presume countermand our March to that place for the following reasons—first because 300 Men may, I think, open the Communication to Rays Town with safety (and with much greater ease and convenience that if our whole body marches on incumberd with a number of Waggon—Secondly, it will if the Army is oblig'd to take this rout as I am told from all hands it inevitably must, prevent the fatigues of a Counter March to Men and horses just going upon Service.—Thirdly, it will afford us an opportunity of lodging our provisions and stores here while the waggons may return for another Convoy, & by that means save the great expence of transporting them to Rays Town, and back again, if we should not be able to proceed on from thence—and fourthly, Col^o Byrd assures me that the Indians with him absolutely refuse to march any other road than this they know.

I was advised to hint these matters to you, and wait the result of your answer before I put the whole in motion—whatever you direct under these circumstances I shall execute with as much punctuality and expedition as in my power—I enclose return of the N^o of Waggon now at this place, that you may be a judge of y^e Ex pence.

Capt^a Dagworthy telling me that Gov^r Sharpe is to open the road to the Town Creek, which is within 15 Miles of this place and as Maryland has near 200 men here fit for duty, I hope you will be of opinion that they are sufficiently strong to proceed on the Fort Frederick road, without a Reinforcement from us, especially if you will please to consider, at y^e same time, that they are, in a Manner, covered by the Troops at this place, and those which may be employ'd on the road to Rays Town, on which I shall send a detachment tomorrow. to cut in till I receive your further Orders.

A pretty good stock of liquor came up with the last Convoy—We have no Hay at this place—'twas corn I called forage—We shall have Tools sufficient for opening the Road to Rays town among the artificers of Byrds Regiment, and I enclose a list of what is here belonging to Maryland that you may be able to judge of our Wants.

I am sorry to hear that the Euttawbers have so egregiously misbehav'd themselves—when I write to the Gov^a of Virginia which I expect may be in a few days, I shall touch on this subject.

I am, Sir

Y^r most obed^t H^{ble} Serv^t

G^o Washington.

P. S. Please to excuse my
Blotting, my paper is wet.

Camp near Fort Cumberland
9th July 1758.

Sir,

Your favour of yesterday was deliverd me last night—I immediately directed all your Orders to be executed. The Waggon (save those attending the road cutters) go of to day ; three Companies under Col^o Mercer proceed on the Rays Town Road, which we began to open yesterday ; they carry 6 days prov^a with them, and are to apply to you for more if that don't suffice—Capt^a Digworthys & y^e Marylanders begin to open their road to morrow, and are furnished with 10 days provisions ; but an extraordinary affair has hap- pened in regard to their provisions I mean their having no Flour not withstanding 6000 and better was included in a Return which I sent you signd by their Commissary—I have been oblig^d already to supply them with 2000 W. of the article and shoud be glad to know if they are entitled to any part of the provisions laid in here by M^r Walker for the use of the Virginia Troops—under the circumstances they were, I was oblig^d to deliver out y^e above Flour or see them starve or desert, which they seem pretty much inclined to do as it is—Maj^r Lewis of my Regiment attends you with 200 men, with whom I have di- rected Capt^a Frazer an Walker to proceed to you.

I am, Sir, with great Régard, Y^r most Obed^t H^b^{le} Serv^t

G^o Washington.

Col^o Bouquet

Camp at Fort Cumb^d
ab^t 9 Thursday night July 13th 1758.

Sir,

Ab^t 4 Oclock this afternoon—after I had closed my letter to you—I received Informa- tion that two men were killed and a third taken prisoner on the Road about a mile from this place. I got the Indians to go, and sent a command of 50 men immediately to the spot, where they took the Track of six Indians and followed them till near dark, when the Indians returned, as did our party also.

They discovered that one of the men killed was a sold^r of the second regiment, and that the other two were herds going to our grass guard in the most careless, stragling manner, contrary to repeated, and positive orders given to prevent small parties stragling from Camp.

The mischief was done ab^t 8 this morning—our discovery of it too late to give us a chance to overtake the enemy—I thought it advisable, nevertheless, to give you Intelli- gence that the enemy are about, and that I expect we shall be pester'd with their parties all this morn, haunting our camps, and watching our motions.

I have apprized Col^o Mercer, Capt^a Dagworthy and all our out parties of this murder, that they may be strictly upon their Guard marching—and vigilant in y^r Camps—

The Inclosd I this instant received from Capt^a Dagworthy—if it is not in your power to afford him assistance—tis intirely out of mine to do it.

I am with great regard y^r most Obed^t H^b^{le} Serv^t

G^o Washington.

P. S.

Capt^a Bosomworth &c, are safely arrivd here ; he and

Col^o Byrd join me in y^r Complim^{ts}

To Col^o Bouquet—Commanding
the Forces on Ray: Tr vn

Camp at Fort Cumberland, 13th July 1758.

Sir,

Your favour of the 11th by Doct^r. Johnston I had the pleasure to receive the same day.—Nothing extraordinary since my last has occur'd.

By a party from Col^o Mercer to this place for provisions I find, they have open'd the road only 6 miles; and that they proceed much slower in this service than I expected: this possibly may arise from the pains they take to make the road good, and from the width of it (30 Feet) which I directed, that two waggons might conveniently go a brest.—If you don't open on your side in this manner, I should be oblig'd to you to direct Col^o Mercer otherwise,—as it will be useless to have one part wide and the other narrow.

It gave me great pleasure to find you approv'd of the dress I have put my men into. I have really done it from a good intention. Caprice and whim had no share in causing of it—on the contrary, 'tis evident I think, that soldiers in such a dress are better able to carry their provisions; are fitter for the active Service we are engaged in; and less liable to sink under the fatigues of a long march, besides the advantages of contracting, by this means, our Line of march which must extend always in proportion as we are incumber'd with carriages or horses.

I have heard nothing from Capt^o Dagworthy since he marched; but expect the waggons are at Winchester by this time that I dispatched the same day.—I beg pardon for the liberty I have taken in recommending a letter for Maj^r Halkett to y^r care—With most sincere regard, I am,*

Sir, Y^r most Obed^t H^{ble} Serv^t

G^o Washington.

addressed.

Col^o Bouquet—Commanding
His Majesty's Forces—at
Rays Town.

Camp at Fort Cumberland
July 16th 1758.

Sir,

I was favour'd with your's of the 14th Inst. at 11 oClock last night: the Express who brought it informs me he was Fir'd at twice by 6 Indians, and oblig'd to abandon his horse.

There's partys gone from hence towards the enemy's country within these few days; the largest of them (consisting of an officer and 18 Cherrokees) march'd 3 days ago; I always send out some white people with the Indians, and will, to day or to morrow, send an officer and some alert white men with another party of Cherrokees, as you desire it: tho' I must confess that I think these scalping partys of Indians we send out will more effectually harrass the enemy (by keeping them under continuall alarms) than any partys of white people can do; as small partys of ours are not equal to the undertaking, and large ones must be discover'd by their scalping partys early enough to give the enemy time to repell them by a superior Force; and at all events a great probability of loosing many of our best men, and fatiguing many more before the most essential Services are enter'd on; and am afraid not answer the propos'd end.

You are pleas'd to desire my opinion with regard to making an irruption into the

* Omitted, except one paragraph, by Sparks.

Enemy's Country with a strong party—as such an enterprise at this juncture when we may suppose the enemy have or are collecting their principal force in that vicinity would require a formidable party, the supplying of which with provisions etc immediately, might be difficult ; and the march of such a body so considerable a distance must be discover'd, as they have partys continually watching our motions which woud too probably terminate in the miscarriage of the enterprise, and perhaps the destruction of our party, I should think it more eligible to defer it till the army reaches pretty near that country.

I shall direct the officer that marches towards the enemy to be at particular pains in reconnoitring General Braddock's road, tho' I have had repeated acco^{ts} of it's wanting such small repairs as can with ease be done as fast as the army can march. It is impossible for me to send out any men to repair it as Col^o Mercer and Capt. Dagworthy got every Tool for that purpose, I had, if we had tools to go upon the roads, the 2^d Comp^y of artificers would no doubt be wanted here, but as it is, I imagine they will be better employ'd wth you.

The malbehaviour of our Indians gives me great concern, if they were hearty in our Interest their services would be infinitely valuable ; as I cannot conceive the best white men to be equal to them in the woods ; but I fear they are too sensible of their high importance to us, to render us any very acceptable service.

As the par of Exchange between Virginia and Pensylvania is by the Laws of the two Provinces settled at 25 per cent, in favour of the former, I apprehend we can have no right to settle on any other footing ; especially as any material deviation therefrom might be productive of very bad consequences.

Since writing the above the warrior of the party of Cherrokees insisted on marching instantly, and that but one white man should go, they are gone, and I have given the white man the necessary orders relative to the roads, etc.

Inclosed is a Return of our provisions ; since w^{ch} was made out, the Marylanders drew for 200 men for 10 days.

I am, with great sincerity,

Sir

Your Most Ob^t and most hble Serv^t

G^o Washington

Camp near F^t Cumberland

19th July 1758.

Sir,

Your obliging favour of this date, I just now had the pleasure of receiving.—You make me quite happy by your coinciding in opinion with me, relative to the proposd expedition.—

Captⁿ Dagworthy's party return'd hither yesterday, in consequence of orders from Sir J^{no} St Clair forwarded by the Commanding Officer at Fort Frederick.—I have directed him to finish a bridge at this place, which I imagine he will effect by to morrow night ; with his tools I will next day send out a party on General Braddock's road, which I shall be able to reinforce when Col^o Mercer returns.

I am excessively obligd in the very handsome and polite manner by which you are pleased to give me leave to attend the election at Winchester,—tho my being there on that occasion woud, at any other time, be very agreeable to me— yet, at this juncture, I

can hardly persuade myself to think of being absent from my more immediate Duty, even for a few days—however, I will not come to any absolute determination in this matter till I receive answers to some letters on that subject—(which I expect this night or tomorrow) in the mean time I beg you will allow me to subscribe myself with great truth and sincerity,

Y^r most Obed^t & obligd Servant,

G^o Washington.

Camp at Fort Cumberland, 21st July 1758.

Dr Sir,

Before Col^o Stephen came to this place last night, I had abandond all thoughts of attending personally at the election in Winchester—determineing rather to leave the management of that matter to my friends, than be absent from my Regiment when there is a probability of its being called upon. I am now much pleased that I did do so.

Col^o Byrd has given me your letter of yesterday, in consequence I send you a return of the Forage,—and he writes to M^r Gist concerning Vermilion for the Indians.

We participate in the joy felt for the success of his Majestys arms at Louisburg &c., and sincerely lament the loss of that brave & active Nobleman, Lord How.

We have got the bridge finish'd at this place, and to morrow Major Peachy, with three hundred men proceed to open General Braddock's road,—I shall direct their going to Georges' Creek, 10 miles advanced.—by that time I may possibly hear from you, if they go further, it may be requisite to reinforce the party ; but this matter I suppose will be ordered according to the Rout determind on by the General : for it will be needless to open a road that no use is made of.

Col^o Stephen gives me some room to apprehend that a body of light troops may soon move on.—I pray your Interest most heartily, with the General, to get my Regiment and self included, in the Number.—If there needs any arguments to obtain this favour, I hope without vanity I may be allowd to say, that from long intimacy and scouting in these woods my men are as well acquainted with all the passes and difficulties as any troops, that will be employed, and therefore may answer any purpose intended by them, as well as any other body.

The General directs, that the Troops be provided with covers to their locks—where to get these I know not—there is but one possible way of succeeding, and that is by taking the neats hydes, and these will fall short,—the commissaries ask 18 /, a piece for them,—I should be glad of your advice in this case, as also what will [be ?] done with the waggons expected up in our next Convoy.—I can't say exactly what number there may be of them, but suppose the Provisions, Forage, and stores, cant employ less than 50.

I am, Sir, with great sincerity,

Y^r most Obed^t H^{ble} Serv.

G^o Washington.

**Please to offer my Compl^{ts}
to M^r Glen,—& forward a
Letter herewith sent to
Maj^r Halkett.**

To Col^o Bouquet—Commanding
His Majesty's Forces—
Rays Town.

Camp at Ray's Town, 24th July, 1758

Sir

The Inclosed came to my hand a few hours after I dispatchd my last by M^r Frazer. I did not know but it might enable you to determine better, what should be done with the waggons, and therefore send it.—If we are to lye at this place any time, perhaps you may think it advisable to send the waggons down for another Convoy.—I should not choose to propose any thing that might seem officious: but woud it not facilitate the operations of the Campaign if the Virginia troops were ordered to proceed as far (at least) as the great crossing of Yangyanggans, opening the road and constructing Posts at proper places, as they go. If any use is intended to be made of this road, from such a step, great advantages may certainly be derivd.—In this event, I should be glad to be join'd by that part of my Regiment now at Rays Town—

Major Peachy, who commands the working party on General Braddocks road writes me, that he finds little repairs wanting; I shall however direct him (to night) to proceed as far as Savage River and then return, as his Party is rather too weak to adventure further.

All the Indian Parties that went out, are now returnd (save one consisting of three only) without making and discoveries.*

I beg leave to assure you that I am most sincerely Sir,

Y^r most obed^t H^{ble} Serv^t

G^e Washington.

PS.

I enclose a Return of the provisions and stores coming up in the 2^d Convoy. *addressed.* On His Majesty's Service

To

Col^o Bouquet—Commanding

His Majesty's Troops

Rays Town

Camp at Fort Cumberland

25th of July, 1758.

Dear Sir,

I wrote you by Col^o Stephen, since which I have been favoured with your kind and agreeable Letter of yesterday.—

We have advice that our Second Convoy of seventy odd waggons (contents you were informd of in my last) will be at the South Branch to day, where I expect they will be join'd by some waggons with Forage—the number I cant ascertain—and all proceed to this place immediately.— On Friday I shall look for them.

I shall most chearfully proceed to work on any road;—pursue any rout;—or enter upon any service that the General or yourself can think me qualified for, or usefully employed in; and shall never have a will of my own where a point of Duty is required at my hands: but since you desire me to speake, permit me to observe this; that after having

* A few sentences of this letter, following the words, "I should not choose to propose," etc., are made introductory to a letter of the 25th July, only a few paragraphs of which are given by Sparks.

examined all the Guides, and been convinced by them, and every other Person who has knowledge of that country, that a road comparable to General Braddocks (or indeed fit for any service at all, even for carrying Horses) cannot be made ; I own, I say, after this, I should solicit that rout with less warmth—not because difficulties appear in it, but because I should much doubt giving satisfaction in the executive part. I don't know what reports your reconnoitring parties have given, but I have been told on all hands that if any thing is expected there, disappointments will ensue, for nothing can be taken that way without destroying of our carrying Horses, so extreame bad the Hills are.—

I should be extreme glad of one hours conference with you, and that after the General arrives ; I could then much readier determine ;—or, I think I could then demonstrate the advantages of pushing out a body of light troops on this Quarter— I should make a trip to Rays Town with great pleasure, if my absence here could be dispensed with a day or two, and that you can now be a judge of.

We shall need no provisions from you,—this Second Convoy added to what we have, will furnish us with a tolerable good stock.*

If Major Livingston, or any other officer at this place draws more than one ration, it is contrary to orders published here, and to my knowledge, and ought to be attributed to the Commissary, whose fault chiefly it must be for delivering it.

We have been obliged for the sake of our Cattle to remove our grass guard to Cresaps—15 miles from hence,—there the provisions is slaughtered, and served out to the guard, and to the Troop of light horse (also at that place)—it is therefore necessary that Mr Dow, or some other attendant of the Commissary's (or agent Victualler's) should be present and see to the issuing of it.

There were two Commissaries at this place, besides a numerous train of butchers, herds, &c. ; so immensely lazy that I was under a necessity of ordering some of them to attend the guard to keep them out of mischief.—The Commissaries looked upon the Cattle to be at the King's risque, were therefore easy what went with them—and, in short, gave themselves no trouble on that score till I made one of them attend, to number them night and morning.—

I send you a Return of the two Regiments, and the Maryland Troops, at this place, at the bottom of each Return is notified the number of Tents each Corps has received, and have by them. From thence you may judge of our wants—many of the officers, as I once before observed to you, are in the same condition with the private centinels in regard to tents.

Kelly and Stalnaker (two guides) are on the road with Major Peachy.—all the rest at this place I have directed to attend you.

It would be extreme inconveniens to me at this time, to Garrison the block house on Rays Town road—having such large Detachments already out—and the Camp duty very hard.

I am with most sincere Regard—

Dr Sir,

Yr very obed^t and affect. Serv^t

G^o Washington.

* This, and the paragraphs succeeding, to the close of the letter, are omitted by Sparks.

fo. 30.

Camp at Fort Cumberland,
28th July, 1758.

Dear Sir,

Your favour of yesterday I had the pleasure of receiving last night,—I detain'd the party till my adjutants return from Rays Town (which I hourly expected) imagining something by him might arrive, that would require answering by it.

I have inform'd Capt^a Dagworthy of the Orders for his march, he will depart therefore so soon as he can draw in his Men from the grass guard.

Inclos'd is a return of the tents wanting to compleat the first Virginia Regiment, and I have desir'd Col^o Byrd to send one for the second Regiment also.—

I shall agreeable to your directions, send back the waggons to Winchester, having receiv'd no orders either from the general or Sir John to the contrary.

Forty six of Col^o Byrd's Indians left this for their nation yesterday Evening, after having received their presents. I was much surpris'd to hear of a report spread, and prevailing in y^r camp, that a party of Shawqesse and Delawares were come into this place—there has not been the most distant cause for such a Report since I came here.—

As I shall have the great satisfaction of seeing you to morrow, will till then, defer entering on the most material part of your letter—In the meantime I beg leave to subscribe myself, with great sincerity,

Dear Sir

Y^r most Obed^t. H^{ble} Serv^t
G^o Washington.

A Return of Tents wanting to compleat five Companys of the 1st Kings' Reg^t at Fort Cumberland July 28th 1758.

Capt. Thos. Waggeners.....	9.
Capt. J ^{no} McNeels	1.
Capt. Henry Woodward.....	1.
Capt. Rob ^t M ^c Kenzie.....	1.

Totall.....12.

The above are what are absolutely wanted for the Non Commission'd Officers and soldiers at this place.

G^o Washington.Camp at Fort Cumberland
2^d of August, 1758.

Sir,

Those matters we talk'd of relative to the Roads, has since our parting been the object of my closest attention ; and so far am I from altering my opinion, that the more time and attention I give thereto, the more I am confirm'd in it ; the validity of the reasons for taking the old road appear in a stronger point of view. To enumerate the whole of these reasons would be tedious—and to you who is become so much master of that subject, unnecessary, therefore I will only briefly mention a few which I conceive so obvious in themselves, as must to any unbiass'd mind effectually remove what is objected to General Braddock's Road, and urg'd in favour of a road to be open'd from Rays Town—

Several years ago the Virginians and Pensylvanians commenced a trade with the Indians settled on the Ohio, and to remove the many inconveniences a bad road subjected—

them to, they after reiterated efforts to discover where a good one might be made were found ineffectual, employed several of the most intelligent Indians, who in the course of many years hunting acquired a perfect knowledge of these mountains to attempt it, but these Indians after having taken the greatest pains to gain the rewards then offered for this discovery declared the track leading from Will's creek was infinitely preferable to any that could be made at any other place—time and experience so clearly demonstrated this truth, that the Pennsylvania Traders commonly carried their goods thither by Will's Creek, therefore the Ohio Company in 1753 at a considerable expence opened a road thither—in 1754 the troops I then had the honour to command greatly repaired it as far as Gist's Plantation; and in 1755 it was widened, and completed by General Braddock within 6 miles of Fort Duquesne, consequently, a road that has been so long opened,—so well repaired,—and so often, must be much firmer, and better than a new one, allowing the ground to be originally, equally as good.

But supposing it was practicable to make a road from Rays Town quite as good as General Braddock's, I ask if we have time to do it?—certainly not—surmounting the vast difficulties to be encountered, in making it over such monstrous mountains covered with Woods and Rocks, would require so much time as to blast our otherwise well grounded hopes of striking the long wished for, and important stroke this season; and deferring it to another year, would, I am morally certain, be productive of the most destructive consequences to the Southern, and middle Colonies: for they have to make a noble push towards ending those calamities under which they so long have groaned; granted supplies, beyond their abilities—these funds will, in a few months be exhausted, the troops of course disbanded,—their inability and discouragement from so great a disappointment, will prevent their attempting a similar effort against another season; and experience evinces that expence and numbers, must be increased in proportion to our delays.

The Southern Indians have from our bad success and inactivity, long looked upon us in a despicable light, have already committed hostilities on our frontiers, and only wait the result of this campaign to unmask themselves; would be such an acquisition to the enemy as might terminate in our destruction.

The favourable accounts some give, of the Forage on the Rays Town Road being so much better than the other, is certainly exaggerated—greatly,—as every unprejudiced person who are acquainted with both, agree that the only difference between the mountains here, and there is, that those are more inaccessible, and it is well known that in both, the rich valleys between the mountains abound with good food, and those that are stony and brushy are destitute. Col^o Byrd and the Engineer who accompanied him confirm this truth—and surely the meadows on this road, would greatly over ballance the advantage of having grass to the foot of the ridge (on this side the mountain) on the Rays Town Road: and all agree that a more barren road is no where to be found than Rays Town to the inhabitants, which is likewise to be considered with the badness of the road.

And the principal objection made to General Braddock's Road is that of the waters to pass—but these very rarely swell so much as to obstruct the passage.—The Youghaughane which is the most rapid and soonest filled, I with a body of troops have crossed after 30 odd days almost constant rain.—In fine, any difficulties that may arise therefrom are so trivial, that they are really not worth mentioning.—The Monongahila, the largest of all these rivers, may, if necessary, be easily avoided (as Mr Frazer (the principal Guide) informed me, by passing a defile, which I cannot conceive to be so bad as commonly represented; but even that he tells me may be shunned.

It is said again, that there are many defiles on this road—I grant there are some, but know of none that cannot be traversed if found necessary; and I should be glad to know if a road can be had over these mountains not subject to this inconvenience—unless they kept the heights always, and that is impracticable.

The shortness of the road from Rays Town to Fort Duquesne by Loyal hanny, is used as an argument in disfavour of this road; and bears something in it, unaccountable to me; for I must beg leave to ask here, if it requires more time, or is it more difficult and expensive, to go 145 miles in a good road already made to our hands, or to cut a road 100 miles in length, great part of which over almost inaccessible mountains,—and—to say, or think, we can do nothing more this fall than to fortify some Post on the other side of the mountains, and prepare against another campaign I must pray Heaven—most fervently—to avert! till we find it impracticable at least to prosecute with prudence the enterprise in hand. We have yet time enough to transport Provisions to last the siege, and to support the Troops that may Winter there, as I shall endeavour hereafter to shew,—at any rate it never can be an argument for opening the other road at this time, because supposing we are not able to do more than construct a Post on tother side the mountains—that Post undoubtedly should be on a road that has the easiest, and nearest communication with the settlements, where supplies are to be drawn from; for to say nothing of the great advantage of water carriage this way, which certainly is immense (as you will find by Doctr Ross's estimation that you shewd me) or of the infinite odds in the goodness of the Roads, which is very evident to all who have travel'd both—either from the inhabitants to the advanced posts, or from the advanced posts to Fort Duquesne. I say, to put these reasons aside (altho they ought to have their due weight) yet this way, as being so much nearer the settlements has much the advantage.—That it is nearer Winchester in Virginia, and Fort Frederick in Maryland, by many miles are incontestable facts; and I here shew the difference of ye two Roads to Carlyle; by giving you the distance of the different stages; some of which I have from information only, but believe them to be just.

From Carlyle to Fort Duquesne, by Rays Town.

From Carlyle to Shippensburg	21 miles.
From Shippensburg to Ft Loudoun	24 —
From Ft Loudoun to Ft Lyttleton	20 —
From Ft Lyttleton to Juneattasing	14 —
From Juneatta to Ray's Town	14 —
	<hr/>
	93
From Ray's Town to Ft Duquesne	100 — 193.

From Carlyle to Ft Duquesne, by Ft Fredk and Cumberland.

From Carlyle to Shippensburg	21 miles.
From Shippensburg to Chambers	12 —
From Chambers to Paulins	12 —
From Paulins to Ft Frederick	12 —
From Ft Fredk to Ft Cumberland	40 —
	<hr/>
	97
From Ft Cumberland to Ft Duquesne	115 — 212.

By this computation there appears to be a difference of 19 miles only, were all the supplies oblig'd to come from Carlyle, it is well known that the goodness of this road is a sufficient compensation for the shortness of the other, as the wreckd and broken waggons there clearly demonstrate.

I shall next give you my Reason's against dividing the Army in the manner you propose, and after that endeavour to shew how the grass on the other Road can be made proper use of.

First then, by dividing our Army we divide our strength, and by pursuing quite distinct routs put it entirely out of the power of each division to succour the other, as the propos'd new Road, has no communication with the old—Secondly—to march in this manner will be attended with many Inconveniencies ; as first if we depart from our advanced posts at the same time, and make no deposits by the way, those Troops who go from Rays Town, as they will be light, having carrying horses only will arrive at Fort Duquesne long before the others ; and must, if the enemy are strong there, be expos'd possibly to many insults in their intrenchments from the cannon of the enemy, which they may draw out upon them at pleasure : if they are not strong enough to do this to that Division, we have but little to apprehend from them, go which way,—or how we will—Thirdly, if that Division that escorts the Convoy is permitted to march first, we risk our all in a manner, and are ruin'd if any accident happen to the Artillery—to the stores, &c.—and lastly, if we advance on both roads by deposits we must double our number of troops over the mountains, and distress ourselves by victualling of them in these deposits ; besides losing the propos'd advantage, that of stealing a March—for we cannot suppose the French who have their Scouts constantly out, can be so deficient in point of intelligence, as to be unacquainted with our motions when we are advancing by slow degrees towards them.—

Now Sir, the advantage I woud propose to make of the Forage along the other path is, to support all the carrying horses that can possibly be collected, and sent that way after we are fortunate enough to lye before Fort Duquesne—here not only the carrying horses that were used out as such, but officers horses, and even the waggon horses also, may be employed in this service of saddles or packs are provided in the meantime at Rays Town for them to return with.

Great advantages may be deriv'd from such a measure, because as the food of the old road woud be entirely eaten up going, and the horses get weak, it wou'd be impossible, that the waggons cou'd return for another convoy ; tho' the horses might nevertheless be in a condition to come down light—along a road abounding with Food, and be able to carry up another Convoy giving them two or three days rest at the most convenient feeding places—by this means the waggon horses woud be eas'd of the fatigue of bringing down even the empty waggons, which is something along a Road strip'd of the Food—In the condition the horses by this time may be suppos'd to be, they will, I conceive, carry near or quite as much weight on their back as they cou'd draw in a waggon.

From what has been said relative to the two Roads, it appears I think very clearly, that the old one is infinitely better than the other can be made—and, that there is no room to hesitate a moment which to take, when we consider the advanced Season, and little time left to execute our plan in—I shall therefore in the last place offer (as desir'd) my sentiments on advancing by deposits ; the first of which I shoud have been forgetting at the little meadows woud time have permitted, but, as the case now stands, I suppose at the great crossing or great meadows our first must be form'd—the great crossing I esteem the most advantageous post on several accounts, especially that of water,

and security of the passage ; but then, it does not abound in Food as the g^t meadows, nor has not so much level land about it fit for culture.

To this latter place a body of 1500 men may march with 300 waggons or carrying horses, (which wou'd be much better) equivalent allow each waggon to carry 800 lbs of flour, and 400 of Salt meat you carry 40 days provisions of the former, and 20 of the latter for 6000 men ; besides your live Cattle, any number of which might, but ought not to be carried for these two reasons—first, they woud destroy your pasturage—and next—your men being employed at work, you woud have none to attend, or guard them.—Your next convoy, which I suppose to consist of 500 provision waggons and all the Army; will, at the above rate, carry 66 days provisions of flour and 33 of salt flesh, besides 6 days which the men may carry on their backs ; as it is supposed the 1500 are to do also, so that you have at the meadows according to this calculation, 113 days Flour, and 56 salt meat, deducting the daily consumption.—Now, to accomplish this in, I allow 26 days ; viz, to the great meadows 8—to unload and return in 6;—Then I allow the army 12 days more to prepare and arrive in ; by which time I apprehend our works may be finishd, and the whole ready to proceed.—

Our next Deposite probably will be at salt lick, about 35 miles from the meadows—to this place I conceive it necessary to send 2500 men to construct some post ; taking 6 days provisions only, which is sufficient to serve them till the Convoy comes up ; against which time I suppose an Intrenchd camp, or some other kind of defensible work may be effected—and from hence I conceive it highly expedient to detach 3000 or 4000 of the best troops to Invest the place, and prevent if possible an Ingagement in the woods which of all things ought to be avoided.—The Artillery and stores may be up from Salt Lick in four days, and from that time I will allow 18 days more for the carrying horses to perform a trip to Rays Town for provisions ; passing along the old path by Layal hanny ; in this time they may do it ; as the horses will go down light ; but what quantity of provisions they can bring up, I cannot say, that depending upon the number of horses fitted out with saddles, &c.

From this state of the matter (which is really a candid one) and from my calculations, in which large allowances are made for the quantity of provisions, as well as for the time of transporting them ; it appears, that from the time the Front Division begins its march from hence, till the whole army gets before Fort Duquesne is 34 days, at which time there will be 87 days provisions on hand, allowing for the consumption on the March ; and that 18 days added to this make 52 in all ; which is required for our operations, and these ought to be finished if possible by the middle of October.—

I have offerd nothing, but what to me appears beyond a probability :—I have nothing to fear but for general service, and no hopes but the advantages it will derive from the success of our operations ; therefore cannot be supposd to have any private interest or sinister views, by any freedom my regard for the benefit of the service on this occasion, has inducd me to use.*

I am

with very great respect, Sir,

Y^r most obed^t H^{ble} Serv^t

G^d Washington.

Col. Bouquet.

* This notable letter is radically changed by Sparks, many paragraphs omitted, etc.

Camp at Fort Cumberland,
6th August 1758

Dear Sir,

The Generals Orders,—or the Orders of any Superior Officer will, when once given, be a Law to me.—I shall never hesitate in obeying them—but, till this Order came out, I thought it incumbent upon me to say what I could to divert you (the Commanding Officer present) from a resolution of opening a new road, of which I had the most unfavourable reports, and believe from the height of the hills—the steepness of them, the unevenness of the ground in general—and what above all principally weigh'd with me the shortness of the Season, that it was impossible to open a road in time to answer our purpose.—I am still in this opinion partly from my own observations of the country—and partly from the information of as good judges as any that will be employed. My duty therefore to his Majesty, and the Colony whose troops I have the honour to Command, oblig'd me to declare my sentiments upon the occasion with that candour and freedom of which you are witness: If I am deceiv'd in my opinion, I shall acknowledge my error as becomes a gentleman led astray from judgment, and not by prejudice in opposing a measure so conducive to the public Weal as you seem to have conceiv'd this to be. If I unfortunately am right; my conduct will acquit me of having discharg'd my duty on this important occasion; on the good success of which, our all, in a manner depends.

I have repaired the road over the mountain at this place as Sir J^{no} St. Clair desir'd—I had also sent the 2nd Company of Artificers to make bridges on the Rays Town road according to your Orders transmitted by Col^o Stephen to me.—'Twas yesterday before I could get them in, and to-day they march.

Nineteen waggons came here yesterday loaded with Ball (musket Ball) from Fort Frederick,—18 more left their loads at the Old Town, and are gone back—the first 19 waggons and an escort are gone to bring up their load, and will be here to-day—I can't send you a return of the contents having received none.—

The waggoners are constantly applying for grain—I should be glad if you would direct how I am to act in this case.

Inclos'd is a return of provisions wanting to serve us till our next Convoy arrives from Winchester we have not above 5 days flour upon hand.—I shall therefore send the waggons to Rays Town tomorrow for this article &c.—after they return from the old Town.—

Twelve Tents was the number I return'd for, and they are arriv'd safe.

If you approve of it, I would send 50 men the length of the great ring to way lay the Road thereabouts: I think it the most eligible method of getting a prisoner for intelligence; the enemy are watchful when they are near our garrisons, and it is too far and unsafe to bring one from their own.

D^r Sir,

Y^r most obed^t H^{ble} Serv^t

G^o Washington.

To Col^o Bouquet.

Camp at Fort Cumberland
7th Aug^t 1758.

D^r Sir,

Capt^o Waggoner with 50 men and 19 Waggons wait upon you for provisions agreeable to my yesterday's return.

A Letter which I have just receiv'd from M^r Walker tells me, that the Convoy may be

expected at Pearsalls the 15th and desires that the escort (already consisting of 75 men) may be reinforced; as the Waggon and Cattle will cover a large space of ground.

Pray what will you have done with those Waggon when they come up, also with these now going for provisions when they return from Rays Town.

I was this Inst^t favourd with your's per Express. I am not surprizd to hear the Enemy are about, but was greatly so to find them idle so long—I shall this moment send out a party to way lay the road—I am pleased you have directed it, I wrote for leave to do the same thing yesterday.

Includ is a return of the shott, &c. that have been brought to this place since my arrival here.

I am D^r Sir

Y^r most obed^t Serv^t

G^o Washington

To

Col^o Bouquet--Commanding at
Rays Town.

Camp at Fort Cumberland

13th Aug^t 1758.

Dear Sir,

Your favour of the 9th I was honourd with the 11th—39 waggon are loaded with stores according to your desire; 8 others contain 160 Bushels of Indian Corn which with 94 delivrd to 47 waggoners returning to you (two bushels to each) and 18 more to the Maryland waggon master takes all the grain we have save about 60 bushels reservd for the light horse, Captⁿ Stewart telling me it was your order he should have grain.

The Maryland waggon under M^r Long, will go with an escort (intended to reinforce that with the Convoy) from Winchester to Pearsalls for the grain at that place; with which they shall proceed to Rays Town when that Convoy does; according to orders.

We have neither grindstones or intrenching tools at this place.

I offer you my sincere congratulations upon your safe return from Loyal hanning—and upon the discovery of a good road—which I hear you have made.—I am, with very great regard,

D^r Sir, Y^r most obed^t & most

H^{ble} Serv^t

G^o Washington.

Camp at Fort Cumberland

13th Aug. 1758.

D^r Sir

The waggon met with all possible dispatch in loading, but being assurd that the = horses were not able to return till to day, I did not order them off sooner.—

My soldiers cloathing, unluckily, are sent to this place—if I march that way I shall take them along; with those of that part of the regiment now under my care, since we are likely to make so late a Campaigne of it,

I send Orders to Captⁿ Stewart to detach half his Troop under an Officer to you—they are not yet arrivd from the grass guard 15 miles off.

I wish with all my soul you may continue to find little difficulty in opening your road—I am certain if you find much, you will not have time for any other service this Campaign.

I detachd Captⁿ M^c Kenzie with 4 officers and 75 rank and file to way-lay the road at the great crossing—from him a serjeant and 4 active woodsmen of my regiment were to proceed to Fort Du-quesne so that I am in great hopes we shall be able to get some Intelligence of the enemy's strength at that place.

I could wish most sincerely that our Acc^t from the North ward were clearer, and more favourable than they appear to be—If you have any intelligence from Ticonderoga I should be extream thankful for the Acc^t we have expect^d hourly to hear that Louisburg is in our hands—pray heaven we may not be disappointed at last,

I transmitted your request of Cattle to M^r Walker per Express—No Tools are yet arrivd from Fort Frederick—nor have we any minors at this place—there were one or two pretty good ones in my own Company—and where that Company is you are the best judge.

I am, D^r Sir,

Y^r most obed^t H^{ble} Serv^t

G^o Washington.

P S. I must beg the fav^r of you to
forward the Inclosd to Maj^r Lewis
it regards the Cloath^s of my Regiment.

Camp at Fort Cumberland

18th Aug. 1758.

Dear Sir,

I am favoured with yours of yesterday, intimating the probability of my proceeding with a body of troops on G.— B— r—d and desiring my retaining, for that purpose, a months provisions at this place, a thing which I should be extreme fond of, but as I cannot possibly know what quantity of provisions may be necessary for that time, without knowing the number of men I may probably march with, and when it is likely we may leave this, I hope you will be pleasd to give me the necessary information on this head.—as also how this place is to be garrisond & what provisions and stores should be left here.

I have talkd a good deal with Kelly upon the nature of the intervening ground, from the new R—d to B— and from what he says I apprehend it impracticable to effect a junction with the troops on the new R—d till we advance near the S—t L—k—which is no great distance from F— D—Q. and how far it may be advisable to send a small body of troops so near the Enemy at so great a distance from the Army without any kind of tools (which is certainly our case) for repairing the Roads, or throwing up any kind of defence in case of need, I shall not presume to say, but I cannot help observing, that all the guides and Indians are to be drawn from hence and that the greatest part of my regiment is on the other road; so that I have but few remaining with me of the first regiment, and 8 companies of the second, only, whose officers and men can be supposd to know little of the Service, and less of the country, and near, or I believe quite a fifth of them sick.—I thought it incumbent on me to mention these things that you might know our condition; at the same time I beg leave to assure you that nothing will give me greater pleasure than to proceed with any number of men, that the general or yourself may think proper to Order.—

With regard to keeping out a succession of strong parties on this R—d from the troops here, I must beg leave to observe, that we have not so much as one carrying horse to take provis^{ns} out upon—being under a necessity tother day of pressing five horses from

some Country men, (that came to Camp on business) before I could equip Capt^a M^c Kenzie's party for a 14 days march.—That we have not an oz. of salt provisions of any kind here, and that it is impossible to preserve the fresh, especially as we have no salt neither) by any other means than Barbacuring it in the Indian manner; in doing which it looses near a half, so that a party who receives 10 days provisions will be obliged to live on little better than 5 days allowance of meat kind—a thing impracticable—a great many of Col^o Boyds men are, as I before remarkd, very sickly, the rest became low spirited and dejected,—of course the greatest share of that service must fall upon the 4 companies of the first regiment.—This sickness and depression of spirits, cannot arise I conceive from the situation of our Camp, which is undoubtedly the most healthy and best air'd in this Vicinity, but is causd I apprehend by the change in their way of living (most of them till now having lived in ease and affluence) and by the limestone water and air,—the sold^rs of ye 1st w^d be sickly like those of the 2^d Reg^t was it not owing to some such causes is these.—

Capt^a M^cKenzie's party is not yet return'd—I will advertise you of his discoveries if any are made by him.—

We have reasons to believe that parties of the enemy are about us likewise—yesterday afternoon a waggoner had his horse shot under him ab^t 3 miles from hence—

The Convoy from Winchester has been detained much longer than was expected—M^r Walker desird a party to reinforce the escort at Pearsalls (30 miles distant) the 15th Inst. which was accordingly sent, but I have since been inform'd that the waggons did not leave Winchester till a few days ago.

We have no Indian goods of any kind here—It gives me great pleasure to hear that the General is getting better, and expected soon at Rays Town.

Col^o Boyd joins me in his Compliments to you.

I am

D^r. Sir

Y^r. most obed^t & most h^ble Serv^t

G^o Washington.

Dear Sir

This afternoon the party commanded by Capt^a M^cKenzie return'd without being able to discover anything of the Enemy's motions, they waylaid the road for several days near the great Crossings and intended to have advanc'd quite to that Post, had not their provisions entirely spoil'd, notwithstanding every method and the utmost pains for its preservation was taken, some of their advanc'd sentrys had nearly killed a small party of 3 Cherrokee Indians, returning from war—this small party went from hence upwards of six weeks ago and this is the 4th day since they left Fort Du Quesne, the environs of which they long watchd, at length was obligd to cross the Ohio, where they killd two squaws whose scalps they brought in here, they say there are a good many women and children on that side the river, but very few men either French or Indians at the Fort. Capt. M^c Kenzie says there is no signs of the Enemy, having been lately on G. Braddocks Road so far as he proceed on it. Serg^t Scot and 4 private of his party went on to Fort Du Quesne so soon as they return will transmit you any intelligence they may procure.—

I should be extremely glad to receive some bacon or salt provisions of some kind, without which it will be impossible for any party I can send out to answer the proposd end.

The Convoy from Winchester was yesterday at the North River (five days march for them from hence) so that we cannot expect them in less than 5 or 6 days especially as they lost some horses—

I am with regard,

Dear Sir,

Your most ob^t

Hum^{ble} Servant

G^{eo} Washington.

Camp at Fort Cumberland

Aug. 19th 1758.

A party of Ab^t 90 Marylanders under Capt. Beal escorting a few store Waggon, is this Mom^t arriv'd—I shall forward them to Rays Town tomorrow agreeable to Sir J^{no} St^t Clairs Orders.

Y^{rs} &c

G^{eo} Washington—

Camp at Fort Cumberland

21th August 1758.

Dear Sir,

Thirty Cuttawba's came here this Evening— and the Convoy may be expected on Wednesday, as it was at Pearsalls last night—

Governor Sharpe I am told will be here in a day or two—I am at a loss to know how he ranks, and whether he is entitled to the command—In the Army he ranks as Lieut Colonel only—but what his pretensions as Governor in his own Province is, I really don't know, or whether he has any or not.—I should therefore be glad of your advice, being unwilling either to dispute the point wrongfully, or to give up the Command to him if it is my right—Neither of which I would do knowingly—at all events I shall keep it till I hear from you.

I am, Sir

Y^r most obed^t H^{ble} Serv^t

G^{eo} Washington.

To

Colonel Bouquet, Command-
ing His Majesty's Forces—at
Rays Town—

Camp at Fort Cumberland

24th August 1758

Dear Sir,

Your favour of the 21th Inst—accompanied by the 20 Pack Horses with about 3000^{lb} of salt pork came safe to hand.

I had the pleasure likewise of receiving yours of the 23^d the Generals happy recovery affords me vast satisfaction, and am glad the New Road turns out so much to your liking.

on dors.
150 at London
300 at Phil:
700 at Winchester
200 ordered

1350

The Convoy from Winchester arrived here yesterday in the Evening—they set out with 468 Beves, 9 were killed on the road and 411 were delivered at this place, the rest were lost on the road ; but as the Officer sent immediately back after them we are in hopes the greater part of them will be found—

As only 26000^{lbs} of Flour came up (which is not quite a months' provisions for the Troops here) I have according to your Orders detain'd it likewise 90 Beeves, the rest sets out early to-morrow morning as does all the Forage except 60 Bushels of Corn.

When the Convoy got within 6 miles of this place 3 Cuttawba men and 2 squaws contrary to the advice of the Officers, set on before the Convoy for their Garrison, and soon after were fired upon by 10 or 12 of the Enemy who killed Captⁿ Bullen and Captⁿ French and wounded one of the Squaws.—The loss we sustain by the death of these two Indian Warriors is at this juncture very considerable as they were very remarkable for their bravery, and attachment to our interests—particularly poor Bullen, whom (and the other) we buried with Military Honours.—The rest of the Cuttawbas, and what Nottaway's and Tuscaroras that are here sets out to-morrow with the waggons for Rays Town.

As we had intelligence of several parties of the Enemy being about I detach'd parties different ways in hopes of coming up, or cutting of the retreat of some of them but without any effect—At same time I reinforced the Convoy with 50 men.

There are several waggons which came up here with the flour, that I am at a loss what to do with—

Serjeant Scot (mentioned in a late letter) this day returned.—He when within 2 miles of Fort Duquesne came upon a few fresh trails making inwards which he followed, apprehending that they were just at hand, till his provisions were expended, and was thereby oblig'd to return without making and discoveries worth mentioning.—I am glad Mr. Chen and M^r Allen has been able to give you Acc^{ts} so agreeable.

Captⁿ Woodward of the first Regiment 3 Subs and 75 Rank and file marches to-morrow with 12 day's provisions to waylay the road in y^e same manner as Captⁿ M^cKenzie did.

Inclosed are exact returns of our Strength here.

I am

D^r Sir,

Y^r Most Obed^t H^{ble} Serv^t

G^o Washington.

Camp at Fort Cumberland,

28th Aug^t 1758.

Dear Sir,

Your favour by M^r Hoops has in some measure reviv'd a hope that was almost extinguish'd—of doing something this Campaign—We must doubtless expect to encounter many difficulties in opening a new road thro' bad grounds in a woody Country of which the enemy are possess'd but since you hope our point may be carried I woud feign expect the surmounting these obstacles—tis a melancholy reflection tho' to find there is even a doubt of success when so much is depending—and when in all Human probability we might have been in full possession of the Ohio by now, if rather than running ourselves into difficulties and expence of cutting an entire new road the distance we have first and last Bradocks had been adopter

Every one knows what could have been done the old road—few can guess what will be the new, their being not only the difficulties of y^e Road to encounter, but the chance of a French re-inforcement also, but it is useless to add on this head—I should rather apologise for what I have said.

All the waggons at this place fit for service, comes to you under the escort orderd for M^r Hoops—

Any Troops not of Virginia, shall be forwarded to you according to Order—and I could wish most sincerely that our rout was fixd that we might be in motion, for we are all of us most heartily tird, and sick of inactivity.—Col^o Byrd in particular is really ill.

Frazer having left this with the Convoy must be with you e'er now.—I am very glad to hear that your artillery pass the Alligany with so much ease.

A Letter which Col^o Byrd rec^d from the Gen^l of the 19th Ins^t gives room to imagine that the destination of the Virginia troops will be fixed upon so soon as he arrives at Rays Town, as he there expresses a desire of seeing Col^o Byrd and I there immediately.

M^r Walker was a long time as he enformed me, under doubtful Orders in regard to his purchase of cattle, so that he was obligd at last to pick up what he could get at a short warning; which is I believe, the real reason of the cattle not having so good as they otherwise might be.—

I am, Sir

Y^r most obed^t H^{ble} Serv^t

G^o Washington.--

Letter to Col. Washington

August—. 1758

Sir

I had the pleasure of two Letters from you this morning, and as one of them was upon a most important subject, I read it with great attention, as every thing that has been so seriously considered by you deserves my utmost regard, your agreements are clear, and delivered with that openness and candour that becomes a gentleman and a soldier, but give me leave, my dear Sir, to answer you in the same stile. At the same time that I was favoured with your letter, I receivd one from the General with express orders to begin to open the road from this place across the Allegany mountains, and as I shall always observe the directions of a superior officer with readiness, there was no room left to hesitate; in the present case I shall execute them with greater pleasure, as Col. Burd who is this moment arrived from Edmund swamp, whether he had accompanied S^r John S^t Clair, assures me that a very good waggon road may be made with ease and speed through the gap that we have lately discovered, and this is the joint opinion of every person who went, they also agree that there are great numbers of fine springs the whole way, and good food for horses so far as they have yet gone, Sir John went forward this morning, and sent me back word by a person coming from Major Armstrong, that as far as he had gone he found the road good, and every other thing answering our expectations I cannot therefore entertain the least doubt that we shall all now go on hand in hand and that the same zeal for the service that has hitherto been so distinguishing a part of your character will carry you by Reas Town over the Alligany mountains to Fort du Quesne.

Yours &c.

Henry Bouquet.

WASHINGTON TO BOUQUET.

Camp at Fort Cumberland
2^d Sept. 1758

Dear Sir

Your Letters of the 30th and 31st ult^o I was favoured with in the Evening yesterday—not time enough tho to prepare my answer till to day and for safety I have detain'd the Express for the Cover of night—

I enclose you an exact return of all the ammuniton and provisions w^{ch} we have at this place that you may be judge what supply is necessary to send here—If the pork is in Keggs of a 100 lb and the flour in baggs they can easily be carried on Horse back ; and I shoud for many reasons, prefer back loans infinitely to waggons—Tools, powder and lead might also be carried on horse back which woud reduce our number of waggons and facilitate our march greatly—indeed this is absolutely necessary to be done—or else, so small a body as we shall compose, are exposd to many insults, extended in such a manner as a number of waggons must necessarily occasion in our line of March.

If it was possible I coud march with carrying horses only, and those good, I coud be at the place you mention in six days—but if I am incumbred with any number of waggons it will possibly be *sic* and if the teams shoud be bad there is no guessing at the time.

The sick most certainly must go to the general hospital, for we can neither afford surgeons nor medicines from the Regiment to be left for their benefit—and many are not in a condition to move.

I have wrote to M^r Walker—or person acting in his place for the waggons you desire ; they coud easily have been had on timely notice, but now I cannot promise—in case he succeed I have desidrd him to apply to Lord Fairfax for an escort of the militia but I can't promise he will get one.

I am extreemely sorry to hear of the miscarriage of y^e letters ; it may be attended with bad consequences—We have rejoyc'd here on the happy occasion of Louisburg's reduction and I most heartily wish the same success may attend his majesty's arms in other parts.

I shall be very desirous of a conference with the General before I march, as there may be many thing necessary to settle, I shall loose no time in attending him when I have notice of his arrival—

The Officer that commanded the escort from Winchester is detachd 15 miles hence (at our grass guard) so that I cannot just now get the certificates you desire.—I have no person here who can give me any satisfactory acct of the way and distance between the two roads as you desire.

I have heard nothing yet from Captⁿ Woodward's party on Wednesday last serjeant Scot with five men went out once more to try their success at Fort Duquesne—I can answer for his good endeavours but it is not more tedious than dangerous bringing a prisoner such a distance.

Colo Byrd is very ill but desires nevertheless that his compliments may be made to you.

I am

D^r Sir, Y^r most Obed^t H^{ble} Serv^t

G^o Washington.

29th Nov^r 1758.D^r Sir

It has been represented to the Gen^l that is, will be very inconvenient for the Virginia Troops to March along Gen^l Braddocks Road as their necessities of every kind are at Loyal Shannon (men as well as Officers) and that the advantages proposd on pursuing the old road, viz. that if opening y^e road it, [*sic*] are very trivial, as this can always be done faster than a body of men can march, (a little repair being wanted only) the General from these considerations seems now Inclind to Order us down by Loyal Shannon—I thought it expedient to inform you of this—being Sir,

Y^e most Obed^t H^{ble} Serv^tG^o WashingtonTo Coll^o BouquetMonday 9 ^oClock P. M.

Dear Sir,

You will be surprisd (till I give you a reason for it) at receiving a Letter from a Person in the same Camp with you and who has free access at all times to your Tent.—But when I tell you that we were interrupted while conversing on a very important matter, and that I did not certainly know whether I might have another opportunity of renewing the Conversation till you had some how or other settled the point with the General, I flatter myself you will excuse the freedom I now beg leave to use with you.

I don't doubt Sir but you have thoroughly considered the practicability of the scheme you this night mentioned to me and the good or evil consequences to be derivd there from, according to its success—it might therefore seem unreasonable to offer the following crude thoughts, did I not believe you are desirous of hearing opinions—at least—on this occasion.

How far then do you believe our stock of provisions—to say nothing of other matters—will allow you to execute this plan?—will it last till we could reduce Fort Duquesne and march back to the inhabitants—or receive a supply elsewhere?—if it woud do this, the measure may be right; but if it will not, what is the consequence. Is it not neglecting the strengthening of this place—consuming the provisions that shoud support a Garrison here, and abandoning our Artillery either to the Enemy or a general destruction—It appears to me in that light—

Now suppose the Enemy gives us a meeting in the field and we put them to the rout, what do we gain by it? perhaps triple their loss of Men in the first place, tho' our numbers may be greatly superior (and if I may be allowed to judge from what I have seen of late, we should not highten much that *good* opinion they seem to have of our skill in wood fighting)—therefore to risk an engagement when so much depends upon it, without having the accomplishment of the main point in view, appears in my Eye, to be a little imprudent—could we suppose the Enemy woud immediately evacuate their Fort in case of a defeat in the Wood—or as I before observd could we be certain of provisions in y^e other event, I think not a moments time is left for hesitation—but one or tother of these we ought to be assurd of—you I am sensible stand very little indeed of any of these suggestions—which are thrown together in haste, as I waited till this moment almost, expecting to see you—You will at least pardon this liberty and believe me to be,

Your most obed^t H^{ble} Serv^tG^o WashingtonTo. Col^o Bouquet.

In June 1792, the Earl of Buchan* wrote to President Washington, suggesting that America might become a happy and prosperous country, by adopting a policy of non-interference in the political affairs of Europe. He dwelt on the folly of preferring the indulgence of national pride, vanity, and resentment—a warlike policy leading to bankruptcy and misery—to the slow but certain benefits to be permanently obtained by peace and internal prosperity. He also recommended two great objects to the attention of the President: peace and union with the Indians, and national education. In his reply, which is given below, Washington not only shows that non-interference is the American policy, but introduces his favorite scheme of internal improvements which would bind the sections together and make the Republic great as well as prosperous.

My Lord,

PHILADELPHIA, APRIL 22nd 1793.

You might, from appearances, suspect me of inattention to the honor, of your correspondence:—and if you should, I can assure you it would give me pain.—Or you might conceive that, I had rather make excuses that acknowledge, in time, the receipt of your favors, as this is the second instance of considerable lapse between the dates of them and my acknowledgements:—this also would hurt me—for the truth is, that your favor of the 22nd of last Octob^r. under cover of one from Doct^r Anderson of the 3rd of November, accompanying the 7th 8. 9. 10 and 11th volumes of the Bee, did not come to my hands until the 18th of the present month.

Having by me the rough draught of the letter I had the honor of addressing to your Lordship in May, I do agreeably to your request, transmit a copy thereof.—It is difficult for me, however, to account for the miscarriage or delay of the original, as it was committed to the care of M^r Robertson at his *own* request, to be forwarded along with the Portrait of me which (for the reasons therein assigned) a preference had been given of him to take for your Lordship—both of which I expected you had received long since.—

The works of Doct^r Anderson do him much credit—and when they are more extensively known will, I am persuaded, meet a very ready sale in this Country.—I have taken occasion to mention his wish to a member of the Philosophical Society of this City, who has promised to bring his name forward at the next meeting:—entertaining no doubt of his being readily admitted; as his pretensions are known to stand upon solid ground.

The favorable wishes which your Lordship has expressed for the prosperity of this young and rising Country, cannot but be gratefully received by all its citizens, and every lover of it.—One mean to the contribution of which, and its happiness, is very judiciously portrayed in the following words of your letter, “to be little heard of in the great world of Politics” These words I can assure your Lordship are expressive of my sentiments on this head; and I believe it is the sincere wish of United America to have nothing to do with the Political intrigues, or the squabbles of European Nations; but on the contrary, to exchange commodities and live in peace and amity with all the inhabitants of the Earth; and this I am persuaded they will do, if rightfully it can be done.—To administer justice to, and receive it from every Power with whom they are connected will, I hope, be always found the most prominent feature in the administration of this Country; and I flatter my-

self that nothing short of imperious Necessity can occasion a breach with any of them.— Under such a System if we are allowed to pursue it, the Agricultural and Mechanical Arts :—the wealth and population of these States will encrease with that degree of rapidity as to baffle all calculation—and must surpass any idea your Lordship can, hitherto, have entertained on the occasion.—To evince that our views (whether realised or not) are expanded, I take the liberty of sending you the plan of a New City, situated about the centre of the Union of these States which is designed for the permanent Seat of the Government.—And we are at this moment deeply engaged, and far advanced in extending the inland Navigation of the River (Potomac) on which it stands and the branches thereof through a tract of as rich Country—for hundreds of miles—as any in the world.—Nor is this a Solitary instance of attempts of the kind, although it is the only one which is near completion, & in partial use.—Several other very important ones are commenced and little doubt is entertained that in ten years if left undisturbed we shall open a communication by Water with all the Lakes Northward and Westward of us with which we have territorial connections ;—and an inland Navigation in a few years more from Rhode Island to Georgia inclusively—partly by cuts between the great Bays & Sounds—& partly between the Islands & Sand Banks & the Main from Albemarle Sound to the River St. Mary's.— To these, may be added, the erection of bridges over considerable Rivers, & the Commencement of Turn-Pike-Roads as indications of the improvements in hand.—

The family of Fairfax's in Virginia, of whom you speak, are also related to me by several inter marriages before it came into this Country (as I am informed) and since ; and what remain of the old stock are near neighbours to my Estate of Mount Vernon.—

The late Lord (Thomas) with whom I was perfectly acquainted—lived at the distance of sixty miles from me after he had removed from Belvoir (the Seat of his kinsman) which adjoins my estate just mentioned ; and is going to be inhabited by a young member of the family as soon as the house which some years ago was burnt can be rebuilt.

Your Lordship's Most Obed. H^{ble} Servant.

EARL OF BUCHAN.

G^o. WASHINGTON.

Washington's letters to Sir John Sinclair, during the four years following, on the subject of agriculture and manufactures in this country, are of surpassing interest. During this same period another distinguished American was engaged in answering questions relating to American methods of agriculture, and the progress made in establishing government under the Federal constitution. In November, 1793, Dr. Manasseh Cutler wrote to Dr. Jonathan Stokes at length on these interesting subjects, in whose letter there is a happy blending of information about woodlands and fallow fields with discussions of the influence of religious toleration and freedom of the press on a people left to govern themselves. The effect of all this correspondence was to promote the reëstablishment of friendly relations between the mother country and the young republic.

William Henry Smith

WASHINGTON AS AN ANGLER

WITH EXTRACTS FROM HIS DIARIES 1787-89

"All that are lovers of virtue be quiet and go a-Angling."—Izaak Walton.

[This paper, privately printed for the Centennial of Washington's fishing excursion during the Federal Convention in Philadelphia, is now issued for the second time with some additions, including President Cleveland's letter accepting the dedication. G. H. M.]

To Grover Cleveland, President of the United States :

It is known to me that there have been skilful fishermen, more than one, among the Chief Magistrates of the Nation. Your immediate predecessor has left an unsurpassed record among them, and it is with no ordinary pleasure that those of us who profess the faith and follow the precepts of "The Complete Angler" have been assured that you are inclined to indulge in similar recreation betimes. No good fisherman was ever a bad man, and history will bear out the assertion that the best Presidents have been the best fishermen. No one of the many biographers of the first President of the United States has done justice to the character of Washington in this important feature, and the present publication of extracts from his diaries is intended to be a timely tribute to his fame as a man among men, a fisherman among fishermen, in which it will be no disparagement to you to share. In the first century of this Nation's life he was the first and you have been called to be the last President. I trust that the beginning of the new era will find as good a fisherman as you are in office, and that the line may continue to stretch out, like that of the blood-boltered Banquo, till the crack of doom.

GEORGE H. MOORE.

LENOX LIBRARY, July, 1887.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, July 31, 1887.

Dr. George H. Moore :

MY DEAR SIR: Please accept my thanks for the little book you sent me entitled "Washington as an Angler."

I am much pleased to learn that the only element of greatness heretofore unnoticed in the life of Washington is thus supplied.

I am a little curious to know whether the absence of details as to the result of his fishing is owing to bad luck, a lack of toleration of fish stories at that time among anglers, or to the fact that, even as to the number of fish he caught, the Father of his Country could not tell a lie. Yours very truly,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

MR. SPARKS, in his life of Washington, has mentioned the report of tradition, that he displayed in his boyhood a passion for active sports, and a fondness for athletic amusements, which he did not relinquish in mature life. Other writers have repeated this general statement, but no one has pointed out his claim to be recognized as "a Brother of the Angle." Among his manuscripts hitherto unpublished he has left a very interesting record of his recreations at a period of his life when he was engaged in a service hardly less important to his country than that of his military career. Without him there would have been no United States to need a Constitution, and without him no Constitution would have been formed or established. He was the Saviour of his country in peace, as well as in war. As President of the Federal Convention in Philadelphia in the summer of 1787, he was punctually in his place during the arduous deliberations of that renowned assembly. After a very close application to business for more than two months, the Convention appointed a committee of detail to whom they referred the results of their previous action, with orders to prepare and report them in the form of a Constitution. The Convention then adjourned on Thursday, the twenty-sixth day of July, until Monday the sixth day of August.

It was duly reported in the newspapers of the day that on "Monday last [July 30th, 1787], his Excellency General Washington set out for *Moore Hall*, in order to visit his old quarters at the Valley Forge."

Moore Hall was the ancient stone mansion of William Moore, who has been characterized as "the most conspicuous and heroic figure in the County of Chester" in his day and generation. The building is still standing overlooking the Schuylkill and, three miles distant, the Valley Forge. Judge Moore, who was born in 1699, died in 1783, leaving a widow who survived him several years. At the time of General Washington's visit on this occasion, Moore Hall and Estate had already been offered for sale, by the following advertisement ;

" Philadelphia, July 5, 1787.

" TO BE SOLD

MOORE HALL.

" The Estate of the late *William Moore*, Esquire, situate upon the river Schuylkill, in the township of Charles Town, in the County of Chester, distant 23 miles from this city.

" The Estate consists of upwards of 600

acres of most excellent lands, 300 of which are arable, the remainder is woodland and meadow.

"The Mansion House is spacious, convenient and airy ; it is situated upon a high and healthy spot, and commands a most delightful view. The Barn is large ; the Stables and Offices are commodious. There is a very valuable Grist Mill on the premises, near the Mansion House, on a never failing stream, called Pickering, running through the estate, and watering a great body of meadow ; this stream empties itself into the Schuylkill in front of the house ; it formerly supplied water for a saw-mill, which might with much ease, and at a little expense, be replaced, and carried on to great advantage.

"This Estate may, with great convenience, be divided into three compact Farms, with a competent portion of arable land, woodland and meadow to each farm.

"For terms, apply to LEWIS WEISS, in Arch street, or PETER MILLER, Esq., in Third street.

"To be sold by Public Vendue.

"At the *Old Coffee House* in the City of Philadelphia, on Wednesday the 17th day of October next, at six o'clock in the Evening, if not previously disposed of at private sale * * * [the same premises.]

"Any person inclining to treat for the whole or a part of the Premises, before the day of sale, may know the terms by applying to * * * [as above]. September 17, 1787.

This ancient homestead, known in 1787 as the "Widow Moore's," was the objective point of General Washington's outing, when he set out to visit his old quarters at the Valley Forge. What a flood of recollections must have overwhelmed him as he fulfilled this purpose, and reviewed those scenes of past trials, sorrow and distress in the great light of patriotic hope after the hours of triumph ! The contrast must have been more impressive even than that visit to Lexington, neglected by historians, even of Massachusetts, when in his first vacation as President of the United

States, he "viewed the spot on which the first blood was drawn in the late glorious war," where

"Once the embattled farmers stood
And fired the shot heard round the world."

But historic places and reminiscences were by no means the only thing in view upon this excursion—perhaps not the main thing. What it all was cannot be better told than in General Washington's own brief sententious records of each day.

"Monday 30th July. In company with M^r Govern^r Morris went into the neighborhood of the Valley Forge to a Widow Moore's a fishing at whose house we lodged.

"Tuesday 31st [July]. Before breakfast I rode to the Valley Forge and over the whole Cantonment & Works of the American Army in the winter of 1777-8 and on my return to the Widow Moore's found Mr. & Mrs. Rob. Morris. Spent the day there fishing, &c & lodged at the same place.

Wednesday August 1. Returned ab^t 11 o'clock with the above Company to Philadelphia.

Friday 3^d Aug. 1787. Went up to Trenton on a Fishing Party with Mr. & Mrs. Rob^t Morris & Mr Gov^r Morris. Dined and lodged at Col^o Sam Ogden's.—In the evening fished.

Saturday 4th [Aug. 1787] In the morning and between breakfast and dinner fished. Dined at General Dickenson's and returned in the evening to Col^o Ogden's.

Sunday 5th [Aug. 1787.] Dined at Col^o Ogden's and about 4 o'clock set out for Philadelphia—halted an hour at Bristol and reached the city before 9 o'clock."

These were very notable fishing parties. The companions of Washington were old, tried and constant friends, always true and never found wanting.

Gouverneur Morris, of New York, one of the noblest of her sons, a great man and a good citizen, who could truly say that the welfare of his country was his single object during a conspicuous public career. He never sought, refused, or resigned an office, although there was no department of government in which he was not called to act; and it was the unvarying principle of his life, that the interest of his country must be preferred to every other interest. Such a man was Gouverneur Morris, the inspired penman of the Federal Constitution.

Robert Morris, of Pennsylvania, the great Financier of the Revolution, whose services to his country have never been justly appreciated, for his biography has never been justly written.

Mrs. Robert Morris, whose charming face, in the most beautiful and well preserved portrait of a woman ever painted by Gilbert Stuart, smiles on the vain effort of the writer to tell what is the real secret of its winning grace and lasting impression on every visitor to the Gallery of the Lenox Library, which is now its permanent home, and of which it is one of the principal ornaments.

The Widow Moore, the loyalty and devotion of whose husband is the best testimony to her merits. He has left the record in his will—"happy woman, a pattern of her sex, and worthy the relationship she bears to the Right Honorable and noble family from whence she sprang."

General Philemon Dickinson, a distinguished officer of the New Jersey line, a brother of that famous writer and patriot, who was the author of the "Farmer's Letters," both "Petitions to the King," and the "Declaration of the Continental Congress on taking up Arms in 1775."

Colonel Samuel Ogden, the brother-in-law of Gouverneur Morris, and like Dickinson, a worthy representative of that grand army of the Revolution, whose practical lessons of disinterested patriotism are so full of wisdom and instruction to every true-hearted American.

Truly this was a goodly company for any place or pursuit, with much of profitable entertainment therein for all concerned. Indeed, it may well be doubted whether anything recorded in the annals of angling anywhere can challenge it for distinction, all things considered. Certainly no American fishing party hitherto described can vie with it, for a moment, in historical interest and importance.

Another fishing excursion is mentioned in a later diary of Washington. When he made his great Northern and Eastern Tour, already alluded to, in 1789, Portsmouth in New Hampshire was the extreme point of his journey. While he was there, he was taken out to view the harbor, and to try his skill and luck in salt water. On Monday, November 2d, they went down to the outer harbour beyond the fort and the Light House, where, as he says himself,

"Having lines, we proceeded to the Fishing Banks a little without the Harbour, and fished for Cod; but it not being a proper time of tide, we only caught two, with w'ch, about 1 o'clock, we returned to Town."

There is pretty satisfactory evidence that Washington caught one of

these two codfish himself. Young John Drayton, of South Carolina, who visited Portsmouth in the summer of 1793, makes the following record in one of his letters :

“When the President of the United States was here, instead of wedding the sea as the Doge of Venice does, he may be said to have received a tribute from it ; for, I am informed, he caught a codfish himself, when indulging in one of these parties.”

His visit to Lexington, to which I have alluded, took place on his return towards New York. He had intended to go to that historic locality while he was yet in Boston, but on the day appointed, Monday, October 26th, his record is

“The day being Rainy and Stormy, myself much disordered by a cold and inflammation in the left eye, I was prevented from visiting Lexington, where the first blood in the dispute with G. Brit'n was drawn.”

Returning from Portsmouth, he left that place on Wednesday, the 4th of November, passing through Exeter, Haverhill and Andover, where on the 5th, he was received and escorted by the Hon. Samuel Phillips, Jr., President of the Senate of the Commonwealth and other gentlemen of the town. He made a short visit to Mr. Phillips, who attended him as far as Lexington, where they “dined and viewed the spot on which the first blood was spilt in the dispute with G. B. on the 19th of April, 1775.” His further route was continued through Watertown, and by what was known as the middle road to Hartford, Connecticut. He arrived in New York on Friday, the 13th November.

Future research may or may not reveal particulars of these fishings in the Schuylkill and the Delaware or their tributary streams, the character and weight of the catch, the methods of the sport in those days, and all the incidents which crowd such fleeting hours of charming recreation. I am content to have been the first to claim for George Washington his rightful place as an Angler—a genuine disciple of Izaak Walton.

GEORGE H. MOORE

THE STARS IN OUR FLAG

There is an idle story current that the stars in the union of our national flag were adopted from the stars in the coat-of-arms of General Washington, the centennial of whose inauguration as President of the United States, then meaning thirteen states, now thirty-eight, is about to be celebrated.

The words of the resolve of Congress inaugurating the stars and stripes, June 14, 1777, as to the union, are: "That the Union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a *new* constellation." I have underscored the word *new*. This word would indicate that some *old* constellation had been under consideration. Such was doubtless the fact, although only circumstantial evidence of that fact exists. At the time of the alteration of the flag of the colonies, June 14, 1777, eleven months and ten days subsequent to their Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776, the union of the flag of the colonies was the union of the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew on a blue field—the British Union Jack—while the field of the flag was the thirteen stripes, alternate red and white. John Adams, subsequently President of the United States, the father of John Quincy Adams, who was also a President of the United States, was chairman or president of the Board of War in 1777. In possession of his family, as I was informed by his grandson, the Hon. Charles Francis Adams, is an heirloom, a seal representing an eagle holding in his beak the lyre of Orpheus, an *old* constellation of thirteen stars, these stars radiating into a circle of thirteen stars, with the motto, *Nunc sidera ducit*, "Now it leads the stars," quoted from the description of the lyre of Orpheus in the *Astronomicon* of Manilius. Through the harmony of his lyre Orpheus is represented as having silenced the vigilance of the regions of Pluto, Hades, or the Shades, returned to earth, and led trees and rocks, vivified by the magic of his lyre, to follow where he led. Deified as a constellation of thirteen stars, his lyre was said to lead these celestial bodies, as it had silenced those of Hades and led the animate and inanimate bodies terrestrial, and whirls the immense orb of the world in its revolutions.*

* The language of the poet Manilius is:

At Lyra diductes per cœlum. Cornibus inter
Sidera conspicitur, qua quondam ceperat Orpheus
Omne quod attigerit cantu, manes que ipsos
domuit infernas carmine leges,

John Quincy Adams, when Secretary of State in 1820, substituted for the arms of the United States, on its passports, contrary to the practice of nations, the device above described of the lyre of Orpheus on the Adams heirloom. Under very special personal supervision of John Quincy Adams the lithographic stone for the United States passports bearing this device was prepared with great care by Mr. Stone of Washington, an eminent graver and lithographer. Mr. Stone informed me that Secretary John Quincy Adams would never even hint to him why this change in the passports was made.

When we consider the words of the resolve of June 14, 1777, above quoted, especially the words, "representing a *new* constellation," and



remembering the fact that the drawing of the first flag of the United States, in the State Department at Washington, represents the thirteen stars in a circle, it would seem to be suggested, that John Quincy Adams, by his new device, meant to preserve a silent record of an historical fact, of which, as his father was concerned, modesty forbade a more obvious record. If I be not mistaken, John Quincy Adams meant to show, that his father, John Adams, president of the Board of War, under whose consideration the subject of the flag necessarily came—which perforce had to be made distinctive, as the colonies had become, or at least had declared themselves, independent states—had *proposed*, that the

Hinc celestis honos, similisque potentia causæ :

Tunc silvas et saxa trahens nunc sidera ducit

Et rapidi immansam mundi revolubilis orbem.

II., 331-337.

old constellation of the lyre of Orpheus, of thirteen stars, away back in antiquity the astronomical emblem of union and harmony, should supplant the union of the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew in the union of the flag of the colonies now become states.* The thirteen stars of the lyre of Orpheus happily radiated into the union of thirteen stars without the lyre representing "a new constellation" was wisely resolved upon, as it would readily admit of acquisitions as time rolled on. The circle in the drawing of the thirteen stars in the first flag implied endless duration. The war of the rebellion made it a probable fact.

At this time, 1777, hero worship was not in vogue on this continent. George Washington was then not the George Washington of history. In 1777 the Conway Cabal† had taken root and ramified widely, with the intent of supplanting George Washington by General Horatio Gates, whose northern laurels, unjustly snatched from others at the battle of Saratoga, September 19, 1777, and Burgoyne's surrender, October 17, 1777, so soon wilted into weeping willows at Camden, South Carolina, August 16, 1780.

That stars had long typified eminent persons, all astronomy tells, the Pleiades, Castor and Pollux, and above them all, the Star of Bethlehem prove this. Stars in a constellation, as an emblem of a state, I have seen no mention of. Nor yet of a lyre. But the harp of Ireland is historic; so was the celestial constellation of the lyre of Orpheus, and being a constellation of thirteen stars, the exact number of the embryo states, would have certainly made it a seemingly apposite emblem in that respect, and it also was an emblem of union and harmony.

In 1777, on the window-panes of nearly every inn in New England, Sir Thomas Hollis tells us in his memoirs, were scratched the words, "Rebellion to Tyrants is obedience to God." They are over the so-called Regicide's Cave, East Rock, I think, New Haven, Connecticut. They were proposed by Dr. Franklin and Thomas Jefferson and John Adams for the obverse of the great seal of the United States, August 10, 1776.

* Journals of Congress, 1776, page 248.—"July 4, 1776. Dr. Franklin, Mr. J. Adams, & Thomas Jefferson be a committee to prepare a device for a Great Seal of the United States of America."

Page 321.—Aug. 10, 1776. The above committee reported: "The shield has six quarters, parts one, *coupé* two. The 1st or, a rose, enameled gules and argent for England; the 2d argent, a thistle proper, for Scotland; the 3d verd, a harp or, for Ireland; the 4th azure, a *flower de luce*, for France; the 5th or, the imperial eagle sable, for Germany; and the 6th or, the Belgic lion, gules for Holland, pointing out the countries from which the States have been peopled."

† The *American Encyclopædia*, Vol. 5, page 294, article—Conway Thomas. Under such circumstances, had coats-of-arms been popular, as they were not in the Northern colonies, that of Washington would scarcely have been turned to by a Massachusetts man to furnish an insignia for the new-born nation's flag.

Eminently significant words! They are the closing words of the epitaph inscribed on a cannon which marks the grave of John Bradshaw at Martha Bray, Jamaica, West Indies. John Bradshaw, called by the royalists the Chief of the Regicides, presided by appointment of Parliament over the commission which condemned Charles Stuart, Charles I. of England, to death for violations of the Constitution of England.

The cavaliers were men with coats-of-arms. The Parliament displayed the red cross of England, the armies of Charles I. the royal standard heavy with manifold coats-of-arms.

The New England men were not cavaliers. They drew their types of states from the Bible and from nature. Witness the tree of Massachusetts with the motto, "Appeal to Heaven," the grapevines of Connecticut with the motto, "Qui transtulit sustinet," Who brought us across the ocean will sustain us, the thistle of Virginia with the motto, "Nemo me impune lacesset," No one touches me with impunity. They cast their eyes to the Star of Bethlehem, and saw the stars singing together in God's blue heaven. They looked to God rather than man.

Schuyler Hamilton

A MEMORY OF THE REVOLUTION

General Frazer, who was the right arm of Burgoyne's expedition in 1777, was, next to Major Andre, the most interesting character among our foemen of the Revolution. He was killed in the decisive battle of October 7, 1777, and was buried under intensely interesting circumstances in a redoubt of his own construction on a hillock in the rear of the British camp. There has prevailed in that section of country a tradition that some sixty or seventy years ago his remains were removed by a party of Englishmen to England. On a visit of exploration to those parts in 1854, I made inquiry into the truth of the story; but the information I received was at heads and points, and very inconclusive on the subject. I suspect that the report grew out of a disinterment of the remains of a British officer, killed at the same time and buried not very far from Frazer's grave, as detailed in a letter dated in 1821, for which I am indebted to William L. Stone, secretary of the Saratoga Monument Association. This I synopsise for the benefit of readers who may be interested in the matter.

One morning, in the autumn of 1821, a carriage drove to the door of a Mr. Schuyler, at Wilbur's Basin, containing one aged and two younger men, who requested permission to dig for the remains of an officer buried on his farm forty-four years before. Having obtained Mr. Schuyler's assent, they procured a large box, and, under the direction of the elder of the party, proceeded to their work. Going to a large elm between the house and the river, this man set a compass, measured a certain distance, and having staked off a plat five feet by eight, ordered the laborers to commence digging carefully, and to stop on reaching any indications of decayed wood or bones. At a depth of about four feet they found such indications. The old man, much affected, then got into the pit, and gently removed the earth from what had been a wooden case about seven feet in length. Beneath this were the apparent remains of woollen blankets, and within them a human skeleton. There were found also two bayonets crossed upon the breast, a silver stock-buckle, a gold Masonic medal, and several musket balls, all of which were identified by the aged man, who with gushing tears gathered them carefully up and deposited them in the box, which was then carried away.

The party dined at Mr. Schuyler's, when the young gentlemen stated that the relics were those of an officer in Burgoyne's army, and that the

aged man was his servant, who with the aid of three soldiers had borne him off the field of battle mortally wounded; that the officer died under that elm tree, and that this faithful servant buried him in his uniform and with the aforesaid accompaniments, wrapping the body in several blankets, covering it with boards and marking the grave from the standpoint of the tree. All this was done in the hope of ultimately removing the remains to England.

After the peace, the servant began to importune the family to search for the bones of his dear master; but they had no confidence in his ability to find them, and the matter lay along, he still entreating, till the grandsons of the officer—the young gentlemen present—decided to gratify the faithful old man with an attempt at recovery. The result is already detailed. But the remains could not have been those of Frazer, whose ashes undoubtedly still rest in the redoubt, where they were laid in the gloaming of October 8, 1777, under the fire of the American artillery and the dust upthrown by cannon balls over the chaplain and attendant mourners. The burial scene—as described in the Baroness Reidesel's journal—forms one of the most graphic pictures in history. Why have not some of our American artists caught the inspiration of that narrative and endeavored to portray it on canvas?

Edw. B. Tanning

STOCKBRIDGE, MASS.

TRUTH IN LEGAL INVESTIGATION

THE TRUE GENESIS OF THE GREAT REFORM

The origin of that change in the law by which the testimony of parties interested in a law-suit is admitted, is brought out with much force, in the recent correspondence between the two well-known American jurists, Honorable Charles Johnston McCurdy and Honorable David Dudley Field. It is information that will interest every reader, whether citizen or lawyer.

There have been edited recently, in England, by Thomas H. Ward, M.A., two volumes of very able articles, furnished by various writers on the advancements and improvements during the reign of Queen Victoria.* One of the articles was written by Lord Justice Bowen on the administration of the law. After describing the inconsistencies, absurdities, and perversions of justice heretofore incident to the practice of the common law, he goes on to say :

“Perhaps the most serious blemish of all consisted in the established law of evidence, which excluded from giving testimony all witnesses who had even the minutest interest in the result, and, as a crowning paradox, even the parties to the suit themselves. ‘The evidence of interested witnesses,’ it was said, ‘can never induce any rational belief.’ The merchant whose name was forged to a bill of exchange had to sit by, silent and unheard, while his acquaintances were called to offer conjectures and beliefs as to the authenticity of the disputed signature from what they knew of his other writings. If a farmer in his gig ran over a foot passenger in the road, the two persons whom the law singled out to prohibit from becoming witnesses were the farmer and the foot passenger. In spite of the vigorous efforts of Lord Denman and others, to which the country owes so much, this final absurdity, which closed in court the mouths of those who knew most about the matter, was not removed till the year 1851.”

The true history of this confessedly great improvement, credited to Lord Denman and the English Bar, appears as follows :

* *The Reign of Queen Victoria. A Survey of Fifty Years of Progress. . . . In two Volumes.* London, 1887.

“LYME, CONN., SEPT. 31, 1887.

HON. DAVID D. FIELD,

Dear Sir.--An elaborate work has lately been published, describing in articles by eminent men the wonderful progress of improvements in Great Britain during the reign of Queen Victoria. One article by Lord Justice Bowen relates to the administration of justice. . . . After enumerating many of the wrongs and absurdities of the old system, he says: 'Perhaps the most serious blemish of all consisted in the established law of evidence, which excluded from giving testimony all witnesses who had even the minutest interest in the result, and, as a crowning paradox, even the parties to the suit themselves.' 'The evidence of interested witnesses,' it was said, 'can never induce any rational belief.' This absurdity was removed in the year 1851, at the instance of Lord Denman, and the act of Parliament allowing parties to testify has always been called by his name. The history of the change in *our* country is of course familiar to you, as you had much to do with it; but I think you will pardon me for directing your attention to it at this time. . . . In the year 1847, when I was holding the office of lieutenant governor and president of the senate of Connecticut, I drafted and introduced into the legislature a bill for a law enabling parties, as well as other persons interested in the event of the suit, to testify in their own cases; but it was violently opposed by the judges and older lawyers, and was rejected. The next year (1848), holding the same position, I renewed the attempt with success. The law went into immediate operation, and won the full approval of the Bar and the public. Soon afterwards (perhaps in 1849) you wrote to me asking the result. This I gave to you, and at the same time stated at some length the prominent arguments in favor of the law. My letter and your own views were published in your proposed Code, reported to the legislature of New York the 31st of December, 1849. In this way the change became generally known and was soon adopted throughout the Union.

When I went to London in January 1851 I took at your suggestion a letter from you to a committee on law reform there, and explained to them the change here, the reasons for it, and the results, in which they seemed to be much interested. At their instance I called on Lord Brougham for a similar purpose. Being at the time especially engaged, he requested me to call again. This I intended to do, but having made my arrangements to leave for Vienna, I did not keep the appointment. You were so kind as to send me a copy of your proposed Code, but I do not now find it. I shall be greatly obliged if you will lend me another, to be immediately returned. Will you please also advise whether it is not just and proper to

put on record the true genesis of that great improvement in one of the most important of all human transactions—the administration of justice?

With great respect your friend,

CHAS. J. McCURDY."

"NEW YORK, Oct. 22, 1887.

My Dear Sir :

It was pleasant to receive on my return from abroad a letter from my old friend and co-worker. Extreme pressure of business has prevented my answering sooner. Most certainly it is desirable that everything connected with so desirable a reform as the opening of the doors to truth in legal investigations should be known. I have no hesitation in advising you to 'put on record the true genesis of the great improvement,' in which we led the way. Give the circumstances and the details, and refer to documents, particularly published documents, so far as practicable. I know that the English got the idea from you. It is your right, and, I may add, your duty.

Ever faithfully yours, &c., &c.,

DAVID DUDLEY FIELD.

HON. CHARLES J. McCURDY.

P. S.—I cannot now lay my hand on the pamphlet to which you refer, but when I can do so you shall have it."

"LYME, CONN., Nov. 1887.

HON. DAVID DUDLEY FIELD,

My Dear Sir :—I return by mail the book which you were so good as to send me, and thank you for the use of it. I will soon prepare and submit to you a brief statement of the facts, chiefly taken from our letters.

Of course we do not pretend to have originated the idea that parties should be allowed to testify. This had been suggested by Livingston, Bentham, and others. But we may well claim that it was in *our own country* and largely by *our* efforts that the great right was *first guaranteed* to them by statute; that it was under such influences that the crust of inveterate prejudices was *first* effectually broken through, the accumulated unwisdom of a thousand years was set aside, and a reform was established which in some sense revolutionized the administration of justice, and is destined to continue forever.

Very truly your friend,

CHAS. J. McCURDY."

The following is an extract from the report of Messrs. Field and Associate Commissioners to the Legislature of New York, Dec. 31st, 1849, accompanying their proposed Code :

"In this completed Code, we are for abolishing the remaining portion of the rule of exclusion, and for declaring parties competent as well as others. This has already been done in Connecticut, by a section of the Revised Statutes of 1849, as follows :

'No person shall be disqualified as a witness in any suit or proceeding at law, or in equity, by reason of his interest in the event of the same, as a party or otherwise, or by reason of his conviction of a crime ; but such interest or conviction may be shown for the purpose of affecting his credit.' (Revised Statutes of Connecticut, 1849, page 86, Sec. 141. In the margin of the page the time of the passage of the law is given as 1848.)

One of the Commissioners has taken occasion to inquire into the operation of this law, and has received the following answer on the subject from the Lieutenant Governor of that State, which we think will serve to remove any apprehension respecting the result of a similar law here :

"LYME, CONN., Dec. 10th, 1849.

Dear Sir :

I have delayed answering your inquiry, respecting the operation of our law allowing parties in civil causes to testify, partly in consequence of other engagements, but principally for the purpose of enabling me to speak with some confidence on the subject. As the statute is recent, and excepts from its provisions suits pending at its passage, the experiment has not been fully tested. So far, however, as it has been tried, I may safely say, after conversing with eminent gentlemen of the Bar, in different parts of the State, and from my own observation, professional and judicial, that the result is highly satisfactory. So important a change in the rules of evidence met of course, at the outset, a very earnest opposition ; especially (with some distinguished exceptions) from the senior members of the profession. Their fears, I believe, are in a great measure quieted, and I am not aware of any intention or desire to attempt a return to the old system.

Many innovations on the principles of the common law, relating to the admissibility of interested witnesses, had formerly been made in Connecticut. The most common action with us is book debt, and in this the parties and others having an interest in the event of the suit had always been allowed to testify. The action of account at law is still in constant use here, in which the same rule exists. In other cases special statutes had obviated the difficulties arising from the restrictions of the common law,

until it was found that either both of the parties, or one of them, were permitted, or might be required, to testify, in about twenty of the different forms of civil and judicial proceedings. These changes having proved salutary, it was at last deemed safe and expedient to throw open the door entirely. There appears no tendency to go back, and, as soon as the new system is firmly established, I think it will be a matter of surprise that any other should ever have obtained.

It would seem to be a principle of natural justice, that a person whose rights are at stake, should at least have the privilege of telling his own story, and making his own explanations—that he should have the right of saying to the law ‘Strike, but hear.’ Generally he must know more of the facts than anybody else. The objection of course is that his testimony is not to be relied upon on account of his interest. But I think the presumption of falsehood from that cause, in the majority of instances, is not warranted by experience. Such a presumption exists nowhere except in a tribunal of justice. In the daily transactions of life it finds no place. Business could hardly be done, or society be held together, if men in fact lied whenever it was for their interest. The first persons to whom we ordinarily go, in searching for the true facts of an occurrence, are the parties themselves.

I doubt again whether the new rule will lead to an increase of perjury. Men who would be guilty of that crime themselves, can usually find others to commit it for them, especially when there is no danger of a contradiction. This is frequently exemplified in the proof of pretended declarations and confessions.

Nor do I believe it will increase litigation. Many a suit is brought, or defended, solely because the mouth is shut whose voice would be conclusive to defeat or sustain it. Much of the time of courts, and the property of suitors, is spent in settling questions on this subject, and especially the nice distinctions between credibility and competency. The common law is said to be the ‘accumulated wisdom of a thousand years.’ In accumulating its wisdom in this branch, it has probably cost millions of money.

The inconsistencies of the common law, on this point, are too palpable to escape notice. A witness is excluded who is interested to the value of a cent *in the event of the suit*, but is not, if interested to the amount of thousands, or his whole estate, in the *question* at issue. The party himself is excluded, but not his father or child, though their bias may be equal, or their interest really identical. A party claiming to be injured may be a witness in a criminal suit instigated by himself, but not in a civil one for

the same cause, though his feelings, interests and passions may be involved alike in both.

A member of a public corporation, as a town, may testify, but a member of a private one, as a turnpike company, cannot, though each may be interested in the same manner and to the same extent ; as, for instance, to avoid the liability arising from a defective bridge. There is a large class of cases where a person interested is admitted, from what is called 'the necessity of the case.' If this means because he is the best or the only witness, why should not the rule be co-extensive with the reason ? which would make it universal. But I am expressing opinions and giving reasons, when I suppose you simply expected facts. My excuse is the earnestness of my conviction on the subject. Trusting confidently that here and elsewhere the change will be found a most important improvement in the administration of justice,

I am, very respectfully,

Your friend and obedient serv't,

CHARLES J. McCURDY."

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

TWO INTERESTING LETTERS OF WASHINGTON

From Originals in the Collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.

[FIRST LETTER]

General Washington to Lund Washington, who was his agent at Mount Vernon.

Camp at Cambridge Aug 20th 1775.

Dear Lund

Your letter by Captain Prince came to my hands last night. I was glad to learn by it that all are well. The acc't given of the Scotchmen at Fort Tobacco and Piscataway surprised and vexed me. Why did they Imbark in the cause? What do they say for themselves? What do others say of them? Are they admitted into company? Or kicked out of it? What do their countrymen urge in justification of them? They are fertile in inventing and will offer excuses where excuses can be made. I cannot say but I am curious to learn the reasons why men who have subscribed or bound themselves to each other and their country, to stand forth in defence of it, should lay down their arms the first moment they were called upon.

Although I never hear of the mill under the direction of Simpson without a degree of warmth and vexation at his extreme stupidity, yet if you can spare money from other purposes, I could wish to have it sent to him, that it may, if possible, be set a going before the works get ruined and spoilt, and my whole money perhaps totally lost. If I am really to lose Barnam's debt to me it will be a pretty severe stroke upon the back of Adams, and the Expense I am led into by that confounded fellow Simpson, and necessarily so in starting my lands under the management of Cleveland.

Spinning should go forward with all possible despatch, as we shall have nothing else to depend upon if these disputes continue another year. I can hardly think that Lord Dunmore can act so base and unmanly a part as to think of seizing Mrs Washington by way of revenge upon me; however, as I suppose she is before this time gone over to Mr Calvert's, and will soon after returning go to New Kent, she will be out of his reach for 2 or 3 months to come, in which time matters may and probably will take such a turn as to render her removal either absolutely necessary, or quite useless. I am nevertheless exceedingly thankful to the gentlemen of Alexandria for their friendly attention to this point, and desire you will, if there is any sort of reason to suspect a thing of this kind, provide a kitchen for her in Alexandria, or some other place of safety elsewhere for her and my papers.

The people of this government have obtained a character which they by no means deserved. Their officers generally speaking are the most indifferent kind of people I ever saw. I have already broke one colonel and five captains for cowardice, and for drawing more pay and provisions than they had men in their companies. There are two more colonels now under arrest, and to be tried for the same offences—in short they are by no means such troops, in any respect, as you are led to believe of them from the accounts which are published, but I need not make myself enemies among them, by this declaration, although it is consistent with truth. I dare say the men would fight very well (if properly officered) although they are an exceedingly dirty and nasty people. Had they been properly conducted at Bunker Hill (on the 17th of June) or those that were there properly supported, the Regulars would have met with shameful defeat, and a much more considerable loss than they did, which is now known to be exactly 1057, killed and wounded—it was for their behaviour on that occasion that the above officers were broke, for I never spared one that was accused of cowardice, but brought them to immediate tryal.

Our lines of defence are now compleate, as near so at least as can be. We now wish them to come out, as soon as they please, but they (that is the enemy) discover no inclination to quit their own works of defence, and as it is almost impossible for us to get to them, we do nothing but watch each others motions all day at the distance of about a mile, every now and then picking off a stragler when we can catch them without their intrenchments; in return they often attempt to cannonade our lines, to no other purpose than the waste of a considerable quantity of Powder to themselves, which we should be very glad to get.

What does Dr Craik say to the behaviour of his countrymen and towns people? Remember me kindly to him and tell him that I should be very glad to see him here if there was anything worth his acceptance, but the Massachusetts people suffer nothing to go by them that they can lay hands upon.

I wish the money could be had from Hill and the bills of exchange (except Col Fairfax's, which ought to be sent to him immediately) turned into cash; you might then, I should think, be able to furnish Simpson with about £300; but you are to recollect that I have got Cleveland and the hired people with him to pay also. I would not have you buy a single bushel of wheat till you can see with some kind of certainty what market the flour is to go to, and if you cannot find sufficient Employm't in repairing the mill works and other things of this kind for Mr Roberts and Thomas Holferd, they must be closely employed in making casks or working at the carpenters or other business, or otherwise they must be discharged, for it is not reasonable, as all mill business will probably be at an end for awhile, that I am to pay them £100 a year to be idle. I should think Roberts himself must see, or be sensible of the reasonableness of this request, as I believe few millwrights find Employm't, if our ports are shut up, and the wheat kept in the straw, or otherwise for greater security.

I will write to Mr Milnor to forward you a good country bolting cloth for Simpson, which endeavor to have conveyed to him by the first safe conveyance. I wish you would quicken Sapphire and Sears about the Dining Room chimney-piece (to be executed as mentioned in one of my last letters), as I could wish to have that end of the house compleately finished before I return. I wish you had done the end of the new kitchen near the garden, as also the old kitchen with rusticated boards ; however, as it is not, I would have the corners done so in the manner of our new church (those two especially which front the quarter—what have you done with the well ? Is that walled up ? Have you any accounts of the painter ? How does he behave at Fredericksburg ?

I must approve of your sowing wheat in clear ground, although you should be late in doing it, if for no other purpose than a tryal. It is a growing, I find, as well as a new practice, that of overseers keeping horses, and for what purpose unless it be to make fat horses at my expense I know not, as it is no saving of my own horses. I do not like the custom, and wish you would break it—but do as you wish, as I cannot pretend to interfere at this distance.

Remember me kindly to all the neighbors who inquire after

Your affectionate friend

and servant

• G. Washington

[SECOND LETTER]

General Washington to George Mason, Esqr, of Gunston Hall.

Camp at Middlebrook,

March 27, 1779.

Dear Sir,

By some interruption of the last week's mail, your favor of the 8th did not reach my hands till last night. Under cover of this Mr. Mason (if he should not have sailed &c) to whom I heartily wish a perfect restoration of health, will receive two letters ; one of these to the Marquis de la Fayette and the other to Doctor Franklin ; in furnishing which I am happy, as I wish for instances in which I can testify the sincerity of my regard for you.

Our Commissary of Prisoners hath been invariably and pointedly instructed to exchange those officers who were first captivated as far as rank will apply ; and I have every reason to believe he has obeyed the order ; as I have refused a great many applications for irregular exchanges in consequence—and I did it because I would not depart from my principles and thereby incur the charge of partiality. It sometimes happens that officers later in captivity than others, have been exchanged before them ; but it is in case where the rank of the enemy's officers in our possession, do not apply to the latter. There is a prospect now I think of a general exchange taking place, which will be very pleasing to the parties and their connexions ; and will be a means of relieving much distress to individuals,

though it may not, circumstanced as we are at this time, be advantageous to us, considered in a national and political point of view. Partial exchanges have for some time past being discontinued by the enemy.

Though it is not in my power to devote much time to private correspondence, owing to the multiplicity of public letters (and other business) I have to read, write, and transact ; yet I can with great truth assure you that it would afford me very singular pleasure to be favored at all times with your sentiments in a leisure hour, upon public matters of general concernment as well as those which more immediately respect your own state (if proper conveyances render prudent a free communication). I am particularly desirous of it at this time, because I view things very differently, I fear, from what people in general do, who seem to think the contest is at an end ; and to make money and get place, the only things now remaining to do. I have seen without despondency (even for a moment) the hours which America has stiled her gloomy ones, but I have beheld no day since the commencement of hostilities that I have thought her liberties in such danger as at present. Friends and foes seem now to combine to pull down the goodly fabric we have hitherto been raising at the expense of so much time, blood, and treasure—and unless the bodies political will exert themselves to bring things back to first principles, correct abuses, and punish our internal foes, inevitable ruin must follow. Indeed we seem to be verging so fast to destruction, that I am filled with sensations to which I have been a stranger till within these three months. One beholds with exultation and joy, how effectually we labor for their benefit ; and from being in a state of absolute despair, and on the point of evacuating America, are now on tiptoe. Nothing therefore in my judgement can save us but a total reformation in our own conduct, or some decisive turn to affairs in Europe. The former *Alas !* to our shame be it spoken ! is less likely to happen than the latter, as it is more consistent with the views of the speculators—various tribes of money makers—and stock jobbers of all denominations, to continue the war for their own private emolument, without considering that their avarice and thirst for gain must plunge everything (including themselves) in one common ruin.

Were I to indulge my present feelings and give loose to that freedom of expression which my unreserved friendship for you would lead me to, I should say a great deal on this subject ; but letters are liable to so many accidents, and the sentiments of men in office sought after by the enemy with so much avidity, and besides conveying useful knowledge (if they get into their hands) for the superstructure of their plans is often perverted to the worst of purposes, that I shall be somewhat reserved, notwithstanding this letter goes by a private hand to Mount Vernon. I cannot refrain lamenting however in the most poignant terms, the fatal policy too prevalent in most of the states, of employing their ablest men at home in posts of honor or profit, all the great national interests are fixed upon a solid basis. To me it appears no unjust simile to compare the affairs of this great continent to the

mechanism of a clock, each state representing some one or other of the smaller parts of it, which they are endeavoring to put in fine order without considering how useless and unavailing their labor, unless the great wheel, or spring which is to set the whole in motion is also well attended to and kept in good order. I allude to no particular state, nor do I mean to cast reflections upon any one of them—nor ought I, it may be said, to do so upon their representations, but as it is a fact too notorious that C—— is rent by party, that much business of a trifling nature and personal concernment withdraws their attention from matters of great national moment at this critical period—when it is also known that idleness and dissipation takes place of close attention and application, no man who wishes well to the liberties of his country and desires to see its rights established, can avoid crying out, where are our men of abilities? Why do they not come forth to save their country? Let this voice, my dear sir, call upon you—Jefferson, and others; do not form a mistaken opinion that we are about to set down under our own vine and our own fig tree, let our hitherto noble struggle end in ignominy—believe me when I tell you there is danger of it. I have pretty good reason for thinking that administration a little while ago had resolved to give the matter up, and negotiate peace with us upon almost any terms, but I shall be much mistaken if they do not have from the present state of our currency, dissensions, and other circumstances, a disposition to push matters to the utmost extremity. Nothing I am sure will prevent it but the interposition of Spain and their disappointed hopes from Russia.

I thank you most cordially for your kind offer of rendering me services. I shall without reserve call upon you whenever instances occur that may require it, being with the sincerest regard

d' Sir

y^r most obedient

affectionate friend and servant

G Washington

George Mason Esqr
Gunston Hall

THE DEATH OF WASHINGTON

TWO PRIVATE UNPUBLISHED LETTERS

Contributed by Henry T. Drowne.

Theodore Foster to Dr. Solomon Drowne.

Philadelphia, Dec. 20, 1799.—

Dear Sir,

Another Week has Joined itself the First Eternity.—It has been a Week of Hurry with Me—and I have not as I intended commissioned a fair sheet of Paper to bear to my Friend the Greetings of Regard which the Feelings of my Heart

prompt me to wish & pray be conveyed to Me—and the Consequence is I am obliged as last Week only tell you I write in Haste and that I intend doing better—

THE GREAT AND THE GOOD WASHINGTON HAS GONE—He has Left his Life as a Model for the Statesmen, the Heroes and the Patriots of all after Ages. I would send you an Account of the particulars of the Death of this Great Man who Died last Saturday Evening: But you will [see] the whole in the Public Papers. I hope soon to hear from you and that you and yours are well—Accept my best Wishes for you and them and excuse me for writing you only this hasty Scrawl for the Purpose of reminding you of

your sincerely affectionate Friend

Theodore Foster

Sarah Drowne to Dr. Solomon Drowne.

Providence, R. I., December 25th, 1799.

My Dear Brother.

To express myself in the old style, I wish you and yours a Merry Christmas and happy New-Year.

To day Rev. Mr. Gano had a Meeting at the Baptist Meeting House, on the occasion.

Rev. Mr. Wilson has celebrated the day for several years. I think the whole world should do it.

Most sincerely do I sympathize with you on
our very great National Loss,
The *incomparable Washington* :—
Never was, or can be—the following lines better applied.

'Death ere thou hast slain another,
Wise, and great, and good as he,
Time shall throw his Dart at thee ;'—
Yet his fame shall live till time shall be no more.—

* * * * *

Yours Truly,

Sarah Drowne.

To Dr. Solomon Drowne

MINOR TOPICS

HENRY CRUGER VAN SCHAACK

Our readers will turn with sorrowful interest to the Notes in the last number (January) of this Magazine, one of which, entitled "Life Long Friendships," was contributed by the late Hon. Henry C. Van Schaack—probably the very last work of his fertile pen. He died on the 18th of December 1887, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, at his home in Manlius, New York, where he had resided some sixty years. He was the son of Peter Van Schaack, the classmate and intimate friend of Chief Justice John Jay, of whom he wrote in "Life Long Friendships." He was born in 1802. He was a lawyer devoted to his profession, with scholarly tastes in many directions, and a typical gentleman of the old school. He was for fifty years the treasurer and a vestryman of the Episcopal Church, president of the Old Settlers' Association of Onondaga county, an active member of the old Whig party for many years, and subsequently of the Republican party, but always declined any office associated with remuneration, preferring the practice of his profession, the enjoyment of his literary pursuits and the surroundings of a most happy household. He was on terms of great intimacy and friendship with President Fillmore, and yet would accept no evidence of his favor by an appointment, except the placing of his son as a cadet at West Point.

He was excessively fond of historic studies, and a vigorous writer on many historic themes. He published a *Life of Henry Cruger*, the first American representative in the British Parliament, *An Old Kinderhook Mansion*, and *A History of Manlius*, also the life and letters of his illustrious father, Peter Van Schaack, LL.D., of which latter work President Van Buren wrote: "I commend the good taste, sound sense and unusual ability which you have displayed in writing the life of your distinguished father, Peter Van Schaack."

He has been a frequent contributor to the *Magazine of American History*, one of his more recent papers having been published in its September issue of 1887. He has addressed the New York Historical Society and other public bodies at various periods, and his perfect knowledge of the men and times of which he spoke always commanded profound attention and favor. He was an honorary member of many historical societies whose libraries he enriched from his plentiful store of treasures. He possessed a remarkable collection of autographs of distinguished American revolutionary characters; it is believed to be one of the most interesting and extensive in the country, being made up not of signatures only, but of letters, nearly all of which are connected with interesting revolutionary and governmental matters. Inheriting many of these from his ancestors and diligently procuring others by exchange and purchase, he has found the greatest pleasure in the pursuit.

At an early age Mr. Van Schaack acquired a reputation for candor and integ-

city which he never lost. It is said that as a lawyer and lover of his chosen profession, he was indefatigable in the cause of his client, and always appeared in court thoroughly prepared. By his high sense of justice and honor, he maintained the respect of his opponents in all his legal controversies. Descended from a family of lawyers, his professional learning was of the highest order, and the purity and uprightness of his practice was apparent to all his legal associates.

ADDRESS TO GENERAL WASHINGTON, AUGUST 17, 1790

FROM THE HEBREW CONGREGATION, NEWPORT RHODE ISLAND

On Saturday, August 14, 1790, the President sailed from New York, on a visit to Rhode Island, accompanied by Governor George Clinton, Thomas Jefferson, Judge John Blair, Senator Theodore Foster, William Smith, representative from South Carolina, and Nicholas Gilman of New Hampshire, Colonel Humphreys, Major Jackson and Mr. Nelson. He arrived at Newport on Tuesday, August 17, where he was welcomed by a salute of cannon and escorted by a large procession of the citizens. In the afternoon he partook of an elegant dinner at the State House. The next morning he was formally addressed by the town, the clergy, and the society of Free Masons. The following address of the Hebrews does not appear in *Washington's Writings* edited by Sparks :

"To the President of the United States of America
Sir,

Permit the Children of the Stock of Abraham to approach you with the most cordial affection and esteem for your person and merits—and to join with our fellow Citizens in welcoming you to New Port

With pleasure we reflect on those days—those days of difficulty and danger, when the God of Israel, who delivered David from the peril of the sword—shielded your head on the day of battle : and we rejoice to think, that the same spirit who rested in the bosom of the greatly beloved Daniel, enabling him to preside over the Provinces of the Babylonish Empire, rests and will ever rest upon you, enabling you to discharge the arduous duties of Chief Magistrate in these States

Deprived as we heretofore have been of the invaluable rights of free Citizens, we now (with a deep sense of gratitude to the Almighty disposer of all events) behold a Government erected by the Majesty of the People—a Government which to bigotry gives no sanction, to persecution no assistance—but generously affording to All, liberty of conscience, and immunities of Citizenship—deeming every one of whatever nation, tongue or language equal parts of the great governmental machine. This so ample and extensive Federal Union whose basis is Philanthropy, Mutual Confidence and Publick virtue, we cannot but acknowledge to be the work of the Great God, who ruleth in the Armies of Heaven and among the Inhabitants of the Earth, doing whatsoever seemeth him good.

For all the Blessings of civil and religious liberty which we enjoy under an equal

and benign administration, We desire to send up our thanks to the Antient of Days—the great preserver of men—beseeching him who conducted our fore-fathers through the wilderness into the promised land, may graciously conduct you through all the difficulties and dangers of this mortal life :—and when like Joshua full of days, and full of honour, you are gathered to your Fathers, may you be admitted into the Heavenly Paradise, to partake of the water of life, and the tree of immortality

Done and Signed by Order of the Hebrew
Congregation in New Port Rhode Island
August 17th 1790

Moses Seixas
Warden "

PRESIDENT WASHINGTON'S SERVANTS AT NEW YORK

" A COOK,
is wanted for the
FAMILY of the PRESIDENT OF
the UNITED STATES

No one need apply who is not perfect in the business, and can bring indubitable testimonials of sobriety, honesty, and attention to the duties of the station.

A COACHMAN,

Who can be well recommended for his skill in Driving, attention to Horses, and for his honesty, sobriety, and good dispositions, would likewise find employment in the FAMILY of the PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES."

The above advertisement was displayed in the *New York Packet* from December 19, 1789, to January 19, 1790, when it disappeared, the President having no doubt secured sober and honest persons.

PETERSFIELD

WASHINGTONOPLE

NAME FOR THE NEW CAPITAL OF AMERICA.

To the United States in Congress assembled

The PETITION of the FEDERAL CITY,

Sheweth,
That your FEDERAL CITY must soon have a Name,
And wishes to have one—that may command fame.
To Posterity let it be full handed down,
Superior to each paltry City, or Toun—
And to please every Son of a great and free People,
Pray let it be christen'd plain WASHINGTONOPLE.

—*N. Y. Daily Gazette, August 8, 1791.*

PETERSFIELD

1791

WASHINGTON'S HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES, OCTOBER, 1783

(Communicated by I. M. Howe, M.D.)

An Account of moneys Expended for his Excellency the Commander in Chief's Family, by Cap^t Bazl. Howe for the Mo^t of Oct. 1783

Oct 1 st	To 3 Nutmeg's 3/5	To 36 lb Soap 1/2.	42/	2— 5— 5
2	To 1½ Bushels Corn 9/	To 2 Bushels Oysters 10/		—19—
	To 50 lb. Mutton 25/ (3 rd)	To 83 lb. Butter 124/6		7— 9— 6
	To 1 Turkey 4/	To 6½ Dozn Eggs 6/6		—10— 6
	To 6 Fowles 4/6	To 5 Bushels Oysters 25/		1— 9— 6
5	To 3 Doz ⁿ Lemmons 21/	To 4 Fowles 4/		1— 5—
	To 36 lb. Mutton 18/.	To ½ Carrots 2/6		1— 0— 6 14—19— 5
7	To 9 Doz ⁿ Eggs 9/.	To 24 lb. Gammon 24/		1—13
	To 22 lb Soap 22/	To 1 Turkey 3/9		1— 5— 9
	To 1 Goose 3/9.	To 48 lb. Mutton 24/		1— 7— 9
9	To Beets 4/6	To 7 Doz ⁿ Eggs 7/.	To Cash p ^d a begg ⁿ 7/6	19— 0
10	To 5½ Nutmegs 30/	To 4 Fowles 4/		1—14
	To Cash p ^d Peggy 22/.	To Ditto p ^d Dady 15/		1—17—
	To Ditto p ^d Warmsley 30/.	To 4 Fowles 4/		1—14 10—10— 6
13	To 4 Doz ⁿ Eggs 4/.	To 45 lb. Mutton 22/6		1— 6— 6
15	To 1 Keg ^g Beer 7/6	To 2 Turkeys 7/6		—15—
	To 6 lb Humey 7/6	To 2 Fowles 2/		—9— 6
	To 12 lb. Butter 18/.	To 1 Bushel Beets 5/6		1— 3— 6
	To 1 B. Potatoes 3/6	To 5 Bushels Oysters 22/6		1— 6
	To 52 lb. Bread 18/.	To 55 lb. Mutton 27/6		2— 5— 6
	To Joseph Skeltons Acc ^t Rend ^d for			8—15— 8 16— 1— 8
17	To 22 lb. Gambone 22/6	To 65 lb Bread 22/6		2— 5—
18	To 2 Turkeys 7/6	To 2 Neats Tongues 2/6		—10—
	To 6 Fowles 4/6	To 16 lb Butter 29/4		1—13—10 4— 8—10
20	To 56 lb. Mutton 28/	To 15 Doz Eggs 15/		2— 3—
	To 12 lb. Butter 12/.	To 55 lb Mutton 27/6		2— 9— 6
24	To 44 lb Butter 77/	To 3 Doz ⁿ Fowles 27/		5— 4
23	To 1 Turkey 3/9	To 6 quire Rapping paper 3/		—6— 9
24	To 23 lb Gammon 23/.	To 1 Goose 3/9		1— 6— 9
	To 1 Bushel Potatoes 3/9	To 1 Pigg 5/6		9— 3 11—19— 3
				<u>£57—19— 8</u>

NOTES

BARRELS OF SAND MARKED AS POWDER. WASHINGTON'S EXPERIENCE AT CAMBRIDGE IN 1775—The following extract from Edward Everett Hale's recent "Life of Washington" will be read with much interest in connection with Washington's private letter to Lund Washington, to be found on another page of this magazine. Mr. Hale says: "It would be difficult for the most dashing young marshal of the Napoleon school to have contrived more, and to have done more than Washington did in the eight months between his arrival in Cambridge and the departure of Howe from Boston. The history of those months is indeed dramatic. First of all there comes the terrible revelation that he and his army were almost entirely without powder. It is said that he was silent a long time after this revelation was made to him, and well may it have been that none of the gentlemen around him dared to break this silence. It is not yet fully explained how the misunderstanding took place by which he and the other officers in chief command had been deceived. It would seem that an effort had been made to conceal from the guards themselves the small amount of powder in the storehouses. This was an effort dictated by the finest military insight and is highly creditable to Ward, or whoever carried it into effect. In the execution of this plan, barrels of sand marked as powder had been delivered with the proper amount of parade, from time to time, and had been entered by the unconscious clerks in charge, as if they were the powder which

they should have been. The secret was so well maintained that it deceived even those who ought not to have been deceived. And when for his own use Washington had an accurate statement of the amount of real powder, and the amount of sand, which he had in store, he was literally struck dumb by the revelation. He had not nine cartridges for each man in his army. To begin, then, he had to provide the most necessary munition for modern war, and to provide it in such a way that neither friends nor enemies should know that he was in need. This thing he did. It is interesting now to see how diverse were the stores from which this powder was drawn, but there is hardly a letter in the varied correspondence which does not allude to the need, sometimes of a very few barrels, sometimes of a more considerable amount. A bold dash on Bermuda and another on the Bahamas, brought them some supplies from those islands. In the southwest, Oliver Pollock, acting on his own responsibility, in New Orleans, sent up to Pittsburgh powder from the Spanish garrisons. Here a little and there a little, and by diligent manufacture in the northeastern states, powder, so to speak, dribbled in upon the army, which was powerless without."

AN IRISH TRIBUTE TO WASHINGTON—Whereas on February the 14th, 1783, it pleased kind Providence to confer on Mathew Neely, of Burnally, parish of Tamlaghtsinlagan, and County of Londerry a mar child, whose appear-

ance is promising and amiable, and hopes the Being who first caused him to exist, will grant him grace : Also, in consideration and in remembrance of the many heroic deeds done by that renowned patriot, General Washington, the said Mathew Neely hath done himself the honour of calling the said man child by the name of *George Washington Neely*, he being the first child known or so called in this kingdom by the name of Washington, that brilliant western star.—*Londonderry Journal*, April 30, 1783.

W. K.

WASHINGTON AND THE CONNECTICUT TYTHINGMAN—The President, on his return to New York from his late tour through Connecticut, having missed his way on Saturday, was obliged to ride a few miles on Sunday morning, in order to gain the town, at which he had previously proposed to attend divine service. Before he arrived, however, he was met by a Tythingman, who commanded him to stop, demanded the occasion of his riding ; and it was not until the President had informed him of every circumstance, and promised to go no further than the town intended, that the Tythingman

would permit him to proceed on his journey.—*Mass. Centinel*, Dec. 1789.

PETERSFIELD

LIKENESS OF DRED SCOTT—*Editor Magazine of American History* : The Missouri Historical Society possesses the only materials from which a correct likeness of Dred Scott can be produced, but they are perishing rapidly. To save from loss what, if lost, could never be rehabilitated, the society is about to have painted an oil portrait of Scott, life size, on 25x30 canvas, and of considerable merit as a painting. As this negro occupies so important a place in American history on account of the slavery issues with which his name is identified, his portrait is of exceptional value ; and to guard against casualties of every sort by which it might be destroyed, the society desires that some association (preferably), or person, elsewhere, should also possess one ; and to this end it consents to the painting of another portrait simultaneously with its own, provided the price (\$150) is remitted before the work is taken in hand.

OSCAR W. COLLET,

Treasr. Mo. Hist. Soc.

ST. LOUIS, December 3, 1887.

QUERIES

HERALDRY—*Editor of Magazine of American History* : Will you or some of your readers enlighten me as to when Heraldry was first introduced into England ? What is its early history ?

JAMES W. STUART

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

THOMAS LEE AND HIS "UNCLE

WEST"—Thomas Lee died on the passage from England to this country. His widow, her father Mr. Brown, and children Phœbe, Jane, and Thomas, came first to Boston, but settled in Saybrook, Connecticut, in 1641. There are facts which seem to show that this Mr. Brown was Chad Brown who came to Boston in 1638, removed to Providence, and be-

came the ancestor of the important family that founded Brown University. The widow of Thomas Lee married Greenfield Larabee, and, after his death, a Mr. Cornish. Her son, Thomas Lee, in his will, made in 1703, mentions his daughter Sarah, to whom he gives only a remembrance, as he says, "My uncle West took

her as his own, and gave her a grate portion, whereby she is well-provided for all-ready." Can it be ascertained who this "uncle West" was? Can he be found in the Brown connection, or the Larabee, or Cornish families? Address

Mrs. Edward E. Salisbury,
New Haven, Connecticut.

REPLIES

ATHENS OF AMERICA [xvii. 528]—Philadelphia is referred to in *The Time Piece* printed at New York, September 6, 1797, as the "the Athens of America." Boston was so designated, I believe, at a later period.

PETERSFIELD

COLLEGE OF NEW JERSEY FIRE COMPANY [xix. 84]—A letter describing a fire at Princeton, dated January 23, was printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, of Feb. 1st, 1773; the following extract from it may interest "Sophomore." "Yesterday morning between three and four o'clock, I was awakened by the cry of fire: I immediately arose, and having dressed myself, hastened out and inquired where the fire was. I was informed it was at the house of Mr. Jacob Hyer, at the sign of Hudibrass. I ran immediately to the place, and found the north-east corner in flames without, also the garret within. The College fire engine and buckets being brought, all possible means were used to extinguish the flames, but to no purpose; the fire burnt till seven o'clock, when the whole house

was laid in ashes. Mr. Hyer, lost all his winter provisions, beds and other furniture. By the carefulness of the students, Mr. Patterson's house was saved, although adjoining; the roof caught several times, and was put out as often by the help of the fire engine: The students upon this occasion behaved with becoming boldness which does them honour." W. K.

SOME ACCOUNT OF PICKETT'S CHARGE AT GETTYSBURG [xviii. 15]—In General Arthur F. Devereaux's interesting paper he mentioned the Nineteenth Massachusetts as having been trained from the start in a discipline as stern as that of Cromwell's "Ironsides." An incident which occurred on the third day of the battle of Gettysburg, in which the Nineteenth Massachusetts bore a conspicuous part, is to the point; so close did Pickett's column approach that Major Edmund Rice of that regiment, now of the regular army, was shot with his foot resting on the body of one of the fallen Confederates, probably the foremost man who fell in that terrible charge.

SOCIETIES

THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its December meeting on the 12th of that month, its president, Hon. J. H. B. Latrobe in the chair.

After the transaction of the ordinary routine business, listening to the reports of committees, appointing several new committees, and the election of new members, an interesting paper was read by Rev. W. W. Patton, D.D., LL.D., president of Howard University, Washington, upon "President Lincoln, and the Chicago Memorial on Emancipation." The paper was a chapter, hitherto unpublished, of the movements of the popular mind toward emancipation in 1862, and of the influences brought to bear upon the President to induce him to issue a proclamation declaring the slaves free in the Southern states.

It gave in full detail the steps taken to secure a large public meeting in Chicago to urge the measure, the success attending those efforts; an account of the meeting held in Bryan Hall, the largest auditorium in Chicago, on the evening of Sunday, September 7, 1862, the addresses made; the memorial, and resolutions adopted; and the sending of a committee, of which Dr. Patton was chairman, to Washington to present them to the President. The committee proceeded at once to Washington, arrived there on the 11th of September, and obtained an interview, and presented their memorial and resolutions on Saturday, September 13. The paper gives a vivid sketch of the interview between the President and the committee, and an outline, somewhat filled up, of the arguments presented by the committee in favor of the measure

which they urged, and of the President against it. The President seemed to have considered the question carefully and anxiously in all its bearings, and to desire to test the public pulse by presenting all the objections which were urged to it, and seeing how the committee, or those whom they represented, were prepared to meet them.

The President gave them no indication of his decision or purpose, further than to say to them, "You have done your duty; I shall try to do mine." Ten days later, September 23, there appeared in the papers the proclamation of the President announcing his purpose to issue the proclamation of emancipation to all the slaves of the states in rebellion, on the first of January following. The rest is published and well-known history.

WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, WILKESBARRE, PA.—The last quarterly meeting of this society for 1887 was held in its rooms December 9, Rev. Henry L. Jones, A.M., in the chair. After the usual business, a valuable paper entitled "The History of the Presbyterian Church in Wilkes Barre," was read by the corresponding secretary, Sheldon Reynolds. This church was Congregational, and under the auspices of Yale College until that distinguished divine Rev. Nicholas Murray, D.D. (best known as "Kirwan") became its pastor in 1829, when it formally adopted the Presbyterian polity, and has since flourished under the auspices of Princeton. This church, organized in 1772, was probably the only Christian organization then existing in Pennsylvania

which owed its origin and maintained its allegiance to the authority of the state of Connecticut. Its history is therefore, like that of most New England churches, a history of the town of Wilkes Barre, and the Valley of Wyoming. A proposition from the Osterhout (Osterhout) Free Library trustees to erect a building for the use of the Historical Society on their present library lot, to carry out the will of the founder of the library, was presented, and an adjourned meeting was called for the 16th of December to consider the matter. At this adjourned meeting the proposition was accepted, and A. T. McClintock, LL.D., Major C. M. Conyngham, Dr. R. D. Lacoe, with Dr. Charles Ingham as member *ex officio*, were appointed a committee with powers to make all necessary arrangements for the society. Thus this active society, which for thirty years has occupied rented quarters for its library and valuable cabinet, will be provided with a permanent home without expense.

THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, UTICA, NEW YORK, held its regular monthly meeting December 19, President E. H. Roberts in the chair.

A large audience was present to hear Dr. Smith Baker read a paper on "The Life and Influence of Rev. Beriah Green," a noted Abolitionist of Oneida County at a time when it required nerve to entertain such views. Hon. Frederick Cook, Secretary of the state, and William Carey Jones, corresponding secretary of the California Historical Society, were elected corresponding members; and Professor Charles A. Borst, of Hamilton College, was proposed as a resident member. On motion of Alexander Seward,

Gen. C. W. Darling, Gen. Sylvester Deering, Gen. R. U. Sherman, Col. I. J. Gray, and Col. J. T. Watson, were named to represent the society at the semi-centennial celebration of the Utica Citizens' Corps, a military organization of Utica, which served through the late war, and furnished many prominent officers for the army. It was then announced that the annual meeting of this society would be held January 10, 1888, when Professor Oren Root, of Hamilton College, would deliver the annual address.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—

At the regular meeting of this society on the 27th of December, Mr. William A. Mowry read an interesting paper on "Franklin's Diplomacy and its Results." He said that few people realized the importance of the French and Indian War to the colonists. The taxes levied on the English colonists to pay the expense of this war was the primal cause of the Revolution. After touching upon the relations between England, France and Spain in regard to the colonies, the speaker gave the conditions of the first treaty between France and the United States. In that treaty there was a clause stating that France should be a party to every step in the proceedings when a treaty of peace should be signed between England and the United States. When the time came for arranging the terms of the treaty and establishing the boundaries, the responsibility of the proceedings rested mainly on Franklin. France wished that the Ohio River should be the boundary, but Franklin determined that the St. Lawrence River should be the northern boundary. According to his instructions, Franklin was obliged to

consult with France in regard to this treaty of peace, but realizing the importance of obtaining this tract of country for the United States, he disregarded his instructions and presented the treaty to the minister of France signed and sealed, deeming this the only way in which the matter could be satisfactorily arranged. The tract of country thus obtained for the United States is now one of the richest tracts in the country. In conclusion the speaker gave statistics showing the wealth and growing prosperity of the country northwest of the Ohio.

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At the annual meeting of this society, held on Tuesday evening, January 3, the following gentlemen were elected officers for the present year: Hon. John A. King, president; Hon. Hamilton Fish, first vice-president; John A. Weekes, second vice-president; Hon. John Bigelow, foreign corresponding secretary; Edward F. De Lancey, domestic corresponding secretary; Andrew Warner, recording secretary; Robert Schell, treasurer; Charles Isham, librarian. The annual reports show that the society is free from debt or encumbrances of any kind, and that there is an excellent prospect of securing a building fund of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The president, in alluding to the great loss the society has sustained by the death of several of its members, spoke feelingly of his personal relations with the late J. Carson Brevoort and William H. Neilson.

George W. Smith, William Fearing Gill, J. Bleecker Miller and De Lancey Nicoll were elected resident members,

and Charles H. Russell, Jr., and Frederick Gallatin became members of the executive committee. The fifteenth volume of the Publication Fund Series was announced as ready for delivery to shareholders.

DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY MASSACHUSETTS—An interesting paper was read before this Society at its meeting, December 7th, 1887, by Rev. William Cheney, descriptive of Dedham in England. The town, he says, bears evident of traces of more prosperous life than now animates its quiet precincts. Dedham is mentioned in Domesday Book. In the 14th century, as early as the reign of Richard II. it was famous for the clothing trade. It is said that at one time almost every house had its loom, where woolen cloth was made by hand. In order to promote this industry there was an old law that every one who died should be buried in a woolen shroud.

NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY—A meeting of this society was held on Friday evening, December 28th, at its rooms in Madison Avenue, the President, General James Grant Wilson, in the chair. An appreciative audience listened with marked attention to an interesting paper by Dr. Edmund S. F. Arnold on "The Dauphin in France and America." Dr. Arnold discussed the rival claims of Nauendorff and Rev. Eleazer Williams, and after sifting the evidence presented by the respective claimants, drew the conclusion that the title of Nauendorff to the throne of the Bourbons was clearer and more fully substantiated.

HISTORIC AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

Instrumental music in the early days of New England was regarded as a snare of the devil. Mr. Brooks, in his little work on "Olden Time Music," says: "We do not know whether there were any musical instruments brought over in the *Mayflower*. That little vessel must have been so crowded with tables, chairs, and other articles, judging from the number of things represented to have come in her, that there could not have been much room left for spinets and virginals." He further suggests the propriety of remembering "that in England during the time of Cromwell all the organs in churches had been taken down or destroyed, and musicians forced to leave the country for want of employment. We read in Knight's History of England that 'the Puritans had been so successful in decrying all music except their own nasal psalm-singing that at the Restoration the art seemed to be in an almost hopeless state.'"

Choirs were not common in New England until about the time of the Revolution, although a few existed in large towns as early as 1750. Mr. Brooks quotes from a writer in the *New England Chronicle* of 1723, who says: "Truly, I have a great jealousy that if we once begin to sing by rule, the next thing will be to pray by rule, and preach by rule; and then comes Popery." Mr. Brooks further tells us the story of an old New England deacon whose duty it was to "line out" the hymn to be sung: "On one occasion, finding some difficulty, from failing sight, in reading the first line, he apologized by observing:

'My eyes indeed are very blind.'

The choir, who had been impatiently waiting for the whole line, thinking this to be the first of a common-metre hymn, immediately sang it—whereupon the deacon exclaimed with emphasis:

'I cannot see at all.'

This they also sang. Then the astonished deacon cried out:

'I really believe you are bewitched!'

On which the choir responded:

'I really believe you are bewitched.'

The deacon added:

'The mischief's in you all!'

The choir then finished the verse by echoing this last line, and the deacon sat down in despair."

In his annual address before the American Geographical Society, January 10, 1888, Ex-Chief Justice Charles P. Daly, its learned president, held a large and cultured audience in closest attention for two hours with a graphic and instructive review of the "Recent Geographical Work of the World." Commencing with the late discoveries in Alaska, and touching briefly upon the explorations in the ice-bound regions, he passed rapidly over the work done on the American continent, giving a vivid sketch of the progress of exploration among the ancient cities of the Western territories, which, he said, contain the secrets of a civilization which probably antedates the Egyptian pyramids. Three caravans of relics have been collected among the ruins and deposited in Boston for further

inspection and study by scientists. It is now almost an established fact that what we call the New World was, in reality, the cradle of the human race, and the indications were that a vast civilization had been destroyed by some sudden convulsion of nature. He took his audience on an interesting tour through South America, Africa, China, and Central Africa, and described the researches now in progress at Babylon and Nineveh. He illustrated his address with large maps and with stereoscopic views. Among the maps exhibited was one showing the different courses taken by the Hoang-Ho river, in China, which seems to be the most erratic stream on the face of the globe.

While the intellectual feast was in progress at Chickering Hall, and the scholarly mind taking in the wonders of two continents from a geographical point of view—on the same evening—the Holland Society was banqueting in the most hilarious fashion at the Hotel Brunswick. Ex-Chief Justice Daly arrived upon the smoky scene in time to make an after-dinner speech on the early Dutch explorers and geographers. But wit, humor, and Dutch eloquence had already been given full play. President Van Vorst, Chauncey M. Depew, Mayor Hewitt, George William Curtis and Secretary George W. Van Siclen were among the speakers. Mr. Depew said that Scotchmen, Irishmen, Englishmen, and in fact all nationalities are "contented to celebrate one anniversary in the year. But that doesn't satisfy a Dutchman. On the 6th of December he gets himself together and at the St. Nicholas dinner takes a horizontal view of what he is, has, and hopes to be, and it so rouses him that on January 10, about a month afterward, at the Holland Society dinner, he takes another look at himself, and even then is not satisfied; but takes another good look at himself on Easter day. The Dutchman, however, furnishes half the genius which runs this Commonwealth and which runs this city." Mr. Depew then referred in glowing terms to the noble work done by the Hollanders in the past, their indomitable courage and perseverance in driving back the sea and establishing cities and founding universities and schools upon ground that was once covered by the waves. Mayor Hewitt responded with much pleasantry to the toast of the "Growth in greatness of the Dutch metropolis," and denied that there could be any growth in greatness without growth in goodness.

The author of the story "After the War," which has attracted such marked attention in the *December Century*, is General Joseph Griswold Perkins, the grandson of three Connecticut governors, and the possessor of no little military as well as literary genius of his own. As an officer in the late civil war he had an honorable record. He was one of four—the others being Joseph R. Hawley, Charles E. Bulkeley, and Albert W. Drake—who drew up the first enlistment paper and organized the first war company in Connecticut; and by a singular combination of circumstances he was the last corps commander in the service, closing the series by disbanding the Twenty-sixth Corps. He began his military career in the ranks, but was soon promoted to Governor Buckingham's staff as assistant adjutant-general, and after many interesting experiences left the army at the close of hostilities with the rank of brevet brigadier-general. In 1862 he and Bulkeley formed Co. L, First Connecticut Artillery, of which he was captain, and his gallantry is well remembered in many instances, notably when the horses failed in the Chickahominy swamp in the retreat under McClellan, where he managed to have the cannon dragged off by hand and saved. Later on he was appointed colonel of the Nineteenth United States Colored troops, and with the advance was among the first to

enter Richmond. His intimate acquaintance with the events of the period of which he writes in his *Century* article, and his striking talent and excellent taste as a story-teller, have scored for him a sudden and we trust an enduring fame in the literary field.

"The men who have striven to get at the spirit of history have found it by studying the individual." This sentence, culled from the address of Professor Oren Root, of Hamilton College, at the recent annual meeting of the Oneida Historical society at Utica, deserves to be recorded in golden letters. He further said: "Until recently historians have dealt with that which was great rather than small. It is certainly true that there has been an awakening in historical research in this country. The antiquarian is no longer an object for sneers. The world is learning to appreciate the efforts of such men. The historians are striving to gather the facts concerning our early national life. The first incentive to this work is the condition of general historical science. History was, not long ago, merely chronicle. We want flesh and blood, and not the skeleton alone. Local historical research enables us to get at the spirit of things. It is not the crest of the wave that has the tidal force. We must come down closer to the individual, closer to the heart of the people. We have had years enough in America to awaken that passion and pathos of which so much has been written in other countries. I should like to get down a little nearer to the homes and influences of the men whose names adorn history's pages."

A knowledge of the principles of human actions exceeds in value all other learning, and its importance in adjusting the true nature and measures of right and wrong cannot be overestimated. Secret history is the supplement of history itself and its great corrector. The combination of secret with public history results in a perfection which separately is possessed by neither. Secret history appears to deal exclusively with minute things, thus its connection with great results is too often overlooked. The study of human nature was what rendered Socrates the wisest of men. There is nothing which more thoroughly reveals the individual or unriddles a mysterious event than the trifling incidents that in themselves count as chaff. No pictures of human nature are more useful than those found in friendly correspondence. In reading secret history we are occupied in observing what passes rather than in being told of it; that is we are transformed into the contemporaries of the writers and are enjoying their confidence: They mark the commencements and we the ends, and oftentimes what appears to them uncertain becomes to us unquestionable. We recover what would otherwise be lost to us in the general views of history. The story of a period is never complete without particulars, any more than a dinner is complete without side dishes. The letters of Washington possess a charm that is foreign to stately history—they illuminate the pages of history.

There are secrets in the art of reading to which attention may be given with profit. It is not always necessary to read the whole of a book. It is often sufficient to seize the plan and examine some of its pages. The ravenous appetite of Johnson for reading is thus expressed in strong metaphor by a certain writer, "He knows how to read better than any one; he gets at the substance of a book directly; he tears out the heart of it." The much neglected preface and index of a book are of more use to the reader than is generally supposed. Some of our great geniuses are experts in art of index-reading. We venerate the inventor of the index. We often learn the character of a work through these sources. Read both preface and index, as the light thus obtained will help to regulate your course as to the amount of time to be devoted to the book.

BOOK NOTICES

THE LIFE OF GEORGE WASHINGTON, studied anew. By EDWARD EVERETT HALE. 12mo. pp. 392. New York and London, 1888, G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Mr. Hale has produced a notable work, and one that will grow in public favor the more it is known and read. He has studied the man rather than the hero, and shows the advantages and the disadvantages with which Washington worked through his great career; he has also traced his personal power over men to its actual origin. He says, "Washington in his early boyhood was the companion of gentlemen and used to the manners of the best society of his time; but at the same time, and in the same years, he was sleeping in the log cabins of the west, was carrying out the land surveys of Lord Fairfax with the rough pioneers of the wilderness, and was learning to speak the language even of the savages on the frontier. He was never so far engaged in the study of books as to be withdrawn from the larger study of men and the realities of life. But he knew enough of books to know their value, and, as his later life shows, to use them well. He was accustomed in early life to those personal exposures and hardships which teach a man what is the value of a crust of bread; but he was never hampered by the severe restrictions of poverty, and soon carried the experiences of such a boyhood into the careful management of a large estate. The exigencies of war compelled him in his very youth to serve his country, and so soon as war was over he had the opportunity, which was itself an education, of serving his own Virginia in the annual sessions of her legislature. Of all this the consequence was that when the American Revolution began, he had had, though little more than forty years old, a very wide training among men, knew how they were led and how to lead them. He was not accustomed to have things fail to which he put his hand. In point of fact his determination to succeed is the secret of the success of the seven years that followed."

Mr. Hale makes no effort, for which he is to be commended, to include the history of the whole country in this life of Washington—he claims the right to leave that in the background, and make "such a study of his character as most commonplace biographers make of average men." He has done much more than that, and in the clearest and most attractive style. He uses Washington's own words wherever he can without making the narrative too long. The writings of Washington best known are what we consider public documents. Mr. Hale argues, and justly, that private letters are of much more real importance than public dispatches for the

study of motives and purposes, and for the correct estimate of a great character. He shows that Washington was emphatically a man of the people, who grew up in the midst of the people and understood them well. "A distinguished modern author was asked how it was that he wrote such good English; and he replied that he supposed it was because he never learned to write Latin." Mr. Hale has taken a comprehensive view of his theme, and given actual information to students of the first moment. It is a healthful and an instructive work.

WASHINGTON AND HIS COUNTRY.

Being Irving's Life of Washington abridged for the use of schools. By JOHN FISKE. 12mo. pp. 618, Boston, 1887. Ginn and Company.

As Washington was the central figure in American history it has seemed impossible for his biographers in the past to write his life without interpolating the history of the country. A marked instance of this appears in Irving's work, and John Fiske in abridging it for the use of schools has gone further, and given a brief outline of the history of America from the early voyages of the Northmen to the close of the civil war. In his preface Mr. Fiske disclaims any "pretense to completeness, even as outlines of history." "I have sought only," he says, "to arrange some of the cardinal events of American history in such wise as to illustrate, in view of what went before it and came after it, the significance of Washington's career." The publishers in their preface lament that the study of history in our schools is so unsatisfactory, and that editors must necessarily and severely condense their statements, thus robbing their books of an easy flow of language quite essential to the general interest and just as agreeable to the child as to the older student. To obviate, in some measure, these difficulties, they have adopted an improved plan—to abridge Irving, and still preserve his inimitable language and retain the vivid interest of the original. They argue that "The life of Washington, a type of the noblest manhood, the central figure in the greatest epoch of our history, will tend especially to fix in the reader's mind the important events of this period."

The first fifty-four pages of the book are devoted to the mention of the chief points in American history prior to the entrance of Washington upon his public career. "But in passing from 1755 to 1781," says the author, "we enter a new world, and the man who did more than any other toward bringing about this wonderful change is the hero of our story—the

modest, brave, far-sighted, iron-willed, high-minded general and statesman, whose fame is one of the most precious possessions of the human race—George Washington." Mr. Fiske has performed his duty in the condensation of Irving's work with discriminating care and in admirable taste. His closing paragraph reads: "The work of 1776 first came to full fruition in 1865; and when this is duly considered, it reveals the moral grandeur of American history, and suggests lessons which we shall all do well to learn."

LIFE OF WASHINGTON. By VIRGINIA F. TOWNSEND. Illustrated, 12mo, pp. 267. New York, 1887. Worthington Co.

It would seem as if there was something unusual in the air, when three different lives of Washington come to our table for review in one month—from three great enterprising publishing houses—a sudden awakening as it were to a sense of patriotism that has been for a time asleep. These books are so unlike each other, each having a well-defined character of its own, albeit on the same theme, that they will find widely differing and separate audiences. But the field is broad enough for them all. The third one, now before us, is intended simply and pointedly as an entertaining story for young people. It is light, easy reading, and contains many pleasing illustrations, from Cave Castle in England to the White House in Washington city, although it is well known that our first President never lived in either. The home of Washington's boyhood is illustrated, his first headquarters on Will's Creek, his crossing of the Delaware, his headquarters at Newburgh, the battle of Princeton, his coach, and his Mount Vernon home. The volume also contains several portraits. The author seems to have been careful with the facts of history, and aimed to present the great scenes and crises in the career of Washington in a picturesque and dramatic form. It is a charming gift book, and will be the delight of hosts of boys and girls in the long winter evenings, who through it will doubtless acquire the taste for a more profound study of the man who stands in the foreground of American history.

THE OLD SOUTH AND THE NEW. A Series of Letters by the Hon. WILLIAM D. KELLEY. 8vo, pp. 162. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1888.

Shortly after the close of the Civil War the author visited the desolated plantations of the formerly prosperous South, and twenty years subsequently he yielded to a desire to renew pleasant acquaintances then formed, and see for himself the wonderful social, industrial, and political changes that have taken place. The result of

his keen observations is embodied in the present volume, and will be read with interest by all who are desirous of understanding the situation as it is presented by the rehabilitated South. The letters touch upon almost all the great problems that have confronted the South in her struggle to rise once more into industrial prosperity and they will be found replete with information and suggestion to the well-informed reader.

NATURAL LAW IN THE BUSINESS WORLD. By HENRY WOOD. 16mo, pp. 222. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

In a more costly dress of cloth this condensed statement of the vexed questions of the day has enjoyed a wide circulation, and the publishers are wise in putting it forth in a form more easily accessible to those who are in fact the most deeply interested in its contents. If it could be widely circulated among the more thoughtful of the working classes it would go far to counteract the teachings of the "walking delegate," who is ignorantly doing so much mischief among those who are ready to be led. Combination for mutual advantage is to be commended, but under questionable leadership it instantly loses its dignity and drops to a lower level.

PRE-GLACIAL MAN. By LORENZO BURGE. 16mo, pp. 272. Boston: Lee & Shepard, 1887.

It is only a few years since children were taught that the world was about 5,000 years old. The volume before us professes to give a history of creation from B.C. 32500 to B.C. 8000, with a history of the Aryan race, beginning B.C. 15000, their rise and progress, and the promulgation of the first revelation, their spiritual decline, and the destruction of the nation B.C. 4705; the inroad of the Turanians, and the scattering of the remnant of the race B.C. 4304 as deciphered from a very ancient document; also an exposition of the law governing the formation and duration of the glacial period, and a record of its effects on man and on the configuration of the globe.

The foregoing is a transcript of a portion of the title page of this volume, merely substituting "beginning" for "commencing," which latter word the author seems to prefer, since he gives it prominence in the queer old-style capital that adorn the cover.

The volume is, in brief, an attempt to present an amplification of the story of Genesis in the light of modern science. The Bible narrative is most ingeniously searched for evidence to be made out the conclusions of Agassiz, Smith, Say, Adhémar and others, and to reconcile it with the discoveries of Layard and other recent students of the more ancient rock-inscriptions. "Oannes Myth" is not forgotten, and is summed

ized and duly considered at the close of the volume. Upon the whole, we cannot commend the fanciful character of the illustrations, which are purely imaginary. The effect of such pictures in connection with serious deductions is always weakening to the argument.

The book certainly contains much that is worth considering, and while purely speculative, contains numerous suggestions and deductions which are of interest to the ethnologist.

THE POETS AND POETRY OF AMERICA.

By "LAVANTE" (EDGAR ALLAN POE?). 16mo, pp. 33. New York: Benjamin & Bell.

This satire, which cannot of course be a poem, according to Poe, was published in Philadelphia in 1847, and ascribed to "Lavante," whose identity with the author of the Raven was suspected at the time, but we believe never proven. It is now published in a neat pamphlet, with an introductory argument by Geoffrey Quarles, attempting to demonstrate the identity of Lavante and Poe. Of course in the absence of positive proof such an argument cannot be absolutely conclusive, but it is ingenious, interesting and logical, and read in connection with the satire itself, and the copious index and notes, forms an interesting study in literature.

ARCHIVES OF MARYLAND. Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1667-1687-8. Published by authority of the state, under the direction of the Maryland Historical Society. Edited by WILLIAM HAND BROWNE. Quarto, pp. 592. Baltimore, 1887: Maryland Historical Society.

This volume is rich in interesting material. It takes up the Council Proceedings from the point where the first Council Book stopped, and continues them from the originals to August, 1674, after which there is a gap of eighteen years in the records. To a very considerable extent this void is filled by documents found in the Public Record office, London, some of which were transcripts from Maryland records, supposed to have been contained in the missing Council Books. These are of great value, as they throw new light on the history of the Province.

The murder of Rousby by Talbot, and the escape of the homicide, about which later tradition has spun a web of romantic fiction, are here mentioned, and have their place in a combined assault of animosity and cupidity upon the Proprietary's rights and territories. We find curious data for the studios in bills of indictment against various persons for "libellous and scandalous words spoken against the present King James," in the records of 1636. One

Giles Porter was accused of calling England's sovereign "A bloody Rogue, for he hath poisoned his Brother, the late King Charles, and he (James II.) began the first invention of the burning of London." The examination resulted in Giles Porter being kept a close prisoner in irons pending his trial.

The papers accompanying Clairborne's petition, and especially the depositions in the suit of Clairborne against Cobery, illumine the darkness that covers the affairs of Kent Island before the reduction. It is now more than ever clear that the settlement there was no plantation, but simply a trading post, established by a firm of London merchants, and managed in their interest. They had no grant of land, but merely a license to trade; nor did the settlers raise their supplies, but depended for these upon traffic with the Indians, and upon their London principals for commodities to maintain the traffic.

These valuable documents are admirably edited, and printed in clear type on good paper with broad margins. The work is priceless to all students of Maryland history.

COLLECTIONS OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY for the Year 1882.

[Publication Fund Series.] Committee on Publications, Edward F. De Lancey, William Libbey, George H. Moore. 8vo, pp. 515. New York: Printed for the New York Historical Society.

The journal of Lieutenant John Charles Philip von Krafft—from 1776 to 1784—forms the first part of this volume, and the original Letter Book of Captain Alexander McDonald, of the Royal Highland Emigrants, 1775-1779, the second part. Von Krafft was born in Dresden, Saxony, in 1752, and is said to have belonged to a baronial family; he was related to many persons of rank in Prussia and Saxony. At twenty-one he was commissioned ensign in General von Luck's regiment of fusiliers in the Prussian army under Frederick the Great, and was promoted the same year. In seeking advancement three years later he resigned his commission, and after visiting Russia and wandering over Europe, he sailed for America, where he served in the Revolutionary war under Von Donop, and later on under Von Bose. He married in New York, and after the government was established under the Constitution, was employed as surveyor and draughtsman to the Treasury Department. In connection with his journal he made several maps and sketches which are reproduced in this volume, notably the plan of the battle of Trenton, with explanations, the battle-ground at Monmouth, the plan

of Red Bank fort, in New Jersey, the plan of the region between Philadelphia and Valley Forge, with the several positions occupied by the British and the Americans, a sketch of New London and Groton-town, and the plan of the military positions on Manhattan Island, all of which are of exceptional historic interest and value. On the 4th of January, 1780, Von Krafft writes: "On *men-guarde* in Wall street." In the same connection he records as follows: "The cold was so intense this winter that the inhabitants could not remember the like for twenty years back. The North River was wholly frozen over, and the East River had an astonishing quantity of floating ice. As, in spite of this, many people ventured out in boats, sad accidents happened almost daily. The wood magazines were emptied, and as we could not get our wood from Long Island on account of the ice, old ships were assigned to all the English and Hessian regiments for firewood. Even then we had only half allowance and the other half was to be paid to us. The Rebels had now the best opportunity to attack us from all sides to the best advantage. We expected it hourly, and therefore the best measures were taken." The volume contains a prefatory note by Thomas H. Edsall, Esq., of Glenwood Springs, Colorado, to whom the New York Historical Society is indebted for the opportunity of making these valuable materials available to the scholar.

THE KENTUCKY RESOLUTIONS OF

1798. An Historical Study. By ETHEL BERT DUDLEY WARFIELD, A.M., LL.B. 12mo, pp. 203. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Mr. Warfield has, in this little volume, completed his able and instructive study of the origin and effects of the famous Resolutions passed by the legislature of Kentucky in 1798, in condemnation of the Alien and Sedition laws, a study which was first introduced into public notice among scholars through a chapter on "John Breckinridge," published in the *Magazine of American History* for August, 1885.

Mr. Warfield presents some very sound and forcible arguments in support of his views about the responsible authorship of the Resolutions. John Breckinridge was the mover of them, and through his thorough understanding of the popular mind of Kentucky at that time, it is just and reasonable to suppose that he was quite equal to the conception and adaptation of them. He consulted Jefferson, as was very natural and proper under the circumstances, but it seems to us that Mr. Warfield has made, an exceptionally clear case for his distinguished ancestor. He certainly has had opportunities for information other than the public documents; but even through these we are impressed with a sense of Mr. Breckinridge's original thought and intent in the phraseology of the Resolutions. Mr. Warfield says in his preface, "Of all the sources consulted none can be compared for interest and importance to the hitherto almost untouched store of manuscripts forming the Breckinridge papers and containing John Breckinridge's literary remains." Mr. Breckinridge, as is well known, was a man in whom the people had a strong and growing confidence, and his successful advocacy in the legislature of these resolutions, made, so to speak, his subsequent political fortunes. Mr. Warfield says, "From the day the resolutions were passed his career was certain, and so long as he lived, certainly after the death of George Nicholas, which was near at hand, he held the first place in his party in Kentucky, both in the eyes of his fellow-citizens and of the leaders beyond the bounds of the state." Mr. Warfield does not claim to have reached the final solution of the problems of authorship and interpretation, but he handles the evidence with such lawyer-like and convincing candor that his personal belief in the matter is conspicuously apparent. In his chapter on the "doctrines and effects of the resolutions," he shows that great latitude of interpretation may be given, and that the meaning of parts of this political manifesto are very dependent on the special application in view. The work is admirably done, it is a study that abounds in information, and is particularly valuable to young men who are in pursuit of all that relates to our country's past, irrespective of political bias.

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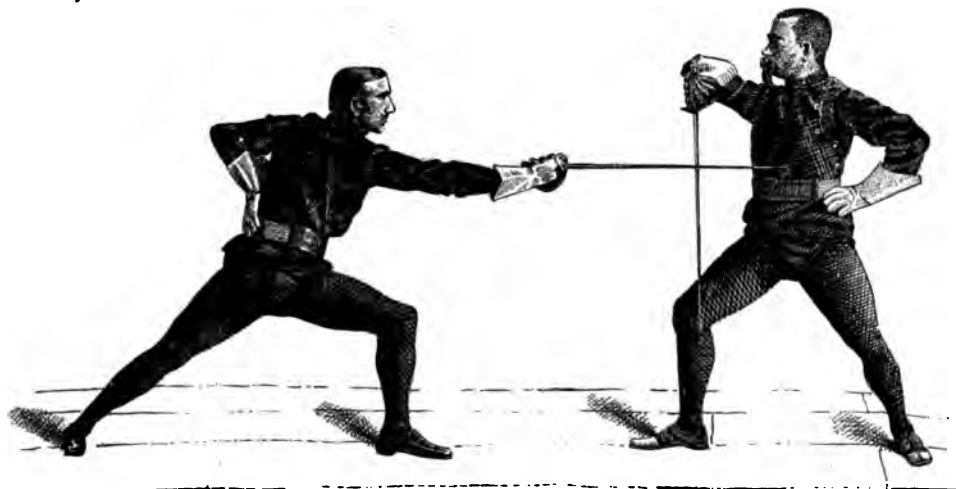
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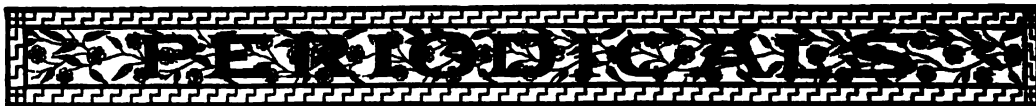
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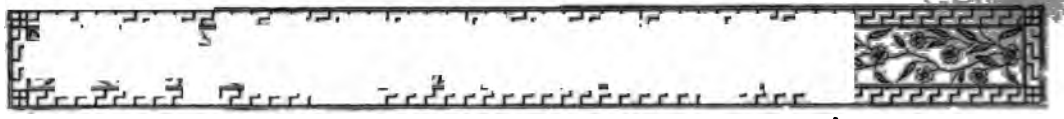
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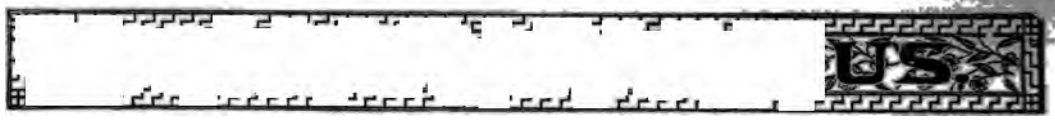
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Policies and Annuities in force January 1st, 1886.....	120,952	\$368,981,441 36	Policies and Annuities in force, January 1st, 1887.....	129,927	\$393,809,208 88
Risks Assumed.....	18,673	56,832,718 92	Risks Terminated.....	9,698	32,004,957 40
	139,625	\$425,814,160 28		139,625	\$425,814,160 28

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Revenue Account.

Cr.

To Balance from last account.....	\$99,865,644 11
Premiums.....	15,734,720 66
Interest and Rents.....	5,502,456 01
	\$121,002,820 78

By paid to Policyholders: Endowments and Purchased Insurance.....	\$4,908,729 61
Dividends and Annuities.....	2,727,454 13
Deceased Lives.....	5,492,920 00
	\$13,129,103 74
By Other Disbursements: Commissions and Comutations.....	\$1,732,632 83
Taxes.....	277,169 85
Expenses.....	1,091,613 91
	3,101,416 59
By Premiums on Stocks and Bonds Purchased....	58,566 14
Balance to new account.....	104,719,734 31
	\$121,002,820 78

Dr.

Balance Sheet.

Cr.

To Reserve for policies in force and for risks terminated.....	\$108,460,120 25
Premiums received in advance.....	78,274 84
Surplus at four per cent.....	5,643,568 15
	\$114,181,963 24

By Bonds secured by Mortgages on Real Estate.....	\$50,118,949 66
United States and other Bonds.....	42,071,641 00
Loans on Collaterals.....	6,172,917 25
Real Estate.....	10,591,286 32
Cash in Banks and Trust Companies at interest,	2,306,203 08
Interest accrued.....	1,166,870 65
Premiums deferred and in transit.....	1,565,117 28
Sundries.....	188,978 00
	\$114,181,963 24

I have carefully examined the foregoing statement and find the same to be correct.

From the Surplus above stated a dividend will be apportioned as usual.

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Vol. XIX.

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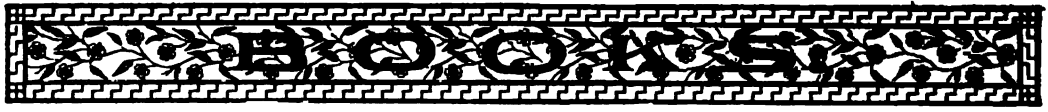
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STATEMENT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1886.

ASSETS, - - - - - \$114,181,963.24.

Insurance and Annuity Account.

	No.	Amount.		No.	Amount.
Policies and Annuities in force January 1st, 1886.....	120,952	\$368,081,441 36	Policies and Annuities in force, January 1st, 1887.....	129,927	\$393,809,208 88
Risks Assumed.....	18,673	56,832,718 92	Risks Terminated.....	9,698	32,004,957 49
	139,625	\$425,814,160 28		139,625	\$425,814,160 28

Dr.

Revenue Account.

Cr.

To Balance from last account.....	\$99,865,644 11
Premiums.....	15,034,720 66
Interest and Rents.....	5,502 45 01
	\$121,002,820 78

By paid to Policyholders: Endowments and Purchased Insurance.....	\$4,908,729 61
Dividends and Annuities.....	2,727,454 13
Deceased Lives.....	5,492,920 00
	\$13,129,103 74
By Other Disbursements: Commissions and Commutations.....	\$1,732,632 83
Taxes.....	277,169 85
Expenses.....	1,091,613 91
	3,101,416 59
By Premiums on Stocks and Bonds Purchased....	52,566 14
Balance to new account.....	104,719,734 31
	\$121,002,820 78

Dr.

Balance Sheet.

Cr.

To Reserve for policies in force and for risks terminated.....	\$108,460,120 25
Premiums received in advance.....	78,274 84
Surplus at four per cent.....	5,643,568 15
	\$114,181,963 24

By Bonds secured by Mortgages on Real Estate.....	\$50,118,949 66
United States and other Bonds.....	42,071,641 00
Loans on Collaterals.....	6,172,917 25
Real Estate.....	10,591,286 32
Cash in Banks and Trust Companies at interest,	2,306,203 08
Interest accrued.....	1,166,870 64
Premiums deferred and in transit.....	1,565,117 28
Sundries.....	188,978 00
	\$114,181,963 24

I have carefully examined the foregoing statement and find the same to be correct.

A. N. WATERHOUSE,

From the Surplus above stated a dividend will be apportioned as usual.

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Commander in Chief of the Provincial Army against QUEBEC

London: Published by W. B. in the Strand, at 58 March 1776. The Blue

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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MARCH, 1888

No. 3

HISTORIC CANNON BALLS AND HOUSES

THE BRITISH INVASION OF CONNECTICUT IN 1777

IN the early spring of 1777 the sound of foreign invasion thrilled the colony of Connecticut with apprehension as the expeditionary force under Governor Tryon landed at Saugatuck Harbor bent upon the destruction of the commissary stores and munitions of war which the Continentals had accumulated at Danbury. As the British landed on the beach a number of the inhabitants gathered near a house on what for many years was known as the Hazard farm. A few cannon shot, one of which penetrated the farm-house, scattered the patriots, and the invaders took up their march towards Danbury. This house, after the retreat of the British, served as a hospital for the American wounded. And it was the home in early youth of Chancellor Kent. For many years he was fond of recurring to those startling times and the recollection of Tryon's expedition. "My mother sent me up stairs in the old house," he said, "for a gun and a bayonet that was in the back room near the chimney. They built all the chimneys in those days of stone in the centre of the house. While I was in search of the gun there came a cannon ball from the direction of the beach in at the south side of the house between the windows of the second story. It passed through the front room and entered the chimney directly opposite the spot on which I stood. I believe my mother was the most frightened of the two when she called me down and we all retreated. I never applied for a pension for this my Revolutionary service; but I have heard the crash of a cannon ball, and the world, may be, is indebted to that old chimney for Kent's *Commentaries*." This house was pulled down in 1822, when Judge John Q. Wilson, of Fairfield, who had heard of Kent's narrow escape, directed that special care be taken to find the cannon shot; and a few feet above the floor of the room a nine pound solid shot was disclosed embedded in the masonry of the chimney.

It was at this time that General Benedict Arnold, chagrined and chafing

under his imaginary wrongs and the delay of Washington and the Continental Congress to aid his promotion, happened to be visiting his sister at New Haven. Repairing at once to Redding, he there joined Generals Wooster and Silliman, the latter having hastily left his place at Fairfield, where he was plowing in the field when the courier dashed along the highroad warning the people of the landing of the enemy. Several hundred militia and patriots soon gathered from their farms and the neighboring villages. A consultation was then held between Wooster, Silliman, and Arnold. Finding that the King's troops had already completed the destruction not only of the public stores at Danbury, but of the greater portion of the town itself, all efforts to save that village were abandoned. It was determined, however, to harass and impede, if not defeat, the British invaders on their return from Danbury. An open battle between the few hundred rudely armed patriots and over two thousand Hessians and regulars with artillery, would have been madness. General Wooster, therefore, decided to hover about the rear of the retreating column, watching a favorable opportunity of attack, while in the meantime he dispatched Generals Arnold and Silliman, with about five hundred men, to intercept the British at Ridgefield. The roads and valleys had been the patriots' playground, and although they knew the enemy would endeavor to elude them, Arnold succeeded in reaching Ridgefield by following lanes and unfrequented roads, long before the sound of Wooster's attack disturbed the quiet of the peaceful village.

Arnold, on arriving at Ridgefield, hastily constructed a barricade across the highway at the north end of the street between the house then occupied by Benjamin Stebbins and a ledge of rocks to the west of the road. This is one of if not the oldest house in the town, having been built soon after the settlement. Its withered boards and shingles, dun and weather-stained by the sunshine and frosts of innumerable seasons, shaded by lofty trees and overhanging vines, speak of times now almost forgotten and of vague traditions of the past. Here it was that Arnold awaited the enemy's approach, fearless and undaunted, although the odds against him were overwhelming. The time was too short for much preparation, and only the rudest kind of a barricade was erected of wagons, logs, and carts. There was little military organization in a force gathered so hastily from different directions save in the obedience to a superior's orders. The greater portion of those who stood behind the barricade were unused to war, and had gone out to save their homes from destruction rather than to do battle with an enemy. It was Sunday morning. A thick mass of vapor hung over the earth with an occasional shower until about eleven o'clock, when



THE STEBBINS HOUSE. SCENE OF THE BATTLE.

[From a photograph by the Author.]

the sky lightened for a moment revealing the wooded slopes of the Danbury hills, blue and purple in the distance only again to be hidden by the sweeping masses of flying clouds. The British after leaving Danbury proceeded towards the Westchester line as far as Ridgebury, thinking thus to deceive the Continentals, when they turned abruptly to the south and took the road to Ridgefield through the ravine and across the rugged Asproom hills. When within a few miles of Ridgefield, near where the old school house stood, General Wooster, who had been following in their wake watching a favorable opportunity, fell upon the rear of the British column, and a sharp engagement ensued, in which forty Hessians were taken prisoners. Still the enemy continued their advance. Active and alert, General Wooster followed their trail, and where the ground presented a favorable place for another assault, at a point about a mile north of the Stebbins house at the forks of the road, one of which leads to North Salem, he led his men impetuously against the unbending ranks of the regulars. Smarting under the loss inflicted by his first attack, the British were now prepared to receive him with steady volleys of musketry and artillery which soon scattered the Continental troops.

General Wooster's indomitable courage, however, led him amidst the thickest of the fight, and while he was endeavoring to rally his men a musket ball passed through his body, and he fell from his horse mortally wounded. General Wooster was attended by Dr. Turner, a surgeon in the American service, who probed the wound, and finding it was mortal informed the general. He received the intelligence with unruffled calmness; as rapidly as convenient he was removed to Danbury, where, after lingering several days, he died and was buried. He was one of the eight brigadier-generals appointed by Washington in July, 1775, and at the time of his death held the first commission as major-general of militia of the state of Connecticut. The Continental Congress on June 17, 1777, resolved, "That a monument be erected to the memory of General Wooster with the following inscription: In honor of David Wooster, brigadier-general in the army of the United States. In defending the liberties of America and bravely repelling an inroad of the British forces to Danbury, in Connecticut, he received a mortal wound on the 27th day of April, 1777, and died on the 2^d day of May following. The Congress of the United States as an acknowledgment of his merit and services have caused this monument to be erected. Resolved, that the executive power of the state of Connecticut be requested to carry the foregoing resolution into execution, and that five hundred dollars be allowed for that purpose." The money, however, was never paid. No tombstone or mark of his last resting place was ever erected, and the grave of this hero was soon unknown. His dust mingled with the earth neglected and forgotten.

In 1854, a handsome monument was erected to his memory in Danbury. The shaft is of Portland granite, and bears the following inscription:

David Wooster
First Major General of the Connecticut troops
in the army of the Revolution;
Brigadier General of the United Colonies.
Born at Hartford, March 2, 1710 or 11;
Wounded at Ridgefield, April 27. 1777. while defending
the liberties of America
And nobly died at Danbury
May 2, 1777.

With General Wooster's fall this part of the conflict ended. Stephen Rowe Bradley, then an aide-de-camp to General Wooster, assumed command, and gathering his scattered troops together retired from the field in good order. By his cool judgment and pluck the remnant of this small



THE SPOT WHERE GENERAL WOOSTER FELL.

[From a photograph by the Author.]

force was saved from being routed. Bradley served with distinction throughout the Revolution, and rose to the rank of colonel. He was one of the first pioneers who went to Vermont and aided in obtaining its recognition as a state, and which he represented for sixteen years in the United States Senate. It was to his bold action in the caucus that arbitrarily assumed the nomination of Madison, that the latter became President.

The sound of Wooster's onslaught was reverberated from West Mountain's rugged cliffs along the valley. Arnold and his men awaited the approaching storm with breathless anxiety. At about noon the British, advancing in three columns, came within range, when General Agnew ordered the artillery to attack.* When within musket-shot the engagement became general and continued for nearly an hour. Being unable to dislodge the Continentals in front, a strong body of Hessians under Agnew finally turned the left of Arnold's position. A column of infantry suddenly ap-

* The gold inkstand which General Agnew carried in his pocket on this occasion became the property of his granddaughter, Mrs. Harman Blennerhasset, of Blennerhasset Island, in the Ohio River, and is now in the possession of her descendants.—EDITOR.

peared over the ledge of rocks and deliberately discharged a volley at General Arnold at a distance of not more than thirty yards. He miraculously escaped without a scratch, but his horse fell under him pierced by nine musket balls. As his horse went down General Arnold's foot became entangled in the stirrup. A soldier eager to take advantage of his embarrassed position rushed forward to bayonet him exclaiming: "You are my sprioner!" "Not yet!" replied Arnold; "One live man is worth ten dead ones!" and quickly drawing a pistol from its holster he shot the soldier dead. It has always been the tradition that the soldier was a Tory from Milford by the name of Coon. This fortunate shot saved Arnold's life and enabled him to make a hasty retreat, which he did by vaulting over a gate and seeking the shelter of the thick undergrowth of a swamp. He was repeatedly fired at but marvelously escaped being hit. The fact that Arnold's horse received nine bullets was vouched for by a farmer who with some boys skinned the horse the following day. The heroism of General Arnold on that day excited the admiration of his countrymen, and on May 20, following, Congress directed the quartermaster-general to procure a horse and present the same, properly caparisoned, to Major-General Arnold in the name of Congress, as a token of its approbation of his gallant conduct in the action against the enemy in its late enterprise to Danbury.

The fight at the Stebbins house was stubborn and bloody. Between forty and fifty Americans were killed. Colonel Abraham Gould was shot about eighty yards east of the Stebbins house and his body carried on his horse to his home in Fairfield, where he was buried. His sash and uniform are now in the Trumbull Gallery at New Haven. Lieutenant Middlebrooks and Lieutenant William Thompson were also killed. Colonel John Benjamin was seriously wounded in the neck by buck-shot. Lieutenant De Forest was shot in the leg, and Captain Ebenezer Coe was painfully wounded in the head and right eye. Several of the dead were buried underneath an apple-tree, long since decayed, back of the house now the residence of Mr. Abner Gilbert. At the time of the battle Benjamin Stebbins occupied the Stebbins house. He was a cripple and could not get away. His son, Josiah Stebbins, sympathized with the cause of the Royalists, and happened to accompany the British force from Danbury. The old house was several times set on fire, but the young man succeeded in putting it out, and in this way the house was saved. His crippled father, however, had a narrow escape. In the midst of the conflict he sought seclusion in a little bedroom with a window looking out on the meadow to the east, as the bullets were rattling through the gable end of the old homestead on the roadway. The window was open. All at once a mus-



TITICAS BRIDGE, OVER WHICH THE BRITISH RETREATED.

[From a photograph by the Author.]

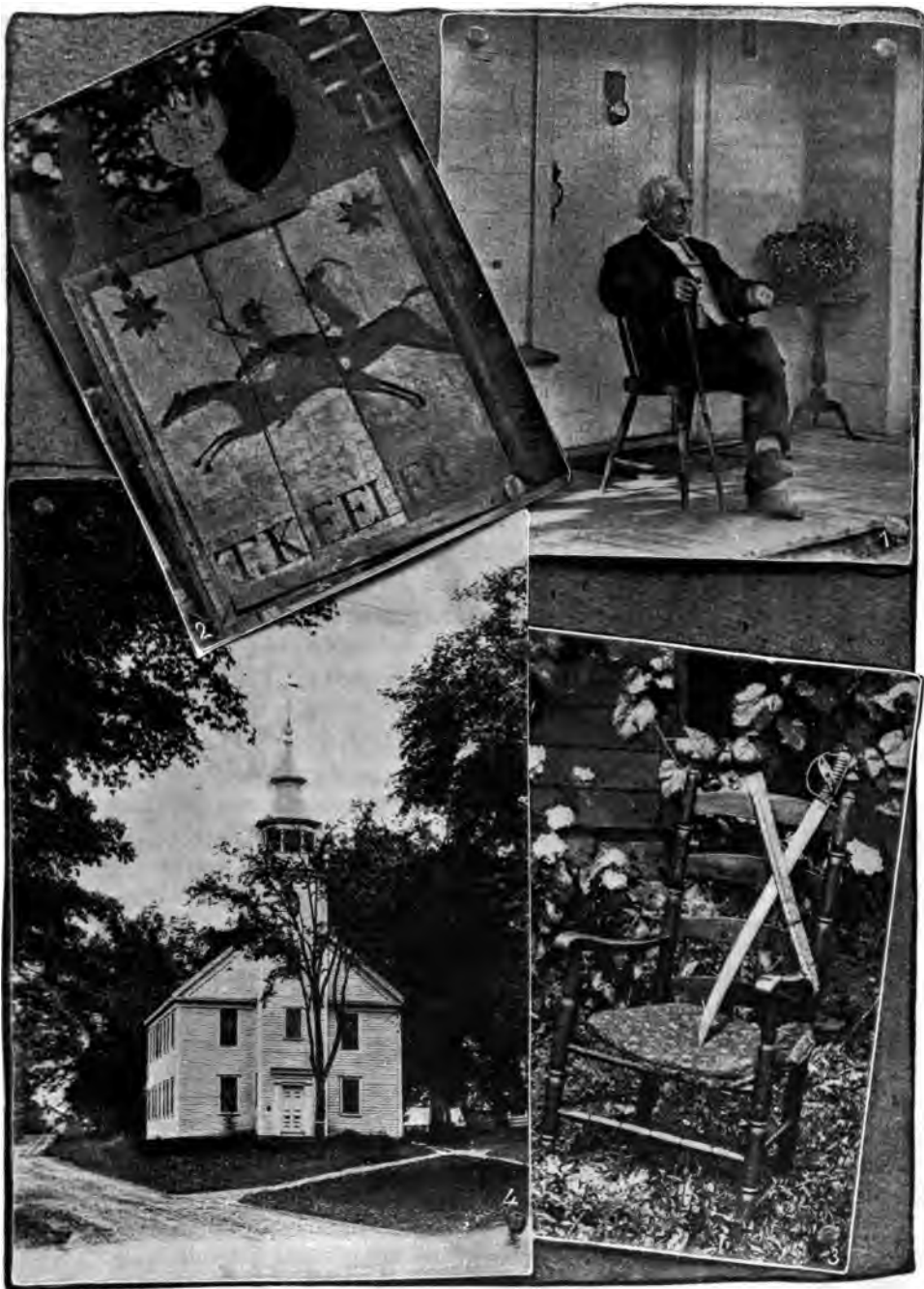
ket ball whizzed close by his head and ripped a long ragged hole through the bedroom door. The room still remains in the same condition and the door still swings on its rusty hinges. The house was riddled with bullets and struck several times by solid shot. There are three cannon balls yet to be seen at the house, two twelve and one six pounder. Many others have been lost or carried away. During the battle the Stebbins house answered the purpose of a hospital for the wounded, and blood stains, which are said to have flowed from the wounds of a young British officer who died there, are to be seen on the seasoned oak floor of the long west room. The old well now stands as it then stood and supplies the best of waters, as it did on that April day to the suffering men who lay in agony within its kindly aid. It has been thought that the battle ended with the attack by Wooster and the fight at the Stebbins house. This is probably incorrect. There are strong reasons for the belief that as the British advanced their progress through the town was contested with stubborn bravery. Had this not been so they would not have had to employ their artillery after dislodging the patriots from behind the barricade; and that artillery was used throughout their progress through the village is beyond controversy.

HISTORIC CANNON BALLS

Besides the cannon balls at the Stebbins house a solid six-pounder was unearthed a few years ago by Mr. Hoyt while repairing the highway opposite the residence of Governor Lounsbury. It was three feet below the surface, and had rusted away considerably. Then there is the famous shot embedded in the Keeler tavern; and a quarter of a mile beyond, Mr. Benedict, while excavating for the purpose of erecting a barn, dug up another cannon ball together with several bullets. The recovery of these cannon balls at different places, covering a distance of over a mile, and along a street running in diverse directions, indicates a continuous engagement. The fight was maintained through the town, the Redcoats pressing steadily forward, and the patriots falling stubbornly back. Several cannon balls passed through the Keeler tavern. One four-pounder struck a solid hewn oak timber and firmly embedded itself in the hard wood, where for over a century it has been, and is to-day an object of the greatest interest. This side of the house is in deep shadow, but by means of a mirror a ray of sunlight was thrown into the opening in the shingles and a photograph thus obtained of the cannon ball as it rests deep in the timber. A short distance beyond Mr. Benedict's lies the ridge where the British encamped for the night. Until recently it has been used as a fair ground. Mr. Northup, who lives opposite, picked up, some thirty years ago, a lead button, evidently one of the very first used on the Continental uniforms, with the monogram U. S. A. in relief. After burning several houses and destroying considerable property the British, on the morning of the 28th, struck their tents, and resumed their march towards the Sound.

The town of Ridgefield was laid out by the original proprietors in 1709. The houses are dotted along a street over a mile in length and one hundred and twenty feet in width. Two continuous rows of lofty elm, maple and sycamore trees line the road. On each side of the drive is a footpath cut from the green sod that lies under the majestic trees. This quaint old village may have larger and richer rivals—it certainly has none fairer.

That Ridgefield was the birthplace and early home of Peter Parley (S. G. Goodrich) should alone give the place an interest to those persons who remember how, as children, they read and wondered at his delightful stories, and whose illustrated and attractive books of education were the first relief experienced from the daily drudgery of school life. When but four years of age, in 1794, his family removed from the old house to the new, now the residence of John Alsop King, Esq., and it was there that the days of his boyhood were passed. The original house still remains, although an addition has been put on, and the house painted. It is the



1 OLD ENGLISH DOOR AND KNOCKER, RIDGEFIELD INN.
2 OLD SWINGING SIGN, RIDGEFIELD INN.

3 SWORD AND SCABBARD, THE GIFT OF LAFAYETTE.
4 OLD CHURCH ON THE VILLAGE GREEN.

most southerly of the residences that surmount High Ridge, and commands a beautiful view in every direction. The old homestead of General Joshua King stands on the main street. It was to General King's custody that Major Andre was entrusted immediately after his capture. General King was then a lieutenant in the second regiment of Light Dragoons stationed at South Salem. In a letter to a friend he has preserved a most interesting account of Andre when brought to him a prisoner.

" Ridgefield, June 17. 1817.

Dear Sir:

. . . I was the first and only officer who had charge of Andre whilst at the Headquarters of the 2nd Regiment of Light Dragoons, which was then at Esquire Gilbert's in South Salem. He was brought up by an adjutant and four men belonging to the Connecticut militia under the command of Lieut. Col. Jamison from the lines near Tarrytown, a character under the disguised name of John Anderson. He looked somewhat like a reduced gentleman. His small clothes were nankin, with long white top boots, in part, his undress military suit. His coat purple, with gold lace, worn somewhat threadbare, with a small-brimmed tarnished beaver on his head. He wore his hair in a queue with long, black band and his clothes somewhat dirty. In this garb I took charge of him.



CANNON BALL IN THE TIMBER, KRELER'S TAVERN.

[From a photograph by the Author.]

After breakfast my barber came in to dress me, after which I requested him to undergo the same operation, which he did. When the ribbon was taken from his hair, I observed it full of powder. This circumstance, with others that occurred induced me to believe I had no ordinary person in charge. He requested permission to take the bed, whilst his shirt and small clothes could be washed. I told him that was needless for a change was at his service, which he accepted. We were close pent up in a bedroom with a guard at the door and window. There was a spacious yard before the door which he desired he might be permitted to walk in with me. I accordingly disposed the guard in such a manner as to prevent an escape. While walking together, he observed, he must make a confidant of somebody and he knew not a more proper person than



THE VILLAGE STREET IN RIDGEFIELD.

[From a photograph by the Author.]

myself, as I had appeared to befriend a stranger in distress. After settling the point between ourselves he told me who he was and gave me a short account of himself from the time he was taken at St. Johns in 1775 to that time. He requested pen and ink and wrote immediately to Gen. Washington declaring who he was. About midnight the express returned with orders from Gen. Washington to Col. Sheldon to send Major Andre immediately to Headquarters."

J. Howard King, Esq., has in his possession the chair used by Major Andre while in General King's custody at Squire Gilbert's house, in South Salem, and seated in which he penned his letter to General Washington.

At the commencement of the Revolution Ridgefield was strongly under Tory influence. When the first signs of the impending conflict became manifest the towns-people, at a special town meeting held January 30, 1775, to consider the action of the late Continental Congress, resolved not to adopt or conform therewith, and publicly disapproved of and protested against said Congress and the measures adopted by it as unconstitutional. Not content with this rebuke to the spirit of patriotism, the meeting proceeded to pass a series of resolutions in acknowledgment of his most sacred majesty, King George the Third; the three branches of the legislature, the King, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons, and ordered

that the resolutions be printed in New York that "they may be published to the world." Although those who succeeded in carrying these resolutions were few in number, the emphatic language they used in denouncing the spirit of liberty caused bitter discord and separated the village in factional controversy. The sturdy American could not submit to such humiliation, and the young patriots determined to remove, if possible, what they considered a blot upon their town records. They, therefore, called two town meetings, one on March 7, 1775, and one on April 10, 1775, for the purpose of reconsidering the resolution of January 30, 1775, but were unsuccessful. Finally, however, at a town meeting held December 17, 1775, it was unanimously resolved to disannul the resolution of January 30, 1775, and to adopt and approve of the Continental Congress. This early but persistent fight was the first stand taken by the villagers in the struggle for independence, and although now no details remain of how bitter and hostile it must have been, the flame of true patriotism, once ignited in the inhabitants, continued to burn with unwavering fidelity until liberty was proclaimed throughout the land. The town meetings were always held in the Congregational Meeting House. The present building was erected at the beginning of the present century, on the same site occupied by the original church, and in the centre of the village green.

The Keeler tavern stands to-day as it stood on the day of the battle; and in the generations that have since passed away one can fancy seeing the Boston and New York coaches draw up under its quaint swinging sign, as they always used to do, while the relays of horses were changed. The original sign was taken down in 1856, so as to preserve it from further decay, after having kept tune on its creaking hinges since 1794. Ridgefield was on the great thoroughfare between the two cities, and the stage coach took four days in ordinary weather to make the journey. Many distinguished men have put up for the night at "Keeler's," as the tavern was familiarly called. In the old days it was the custom to erect buildings with the gable end towards the highway, and this is frequently the striking feature of an old house. The tavern was so built, and from the front porch a beautiful view of the rolling country towards Danbury is obtained. The old sign-board bears four dates upon its faded sides, showing how often it must have been retouched in order to attract wayfarers along the public road. One of the doors is over two inches thick, studded with hand-wrought nails, and is guarded over by an English lion-faced knocker of determined mien. T. Keeler, the name on the old sign-board was Squire Timothy Keeler, a grandson of one of the original settlers of Ridgefield. He maintained the tavern for many years



THE OLD RIDGEFIELD INN (THE KEELER TAVERN), WITH ITS SWINGING SIGN.

[From a photograph by the Author.]

as a favorite resort for the traveling public. At no other place on the road was the fare so well and daintily served, the linen so crisp and white, or the welcome more hearty. Squire Keeler's youngest daughter, Anna, married Abijah Resseguie who has recently died, and who, although ninety-six years of age, was always glad to talk over the recollections of the many years of his control over the destinies of the old inn with the same vivacity and zest as when the powdered-haired and knee-buckled aristocrats dismounted at his door. His pleasant greeting and cordial and courteous manner were retained till the last.

For many years there was a small addition attached to the tavern and used as a store. "I remember," said Mr. Resseguie, "when it was the daily custom for farmers to bring in wood-ashes and barter them for goods." In the autumn of 1804, says Samuel Goodrich (Peter Parley) in his *Recollections of a Lifetime*, I remember Jerome Bonaparte coming up to Keeler's tavern with a coach and four, attended by his young wife, Miss Patterson, of Baltimore. It was a gay establishment, and the honeymoon sat happily on the tall sallow strapping and his young bride. Another event I remember, and that is the celebration of the inauguration of Jefferson, March 4, 1801. The old field piece, a four-pounder, which had been stuck, muzzle down, as a horse-post, at Keeler's tavern, since

the fight of 1777, was dug up, swabbed and fired off sixteen times, that being the number of states then in the Union. At first the cannon had a somewhat stifled and wheezing tone, but this soon grew louder, and at last the hills re-echoed to the rejoicing of democracy from High Ridge to West Mountain.

This allusion to the old cannon is most suggestive. The fact that it had remained as a horse-post since the battle is stated positively. Mr. Goodrich makes the assertion upon his own personal knowledge, for he



VIEW OF THE DANBURY HILLS FROM THE KEELER TAVERN, RIDGEFIELD, CONNECTICUT.

says it is an event which he remembers. The caliber, a four-pounder, is the same as the shot lodged in the tavern. It would appear, therefore, that a four-pounder field-piece was either captured from or abandoned by the British at the battle of Ridgefield, for it was not until after the battle, and while the British were endeavoring to re-embark at Compo, that the Americans were reinforced by artillery. There three pieces of General John Lamb's artillery joined Arnold, and rendered important service in the fight at the bridge.

With the patriots who participated in the battle of Ridgefield was Jeremiah Keeler, a lad of about seventeen. His young spirit then became kindled with patriotic fever, and thenceforth he entered boldly into the service of his country. Joining the Continental army he quickly rose to the position of orderly sergeant in the Light Infantry under La Fayette. He was often called upon to perform hazardous and important service re-

quiring skill and judgment, and for his bravery on one occasion he was presented with a sword by General La Fayette. During the last days of the siege of Yorktown two redoubts greatly annoyed the men at work in the trenches by a flanking fire. It was determined to capture the redoubts by assault. This duty was entrusted to the American Light Infantry under La Fayette, and Sergeant Keeler was among the foremost in scaling the breastworks. Sergeant Keeler witnessed the surrender of Cornwallis, and after the disbandment of the army in 1783, he returned to Ridgefield on foot, using the sword presented to him by La Fayette as a cane. The lower part of the leather scabbard was worn out in the long homeward tramp. The sword and the scabbard are carefully preserved and may both be seen in the picture on page 193. Upon reaching Ridgefield he settled a few hundred yards beyond the Westchester line, in the town of Lewisboro, where, in 1788, he built himself a house in which he passed the remainder of his days. He had twelve children, and the old place is now occupied by his granddaughter, Miss Hulda Keeler.

Lelifford S. H. Bartlett

NEW YORK AND OHIO'S CENTENNIAL

Nothing perhaps is more suggestive of the marvelous growth of the United States than the fact that in April Ohio will celebrate the centennial, not of her admission into the Union, but of the first white settlement within her borders. The old states are young enough, but here is one only dreamed of when the federal constitution was adopted, which during the short life of the republic has stepped forward into the third place in numbers, with a population second to none in prosperity, intelligence and virtue. Her people may well feel proud of their record and all the Union will be interested in the anniversary which rounds out such a century of progress.

Some of the other states however take more than a mere sisterly interest in this occasion. They claim to stand towards Ohio in a nearer relation, and as this is a historical question, it will not seem like a raking over of dead embers to look into the nature of these claims. If an old, it certainly is not a familiar story.

The passage in 1787 of the ordinance for the government of the Northwestern Territory has always been regarded as one of the important events in American history. It dedicated to freedom this vast domain, then the property of the general government, and laid the foundations of the five great free states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin. An event with such far-reaching consequences may well be deemed important, and has naturally attracted universal attention; but a curious illustration of the manner in which American history has been written is afforded by the fact, that so little is known of the mode in which the United States acquired this territory, although the formation of the Union turned upon the question of its acquisition. In some respects this neglected piece of history is of more importance than the other which is so familiar.

Consult the ordinary school books, or even more pretentious works, and one will learn that the country lying north-west of the Ohio river, was embraced within the chartered limits of Virginia, and was by that state magnanimously ceded to the general government. Some one has well said, that the fables of one generation become the accepted facts of another and the crystallized history of the third. Few better illustrations of the truth of this statement can be found than is afforded by the present example.

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By the Treaty of Paris, executed in 1763, at the conclusion of the war which gave to England the mastery upon this continent, France surrendered to Great Britain all claims to that portion of America lying east of the Mississippi river. The English colonies at that time lay along the Atlantic seaboard, none of them extending beyond the Appalachian or Alleghany Mountains. Westward of the limits of their settlements stretched an expanse of territory much larger and more fertile than that covered by the entire thirteen colonies. Twelve years later the revolutionary struggle opened. As the war progressed and it became apparent that the colonists were to be successful, the question of the title to this imperial domain rose to great importance. To the whole of the region now embraced within the boundaries of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, Virginia and New York made each an exclusive claim, while Massachusetts and Connecticut asserted title to strips of the northern portion. Against such pretensions the other states stood out, arguing with great force that territory wrested from the common enemy should be considered as joint property to be disposed of by Congress for the common good. Dissensions over this question became so earnest that Maryland declined to join the Confederation until its settlement. Meantime, Virginia, whose population was three times that of New York, assumed to close the controversy by opening an office for the sale of her western lands. Maryland was now more than ever determined not to sign the Articles of Confederation, and the withdrawal of some of the other states seemed imminent. At this crisis, while the infant Union was trembling in the balance, New York stepped forward with a magnanimity unsurpassed in history. On the first of March, 1781, her delegates in Congress, by virtue of an act of the legislature passed the year before, at the suggestion of the patriotic General Philip Schuyler, stood up in their places and made a thrilling announcement. It was that they, on behalf of their state, had executed to the general government a deed of all the disputed territory in the West, lying beyond the present limits of New York. So well satisfied were the majority of Congress that this cession carried the whole title, that upon its announcement the delegates from Maryland formally ratified the Articles of Confederation, and the Union was at length complete.

Meantime Connecticut and Virginia, lamely following in New York's footsteps, had also authorized deeds of cession. The act of Connecticut, however, provided simply for transferring to the United States her title to such parts of the land claimed by her in the North-west, as should be in proportion to the cessions made by the other claimants, but without any

right to jurisdiction over the land thus ceded. The act of Virginia was equally objectionable. It authorized a conveyance only of the land north-west of the Ohio, and that upon condition among others, that the United States should guarantee her remaining territory, including Kentucky, which was part of the disputed tract. These proposed cessions, with that from New York which had not yet been accepted by Congress, were now referred to a committee of that body for an investigation. That committee, consisting of five members, made a long and careful examination. On the third of November, 1781, they brought in a unanimous report, deciding that New York had the only title, and giving their reasons in full for this decision. They accordingly recommended that the deed from New York should be accepted, and that from Virginia declined. On the twenty-ninth of October, 1782, Congress accepted New York's cession, while that from Virginia was subsequently rejected.

Following this decision of Congress, Virginia authorized another deed of cession, still excluding Kentucky, but stripped of the objectionable features of the prior act. This quitclaim was received with favor. Massachusetts and Connecticut subsequently released their claims to the whole territory north-west of the Ohio, except about four million acres, known as the "Western Reserve," which Connecticut held on to and finally absorbed. Washington and many others protested against this action of Connecticut. But Virginia had in the same manner dealt with the whole territory of Kentucky, and the overwhelming desire for peace and conciliation at last permitted each of these states to retain the proceeds of the land which they reserved. Thus the disputed claims were settled forever.

Such is a brief outline of a transaction, which is one of the most momentous in our history. Prior to these cessions, the Confederation had no property. It was simply a naked league of thirteen separate states fighting for their independence, to which victory would probably bring disintegration. The acquisition of this territory made these states common owners of a vast domain, large and apparently valuable enough to enrich them all. Thenceforth the American Union was a foregone conclusion.

The most curious fact about this subject is the mode in which it has been treated by the historians, none of whom so much as allude to the report of the congressional committee with the vast amount of evidence by which it was supported. Bancroft entirely ignores the whole matter. Hildreth dismisses it with a few words. Curtis alone, in his *History of the Constitution*, recognizes the title and does full justice to the noble spirit of New York; but even he gives none of the facts from which the

reader can draw his own conclusions. New York has had no historian to tell her story, and so Virginia, the mother of our presidents, and New England, the maker of our school books, have gone on claiming this as their gift until the current histories are full of it, and it finds its way into so high a publication as the *Statistical Atlas*, compiled by General Walker, the superintendent of the census, and published by the general government. This Atlas contains a map showing that Virginia, Massachusetts and Connecticut gave the North-western Territory to the United States, New York being entirely ignored. It is the object of the present paper, in vindication of the committee of 1781, and the Congress of 1782, to show that the decision in favor of New York was supported by the evidence, and was based on well-settled principles of law and equity. In one direction the examination is not without a present interest, for it throws a side light on the Indian problem, which is to-day and for years to come will be a living question.

Virginia vigorously opposed the appointment of the committee of 1781, and when it was appointed refused to lay any proofs before it. In fact she had none, except one document which was perfectly well known, the famous charter of 1609. On this her statesmen rested their claims to the whole North-west. By that instrument James I. granted to "The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London for the First Colony in Virginia," a tract of land along the sea coast extending for two hundred miles in each direction north and south from Old Point Comfort, "and all that space and circuit of land lying from the sea coast of the precinct aforesaid up into the land throughout from sea to sea, west and north-west."

In 1624 this charter was annulled by legal proceedings, and thenceforth Virginia continued a royal province, but during the American Revolution her people claimed that the boundaries of the province were co-extensive with those of the chartered colony. This position was not correct, for after the cancellation of the charter the ancient limits of the colony were totally disregarded by the mother country. In 1632, Lord Baltimore received his patent for Maryland, the Carolina proprietors received theirs in 1663 and 1665, and Pennsylvania was granted to William Penn in 1681. Each of these grants infringed on the four hundred miles of sea coast of the Virginia Company, but no one thought of questioning their validity. But conceding for the sake of the argument that the position was correct which Virginia assumed at a later day, two questions still remained.

First.—What were the western bonds of the colony under the charter

of 1609? Second.—What right had King James to make a grant extending, as was claimed for this, to the Pacific Ocean?

The first of these questions was ably discussed in 1780 by Thomas Paine in a pamphlet entitled *Public Good*, in answer to the position that Virginia, under her charter, took in all the north-western portion of the continent. In that production the author shows the absurdity of basing a legal claim upon words of description so indefinite as "from sea to sea west and north-west." Such a description in a private deed would render it void for uncertainty, and there was nothing in the circumstances of this case to take it out of the ordinary rule. But aside from this there is another objection pointed out by the same author which is equally fatal. The boundaries of the grant began at Point Comfort and ran north two hundred miles, then south the same distance, and finally back into the country "west and north-west." By all rules of legal construction the west line should have been drawn from the northern Atlantic boundary, and the north-west line from the southern, and not in the reverse mode as Virginia claimed. The effect of this would have been to make of Virginia a right-angled triangle with an area somewhat larger than that of the state before its recent division. The fact that it contained the words "from sea to sea" does not militate against this construction. With the vague ideas of geography prevalent at that time, the South sea was thought to be near the Atlantic coast, and expeditions were fitted out to reach it by sailing up the James and Chickahominy rivers (*Maryland's Influence in Founding a National Commonwealth*, by Prof. H. B. Adams, p. 8). Under such circumstances the strict construction of the words of the grant as given above would better conform to the intentions of the crown, than one which would carry the boundaries three thousand miles westward and embrace the larger portion of a continent.

But, be all this as it may, the second question is of more importance, for it furnishes an answer not only to the claims of Virginia, but to those of Massachusetts and Connecticut, who insisted that their early grants also carried them westward to the Pacific Ocean. The English sovereign clearly could grant no more than he possessed. His letters patent would convey only what he owned at the time that they were sealed. They would not operate like a warranty deed from an individual to carry property subsequently acquired, but on the contrary are to be construed strictly in favor of the crown and against the grantee. These principles of law are perfectly well settled. The question, therefore, resolves itself into this: when James the First made his grant to the Virginia Company in 1609, how far into the interior did he own?

To answer this question, we must disabuse our minds of the general impression that England possessed a title to the continent by virtue of Cabot's discovery in 1497. The prior discovery of the New World by Spain stood in the way of such a claim, and the latter's title had been strengthened by a papal grant. To meet this difficulty England laid down the principle that occupation following discovery alone gave any valid rights. Yet the proposition as thus stated was full of practical embarrassments, and these became greater as time went on. If occupation was essential, how much of an occupation was required? If a strip of sea coast was settled, how far into the interior did the title thus acquired extend, and in what direction should the lines be run? Spain settled Florida, France took possession of the St. Lawrence, and England founded colonies along the Atlantic coast. If the lines were run east and west, England would have a prior claim, but if north and south, Spain and France would well nigh absorb the continent. These are but suggestions of some of the questions which were raised, but they will suffice to show their character. To partly meet the difficulty it was laid down that discovery and occupation of the sea coast would confer a title for a reasonable distance into the interior, but this left the question almost as indefinite as before. At this juncture England put forth a doctrine which she thenceforth adhered to without deviation. When Cabot sailed along the American coast he may have considered the continent as unoccupied. It certainly was upon such a supposition that the nations of Europe parceled it out among themselves. But when actual settlement was attempted this error was speedily discovered. The ashes of burned dwellings and the bleaching bones of colonists, stretching from Maine to Georgia, revealed the fact that the country was not unoccupied. The realization of this truth introduced a modification of the doctrine that discovery and occupation gave a title to the soil. This change consisted in the addition of the element that the right acquired by discovery followed by occupation was that of obtaining the soil from the natives by purchase or conquest. In this form the legal principle continued down through the colonial days, was adopted by the United States, formulated by Chief Justice Marshall in the great case of *Johnson against McIntosh*, reported in 8th *Wheaton*, and has received the assent of Kent and Story. It was in view of this principle that Lord Holt said in the latter part of the seventeenth and Blackstone in the last quarter of the eighteenth century that the American colonies were obtained by conquest.

The introduction of this doctrine placed the Indians in a very different relation to the English from that which is assigned to them by vulgar

opinion. Some of them were thenceforth treated as nations with whom treaties could be made, and from whom rights could be acquired, and not as barbarians having no rights that white men were bound to respect. These considerations are important, for though established by an overwhelming mass of testimony, most historians pass them over in silence. One thing is very clear: so far as the North-western Territory is concerned, England never so much as lisped a claim to it founded on the discovery of Cabot, or on any title acquired before the Virginia Charter of 1609. Her only claim, as will be shown hereafter, was of a very different character, that of a protectorate established by treaty at a much later day, over the property of Indians who resided within the borders of New York.

When the Europeans landed in North America they found a considerable part of the continent controlled by a confederacy of natives, whom the French named the Iroquois and the English the Five Nations. The confederacy was composed of five tribes, the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas. Beginning with the Mohawks, who were located about forty miles west of Albany, these allied tribes extended for about two hundred miles along the Mohawk and the plains of western New York. In 1712 the Tuscaroras, a tribe located in Carolina, became involved in a war with their white neighbors, in which they were defeated. The scattered remnants of this people fled to New York, and were, about 1715, adopted as a member of the confederacy, being distributed between the Oneidas and Onondagas. After their arrival the confederacy was known as the Six Nations.

Among the Iroquois, alone do we find the Indian of the novelist and poet. The records of other tribes show no trace of eloquence, but these were a nation of orators, Logan and Red Jacket of modern times tell something of their power. As diplomatists too they have rarely been surpassed, but it was as warriors that they stand preëminent. When Henry Hudson visited America, they roamed as conquerors "from the St. Lawrence to Virginia, half of Long Island paid them tribute, and a Mohawk sachem was revered on Massachusetts Bay." The next three-quarters of a century saw their empire so extended that it stretched from far above the great Lakes to the Carolinas, and was bounded only by the Mississippi on the west (2 *Bancroft*, 418; 1 *Smith*, 224; 1 *Parkman's Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 7; *De Witt Clinton's Address on the Iroquois*). To their conquests the geographical situation of central New York largely contributed. Other tribes were hemmed in by mountains or by boundless barren wastes. No such barriers impeded their progress. Their "Long House," as it was called, lay on the crest of the most wonderful watershed

in the world. On the north they had water communication with the St. Lawrence and the Lakes, while on the south and west, the Hudson, Delaware, Susquehanna, Alleghany and Ohio afforded them highways to a large portion of the continent. Launching their light canoes on the streams which flowed from their hunting ground as from a mighty fountain, they could in time of need hurl an overwhelming force upon almost any foe. By nature the bravest and most relentless of the savage tribes, their long career of conquest had intensified their native traits. Sage in council, wily in diplomacy and fearless in battles, they have well been named the Romans of America.

The conquests of the Iroquois were not like those of some rude races who simply march across a country and call it theirs. They planted colonies among some of their subjects and levied perpetual tribute on others. Cadwallader Colden bore witness to this in the middle of the last century, and Sir William Johnson, writing to the Board of Trade in 1763, after describing their vast conquests says: "Their claim to the Ohio and thence to the Lakes is not in the least disputed by the Shawanese, Delawares, etc., who never transacted any sales of land or other matters without their consent."

For nearly a century and a half these native tribes held the balance of power while England and France contended for dominion upon the continent. It was a great conflict, the old battle between priest-craft and free thought, feudalism and self-government. Progress was pitted against retrogression; the future fought against the past. The result, looking back, seems free from doubt, but for many years victory wavered in the balance. The French had great advantages, their power was concentrated, they had a single head, and their people were born soldiers. On the other hand, the English were scattered in little settlements along a straggling line of sea coast, had no war policy, no head and no concert of action. In addition, the French had as allies substantially all the Indian tribes except the Six Nations. Had these also joined them, the best authorities are agreed that the English would have been driven from the continent, and that we should have had here a Gallic and not an Anglo-Saxon civilization. That the French could never win over the Six Nations is one of the curious facts of history, deserving much more attention than it has ever yet received. It was due to the presence in Central New York of the Hollanders who settled Albany and the Mohawk Valley. How the New Englanders treated the Indian is known to every reader. The red man robbed of his land, despised as an outcast, and with friends and kindred kidnapped and sold into slavery, retaliated after his fashion and

made the land one broad field of massacre. Very different was the fate of Central New York, simply because the conduct of its settlers was so different. The whole secret consisted in the fact that they treated the Indian as a man. Tolerant in religion, they respected his rude faith; truthful among themselves, to him they never broke their word; honest in all their dealings, with him they kept good faith. They suffered from no thefts, because they took nothing except by purchase. Their land titles were respected, because for every tract they had an Indian deed. They were scourged by no massacres, save from the enemy across the borders, because they committed no robbery or murder.

Almost as soon as the Hollanders landed at Albany they made a treaty of friendship with the confederates. This was continued until the English occupation, and then renewed, the Dutch influence still being paramount. In 1684 the Indians asked the English governor to affix the arms of the Duke of York on their stockaded villages or castles. In 1692 the sachems of the Five Nations said to Major Ingoldesby at Albany: "Brother Corlaer, we are all the subjects of one great King and Queen" (1 *Smith*, 123). And in 1698 Lord Bellomont, in a letter to Frontenac, the governor of Canada, said it could be manifested to all the world by authenticated solid proofs that the Five Nations were always considered as subjects of the king of England (1 *Smith*, 148). These among many incidents of the same character, would seem to show that the confederates regarded the adoption of the Duke of York's arms as something more than the acquisition of a charm. But whatever was its significance to them, one fact is very clear: after the treaty of 1684 the English claimed the Five Nations as subjects who had voluntarily sought their protection, and whom it was their duty and privilege to guard.

During the long and bloody wars which followed the English Revolution, the status of the Five Nations as subjects of Great Britain was stubbornly contested by the French. They strove in every way to seduce the confederates from their allegiance, and if the English alone had opposed their projects, they doubtless would have been successful. That they failed signally, was due to the influence of Colonel Peter Schuyler, a Dutchman and the first mayor of Albany. Whatever "Quidder," as they called him, recommended or disapproved of, had the force of law. He gained his power by repeated acts of kindness, and by his singular activity and bravery in defense of the province. His house in Albany was the headquarters of the confederates when they visited the city, and he seriously impaired his private fortune by the gifts which he lavished on their chiefs. Finally, in 1710, he at his own expense, conducted five Mo-

hawk warriors to England to lay before Queen Anne the necessity for more active measures against the French. They were received with every attention, presented at court with great solemnity, furnished material for a paper in the *Spectator*, and their presence in the kingdom formed the nine days' wonder of the time.

On the 31st of March, 1713, the treaty of Utrecht put an end to the war which had so long desolated Europe, and which had been so fiercely contested in the wilds of central and northern New York. By the terms of this treaty the dispute regarding the status of the Five Nations was settled, for they were distinctly recognized as "subject to the dominion of Great Britain." Nothing could be more emphatic and conclusive than this recognition, inserted in a solemn treaty and following a contest of many years, in which the specific question had been distinctly raised.

There is no space in the limits of this paper to even glance at the contests between the French and the English in the forty years which elapsed from the treaty of Utrecht to the opening of what we know as the great French and Indian war. It is sufficient to say that while the French were daily encroaching on the territory of the Six Nations, Great Britain never for a moment abandoned the claim that they were her subjects, and that she had a protectorate over all their territory inherited or won by conquest. In 1749 the Ohio Company was organized, and obtained directly from the crown a grant of five hundred thousand acres west of the Alleghany Mountains. The attempt to settle this tract brought on the conflict which for years had been impending. The first blood was shed in 1754, but war was not actually declared until two years later. In Europe the respective contestants passed the intervening period in the interchange of formal charges and countercharges, and the dissemination of documents explaining to the other European powers the grounds of their adverse claims. The official papers issued by the British Cabinet at this time prove beyond all question the nature of England's title to the Ohio country, and yet, so far as I know, they have been substantially ignored by our historians. This is the less excusable because a copy of the leading French memorial, containing translations of the English documents, was captured on a French prize, and published by Hugh Gaïne and others in 1757.

The French asserted that the Appalachian Mountains had always been regarded as the western bounds of the English colonies. To the land lying beyond those barriers France claimed title by virtue of prior discovery and occupation, and if the question was to be decided on these grounds her right was incontestible. Her voyagers had explored the Ohio and Mississippi, had planted settlements in the disputed territory, and had

connected Canada and Louisiana by a cordon of forts almost before an English foot had trodden on its soil. England saw that upon such a basis of argument as this her claim was utterly untenable. She therefore set up no title by discovery, but fell back on her Indian title, and on that alone.

In 1727 Cadwallader Colden had published in New York the first part of his great work on "The Five Nations." In that volume he gave an account of the early treaties with them. In 1742 he wrote the continuation. The whole was published in London in 1747, and a new edition was issued in 1755. The British Cabinet, therefore, had before it all the Indian treaties and other evidence on which to base the assertion of its rights. On the 7th of June, 1755, the ministry at London issued its final memorial in answer to one from the French court, in which the latter's claim was set forth as based on prior undisputed possession. After discussing the Treaty of Utrecht, and showing that in the face of such a solemn admission France could not dispute the fact that the Five Nations were subjects of Great Britain, it sums up England's claim to the Ohio territory in these words: "What the Court of Great Britain asserts and insists upon is this, that the Iroquois Nations, acknowledged by France to be the subjects of Britain, are either originally or by conquest the lawful proprietors of the Territory of Ohio in question." *

But there is something in addition to this memorial equally striking in its character. The British government had caused extensive surveys to be made, and at a large expense had prepared an elaborate map of North America. This was drawn by John Mitchell under the direction of Pownall, the well-known secretary of the Board of Trade. It bears date February 13, 1755, is official in its imprint, and was doubtless intended to accompany the memorial which was sent to the various courts of Europe. On this map the conquests of the Six Nations, extending from the Carolinas on the south and the Illinois on the west to far above the Great Lakes as the upper limit, are laid down with great distinctness, while elaborate foot notes give the dates of the treaties by which this territory had been placed under the protectorate of Great Britain.

Two editions of this map appear to have been printed, one at London, the other, with additions, at Amsterdam. The late Governor Scymour had one of this latter edition, and the author is indebted to that gentleman for first calling his attention to its importance. This map, commonly known as Mitchell's map, which is so strong a piece of evidence of New York's claim to the North-western Territory, was with great propriety the

* *French Memorial*, Gaine's Edition, p. 187. See also *Private Instructions to De Vaudreuil*, April 1, 1755, 10 *N. Y. Colonial Documents*, p. 293, etc.

one used in settling the boundaries between Great Britain and the United States in 1783. The New York Historical Society has the copy used by John Jay on that occasion, and the Geographical Society owns the copy of John Adams. Such was the claim of Great Britain upon which she went to war with France. It is difficult to see how Virginia, Massachusetts, or Connecticut could find anything in such a title to support their pretensions to the North-western territory.

Now let us see what relations New York bore to the Six Nations and their country. The confederates lived in this province, and nothing is better settled in our colonial history than the fact that they were regarded as under the special jurisdiction and superintendence of New York. If the governors of the other colonies desired to treat with them, the negotiations were carried on through her officials. If they were to be incited to war or cajoled into peace, it was the New York authorities that were relied on to effect the desired object. Virginia in particular fully acknowledged this relation. Among other proofs of this is the fact that in 1722, her assembly passed an act, recognizing in the most formal manner the Appalachian Mountains as the boundary line between her Indians and those subject to New York. The preamble of this act referred to a treaty about to be made with the Five Nations at Albany, and it then provided that after the ratification of such treaty none of the Indians tributary to Virginia should go north of the Potomac River, or west of the Appalachian Mountains without a passport from the governor of Virginia, under penalty of death or transportation; and that none of the Five Nations should cross the Potomac or go east of the Appalachian Mountains without a passport from the governor of New York, under pain of similar penalties. A copy of the act under seal of the colony was delivered to the sachems of the Five Nations at Albany in 1722, and was ratified by them. (*Henning's Statutes of Virginia*, vol. 4, page 103.) This is but a single specimen of the transactions by which Virginia all through her colonial days recognized the Appalachian Mountains as her western boundary, and acknowledged the Five Nations who owned the farther country as appendant to New York. As for Massachusetts and Connecticut they never for a moment suggested a claim to this western territory until after the outbreak of our Revolution.

The duties imposed upon New York by her relations to these tribes formed by far the heaviest of her colonial burdens. For more than a century she contributed most of the money which was lavished upon the confederates. It is difficult now to compute the exact amount which she thus expended, but the aggregate was enormous. For example, in six

years, between 1690 and 1696, with a population of only twenty thousand souls, she spent thirty thousand pounds in her Indian wars. The other colonies were called upon by the English authorities to bear their share of this expense, and they contributed towards the total exactly three thousand pounds. Thus matters continued for more than seventy years. Great Britain unceasingly directed the other colonies to share with New York the expense of the Indian alliance which so greatly benefited all, but they uniformly evaded the demand on the ground that it was no concern of theirs. As time went on these sums swelled to vast proportions. In the first five years of the war which finally drove the French from Canada, New York expended over three hundred and forty thousand pounds. (2 *Chalmer's Introduction*, 322.)

But great as were the financial sacrifices, these formed but a fraction of her contributions. For nearly a century her outlying settlements were exposed to French incursions. Every one of her border colonists became a soldier, and they preserved the rights of the confederates with their blood, as well as with their treasure. Of all the other colonies, Massachusetts and Connecticut alone furnished anything like their fair quota of men in the long continued conflicts. The great war began over the adverse claims to the Ohio country. Virginia at that time had a population almost twice as large as that of the whole of Canada. If she had owned the territory in dispute it would at least have been natural for her to make some efforts for its protection. In 1754, she raised six hundred men for Washington's expedition, but "he found an obstruction in every fence and an opponent in every planter." (2 *Chalmer's Introduction*, 268.) After Braddock's defeat, her assembly authorized the governor to raise one thousand men for frontier purposes, but they were never raised, as the colonists would not enlist. (2 *Chalmer's Introduction*, 352.)

A little later intelligence was brought to Winchester, that the Indians were ravaging the country west of the town, and the militia were called out to drive them off. Washington could not procure twenty-five men for the service, and the people threatened to blow out his brains for the activity which he displayed on that occasion. (*Irving's Washington*, I, 214, 215.) In the next year he called out all the militia for a similar purpose, and fifteen obeyed the summons. And still again, when he ordered out three companies to the relief of a fort attacked by the Indians, he secured the presence of one captain, one lieutenant, and seven or eight privates. (*Idem*, 234-246.) In 1758, a number of Virginians enlisted in the army under General Forbes, which captured Fort DuQuesne. The garrison of the fort, five hundred in number, fled before the approaching expedition,

and the place was taken without a blow. This, it is believed, sums up Virginia's record in the war which established the English title to this territory.

Meantime we find New York and New England maintaining year after year an army of twenty thousand men, to which New York always contributed her quota.

In the Indian rebellion which broke out in 1763, the record of Virginia is but little different. Her hunters rendered valuable aid as scouts, and she raised a thousand militia for home service; but aside from this the colony did next to nothing. Colonel Bouquet, for his famous expedition into the Ohio country, enlisted two companies of Virginian volunteers, but the assembly refused to pay them, and they tried to hold the commander personally liable. The generosity of Pennsylvania alone relieved him from this embarrassment. The success of the English in quieting the outbreak was due mainly to the services of Sir William Johnson of New York, who kept all of the Six Nations, except the Senecas, true to their alliance, and in fact turned their arms against the insurgents.*

From these facts it can be judged whether Virginia at that time considered that she had a title to the North-western Territory. Had she entertained such an idea, her brave soldiers would have flocked in overwhelming numbers to its defense.

Now, in the face of this evidence, all of which was doubtless before the Congressional committee of 1781, what standing had Virginia, Massachusetts or Connecticut as claimants of the Ohio country? Virginia's charter of 1609 had been formally annulled. Besides this it was so uncertain in its description as to be void for that reason alone, while by no rule of legal construction could this description, even if valid, embrace the Ohio country. But beyond all this stands out the dominating fact that when this charter was granted England did not own the region in dispute, and only gained it afterwards by a title derived through the Province of New York. Massachusetts and Connecticut of course stood in no better position. The former claimed to the Pacific by virtue of her charter of 1629, but this had been annulled in 1684, and she had accepted another in 1691, which carried her western limits only as far as "Rhode Island, Connecticut and the Narragansett country," whatever that may mean. Connecticut claimed under the New England grant of 1620, but in 1664 Charles the Second had conveyed to his brother, the Duke of York, all the territory west of the Connecticut River, and subsequently the boundary line between the two colonies had been settled by the most formal agreement. In addition,

* *Parkman's Conspiracy of Pontiac*, vol. 2, pp. 241, 29, 72.

the last argument applicable to the claim of Virginia also disposed of the pretensions of these other states, although as they had paid something toward the expenses of the Indian wars, and always did more than their share of the fighting, they had an equitable claim which Virginia never possessed.

The answer of the committee specially appointed by Congress to investigate these questions is contained in the unanimous report to which allusion has been already made. This report sets out with the statement that the committee had been attended by the agents on the part of New York, Connecticut and Virginia, that the representatives of New York and Connecticut had laid before them their several claims with vouchers to support the same, but that Virginia had declined any elucidation of her pretensions. That they had carefully examined all the vouchers submitted to them, and had obtained all the information as to the state of the disputed lands, and that they were of opinion that Congress should accept the cession from New York. In support of this conclusion they say: "The reasons that induced your committee to recommend the acceptance of this cession are, 1st. It clearly appeared to your committee that all the lands belonging to the Six Nations of Indians and their tributaries have been in due form put under the protection of the Crown of England by the said Six Nations, as appendant to the late government of New York, so far as respects jurisdiction only.

2d. That the citizens of the said Colony of New York have borne the burthen both as to blood and treasure of protecting and supporting the said Six Nations of Indians and their tributaries for upwards of one hundred years last past as the dependants and allies of the said government.

3d. That the Crown of England has always considered and treated the country of the said Six Nations and their tributaries inhabiting as far as the forty-fifth degree of north latitude as appendant to the government of New York.

4th. That the neighboring colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia have also from time to time, by their public acts recognized and admitted the said Six Nations and their tributaries to be appendant to the government of New York.

5th. That by Congress accepting this cession the jurisdiction of the whole western territory belonging to the Six Nations and their tributaries will be vested in the United States, greatly to the advantage of the union."

They then recommend that Massachusetts and Connecticut should "release" to the United States all their claims and pretensions of claim to the said western territory, without condition or restriction, and con-

clude with the opinion that Congress should not accept the cession from Virginia, nor guarantee the tract of land claimed by her. In support of this conclusion, they state among other reasons that all the land which Virginia proposes to cede belonged to the Six Nations or their tributaries. That a great part of the land which she proposed to retain was also within the claim of the State of New York as the country of the same tribes, and was beyond the western boundary of Virginia as established by the king of Great Britain in council, previous to the Revolution.*

In accordance with these recommendations, as we have already seen, the cession from New York was accepted by Congress on the 29th of October, 1782, and about a year later the proposed deed from Virginia was formally rejected.

How well this report is sustained by the facts is shown in the preceding pages; its conclusions of law are likewise unassailable. By the Revolution, which severed the connection between the colonies and the mother country, each state succeeded to the title of Great Britain to all public or crown property within its limits. The confederation was simply a league owning nothing and succeeding to no rights. It was the individual state which took to itself the quitrents of the crown, with all the other crown property, such as forts, court-houses, and the unsold or unappropriated lands. In the same way New York succeeded to Great Britain's jurisdiction over the Six Nations and their tributaries, and thereby secured the exclusive privilege of buying or conquering their land, a right, which as to the Indians residing in the other states was never questioned. Her title to the soil was not absolute, for it was subject to the occupation of the natives, but it was the only one claimed at that time by the European powers to any land on this continent, and under it the Indian lands in the West are held by the United States to-day.

Before closing this article it may be well to notice a claim sometimes advanced, although it is one which hardly deserves serious consideration. It is occasionally said that Virginia owned the North-western Territory, because she obtained it by conquest. The facts thus referred to are briefly these. During the Revolution the Indians in the North-west became very troublesome, and Colonel George Rogers Clarke, in 1778, with the approval of Governor Patrick Henry, led a body of one hundred and fifty volunteers into the Illinois country. The expedition was a brilliant and very successful one. The British governor was captured, and the Indians so won over or terrorized that they gave little further trouble. It is claimed that as this was a Virginian expedition, originated and paid for by that state, its

* 4th Journal Old Congress, 21.

victory gave a title to the disputed lands. It is difficult to discuss such a proposition with sobriety. Upon the same theory, if the British had been driven out of Virginia by New York troops, the soil of that state would have belonged to New York, or if they had been dislodged from Manhattan Island by men from Massachusetts that act would have transferred the title. Assuming that the North-western Territory belonged to New York, Virginia could have gained no interest in it by sending out a private force for its subjection, even if she had been doing her full duty in other quarters. The fact is, however, that while New York and the New England states furnished more than their full share of troops for the general service, Virginia, like her sisters in the South, was greatly in arrears, and in the end provided only about half her quota. Thus New York was fighting the battles of Virginia, while that state was taking possession of her territory. The proposition is its own refutation.

Douglas Campbell

LEIF ERIKSON

In view of the interest recently aroused in the question of the discovery of America by the Northmen by the unveiling of the Leif Erikson statue in Boston, the general reader may be interested to know what authorities were consulted to substantiate the claim of discovery which has been inscribed on the pedestal of the statue. The subscribers finding themselves fortunately in the possession of a work worthy to commemorate an historic event were naturally confronted with the following questions: Are the Northern historians and antiquarians conservative and trustworthy? Does the story rest "on narratives, mythological in form and obscure in meaning, ancient, yet not contemporary" (Bancroft), or are the historical sagas authentic documents founded upon fact and affirmed by the best historians? Writers whose judgment is authoritative answer the first of these queries in the affirmative.

The second may be included for reply with a statement recently accepted by the Massachusetts Historical Society, the secretary's report of which reads in part as follows:

"Professor Haynes, in behalf of the committee appointed to consider the question of the alleged early discovery of America by the Norsemen, reviewed the various sources of information bearing upon the subject, and in conclusion expressed the opinion that there is the same sort of reason for believing in the existence of Leif Erikson that there is for believing in the existence of Agamemnon. They are both traditions accepted by later writers, and there is no more reason for regarding as true the details related about the discoveries of the former, than there is for accepting as historic truth the narrative contained in the Homeric poems. Not only is it antecedently probable that the Norsemen discovered America in the early part of the eleventh century, but this is confirmed by the same sort of proof upon which our belief in many of the facts of history rests. The date of 1000 A.D., assumed for such discovery, is sufficiently near for all practical purposes, and is much nearer the truth than the traditional date given for the foundation of Rome. It was voted that this report be accepted and incorporated in the records of the society."

Professor J. D. Whitney, of Harvard College, in a course of lectures on geography, now in progress, having fully treated of the discovery of the American Continent by the Northmen, kindly permits the use of the ab-

stract of his lecture of December 17 last, the substance of which is given below. It was an answer to the above report of the Massachusetts Historical Society, noticed by Professor Whitney, which was absolutely contradictory to his own statements made in previous lectures, wherein the Icelandic discovery had been treated as established history. Having cited Grote and other authorities, concluding with Schlieman, Professor Whitney showed that Agamemnon was a mythical or semi-mythical personage, and to the question, Was there any Trojan war, or is the whole story a legendary collection of fictions? gave Grote's answer: "The possibility of it cannot be denied, neither can the reality of it be affirmed." The various statements or legends as to the time of the birth of Homer, which vary by four hundred and sixty years, and the theories in regard to the composition of the Iliad, which are in the highest degree conflicting, were also recalled. As to the Northmen Professor Whitney concludes as follows: "The written records of the discoveries of Bjarni, Leif, Thorfinn and others are clear, circumstantial, not in conflict with each other, in accordance with the perfectly well-known character of the Northmen, absolutely free from any mythical legends. The dates are given of each event, and these dates are in harmony with each other, entirely consistent and supported by independent evidence (Rafn). The evidence has been accepted in full by all the eminent geographical critics of later days. Among the names of those thus accepting and fully indorsing the validity of the discoveries, I will mention Humboldt, Major, Peschel and Kohl, all geographical critics of the first rank."

The established facts concerning these discoveries given us by qualified writers are these: The discovery of Greenland and the emigration there of Erik the Red in A.D. 985-986; the sighting land by Bjarni in A.D. 990; the carrying of Christianity to Greenland and the discovery of Vinland by Leif, in A.D. 999-1000. The men who made these voyages are known historically outside their Vinland exploits.

The references in the Icelandic records show that voyages to Vinland from Scandanavia, Iceland and Greenland were made for three hundred years and more after the discovery. The extinction of the Greenland colony, which was caused, it is supposed, by famine, the plague and the breach of communication with the mainland, perhaps, also, by the assaults of the Eskimos, occurred about the year 1400. Hans Egede, a Norse missionary, with his wife and children, went in 1721 to Greenland. He desired to resume the work of the seventeen bishops of Greenland, broken off, as he knew, late in the fourteenth century. By his disinterested devotion and reports to the home countries of his work and explorations, he brought to

the forlorn natives, not the comfort of religious instruction alone, but communication with the outside world as well. Erik Upse was the first of the resident bishops in Greenland in 1112, and it is recorded that he went to Vinland in 1121. Bishop Upse is the first also on the list of the bishops in this country whose lives are recorded by the Roman Catholic Church.* Since the time of Arne Magnussen, the great collector of vellums, and his friend and countryman, Torfæus the Icelandic historian, who has the reputation of first bringing the documents of the Vinland discovery to the knowledge of European scholars (*Vinlandia* and *Gronlandia*, 1705), a succession of eminent antiquaries, historians, and philologists have made the old Icelandic literature and history a common possession. The writings on the Northmen and their discovery of Vinland, of Laing, Beamish, Henry Wheaton, Paul Riant and many others, all of whom affirm the authenticity of the sagas, and their necessary acceptance, are based upon the researches of Bishop Müller, Rask, Finn Magnusen, Geijer, Bergmann, Matthias Petersen, Bugge, Grundtvig, Helveg, Keyser, Rafn and other eminent scholars.

The worthy successor of the illustrious Alexander Von Humboldt, as Mr. Charles Deane in a tribute to Dr. J. G. Kohl of Bremen, calls that distinguished geographer, reaffirms Humboldt's statement (*Cosmos*, Vol. II.) of the discovery A.D. 1000.† When Professor Willard Fiske, the first American Icelandic scholar, was consulted as to authorities, he answered: "The best books on the subject seem to me to be still the *Gronlandia* and *Vinlandia* of Torfæus, the learned Iclander of the beginning of the last century, because they are free from hypotheses, and confine themselves to the bringing together of the saga narratives. . . . The studies of Vigfusson, of Oxford, and Maurer, of Munich, enable them to give the most authoritative opinions on this subject," etc.

Turning to Vigfusson's works one learns that the latest scholarship conducted upon the modern scientific methods by such scholars as Munch, Unger, Sigurdsson, and Konrad Maurer (the greatest living authority on Icelandic law) still gives in the main incidents of the saga story and the dates of the discovery of Greenland and the American continent as established history. There are works enough of Munch, Maurer and Vigfusson in our libraries to give the student this assurance. The conclusions gath-

* P. A. Munch's *History of Norway*, Vol. III., p. 618, and Konrad Maurer's *Grönland im Mittelalter*.

† See Kohl's *Discovery of North America* for charts of the Northmen, p. 107. Also pp. 115-19, for the possible benefit to Columbus if he read Adam of Bremen and thus learned of Vinland, or acquired a knowledge of the Norse Icelandic voyages at the time of his visit to Iceland in 1477.

ered from various works of Vigfusson, whose very conservative opinions have double value based as they are upon his full knowledge of the work of his predecessors and collaborators and his own most exact research, will be given in his own and as few words as possible. He says: "What we hold is that the sagas are to be looked upon as epics, founded on fact, not as exact histories." He furthermore tells us that one can depend upon the received chronology of Norway after A. D. 976, the year of the great famine, and of Iceland after 960 as given by Ari. Ari himself (1067-1148) is called "the chief of Teutonic historians, the ever-enquiring, sagacious writer whose skilled and careful hand has given us the story of the settlement of Iceland (*Landnama*) the account of the christening of the new commonwealth, the sketch of its constitution and a series of *Lives of the Kings* of the mother country—Norway. Besides his advantages of time and the skill to use them, Ari appears to have had the rarer gift of perfect tolerance and impartiality, so that one may rely implicitly on him as one who always draws on the best information to be had, and whose only aim is truth." And again, "Ari's sagacity, his careful and orderly method and plain straight forward, but pure and dignified style, enhance the value of the immense amount of information which he carefully gathered from the best sources, the relative worth of which he gauges minutely. Neither was he a mere antiquarian—on the contrary his view of history is both poetical and scientific, and differs in many respects from the narrow and distorted vision of the ordinary medieval writers with whom indeed he has nothing in common. His peerless book—*Landnama*—contains some 2,000 names of places and 4,000 names of persons."

Of Snorri Sturlason (1178-1241) we are told that, "In comparison with his contemporaries, Snorri's broader views and keen statesmanlike tact are certainly remarkable; and every page of his works attests his sympathy with the political life and his possession of the peculiar qualities necessary for a ruler of men. Able to value at its real worth the careful truth-seeking of Ari, he yet takes his own path as an historian; seizing on character and situation with the truest dramatic feeling, letting his heroes speak for themselves; working boldly and vigorously, but with the surest skill; and so creating works which for deep political insight, truth of conception, vividness of color and knowledge of mankind, must ever retain their place beside the master-pieces of the greatest historians. . . . Between Ari and Snorri there is this difference; Ari is a master of *facts* and his truthful research has laid the foundations of history: Snorri is a political historian, a man of the world, a poet and an artist." *

* Wheaton, Laing, and others pay tributes of the same nature to Ari and Snorri.

Vigfusson enhances the value of the *King's Lives* by proving that Ari is the authority for the data of that work based upon *contemporary documents*, and that Snorri Sturlason re-edited the work, "putting into dramatic form with great beauty, pathos and humor those stories which have made the *Heimskringla* so justly famous."

It is always to be borne in mind that it was the godars, governors, and bishops of Iceland, men who participated in the political and social life of the people, who were the writers of sagas and preserved in the records the principal events, the genealogies and properties of prominent families from the time of Ari to Snorri, and late into the fourteenth century. The greater number of the sagas have come down in fourteenth century MSS. such as the Sturlunga, the Flatey and Hauk's books. The period of the writing of the sagas is assigned by Müller (*saga bibliothek*) as early as the eleventh century. Vigfusson places it about 1140 to 1220 "a time of peace, a period in which neither foreign influence nor party violence were all absorbing, the impulse having been first given by Ari and his school. . . . While the creative instinct was still at work in the time of the commonwealth we may fancy the written literature as circulating in pamphlet form small sized vellum—books roughly copied like the quartos of the early English playwrights—such as the Libellus gives an example of. But all these have perished and it is from the collection of the following centuries, fine large books well written on parchment, that the texts are derived. A debt of gratitude is due to the men who did this work; if they could not write themselves they at least took care of the works of those who could; they gave faithful copies and good clean texts, so that though their Scholia would be desirable, there is reason to be content with their honest work."

"The saga of Erik the Red (the Vinland story) presents the unique phenomenon of two entirely different recensions which, though corresponding on the whole, are both separately derived from oral tradition. The correspondence of these distinct versions throws great light on the vitality and the faithfulness of tradition and is a strong confirmation of the credibility in main points of a saga which is especially important for historic reasons." The two versions are believed to have originated in the north and west of Iceland respectively. The saga of Thorfinn Karlsefne was probably first recorded in Iceland by his grandson, Bishop Thorlak (1085–1133). The northern version is that copied into the Flatey-book (edited by Vigfusson and Unger, Christiania, 3 vols., 1868); the western is found in two MSS., the Hauk's book and No. 557 of the Arne Magnussen collection. The version familiar to American readers was taken as given by Rafn in *Antiquitates Americanæ* from *Hauk's Book* (Hauk died in 1334),

and is called "longwinded and confused compared to No. 557, which is of higher literary worth because it has preserved a certain charm of style and beauty of diction."

Mr. Stephney's translation is recommended to English readers. Having learned that the chronology, as noted above, can be depended upon from the year 976 for Norway, and 960 for Iceland, as given by Ari, it is always very important for students not familiar with northern writers to remember that the sagas have the "firm ground of the *Landnama* book as a basis, for it is often cited (though not by name) in the sagas, being the ground work or matrix to them as well; in style and character it lies behind all other Icelandic literature."*

The authorities cited will make it clear to unprejudiced readers and students that the subscribers to the Leif Erikson statue were fully authorized to inscribe the Norse-Icelandic discovery of the American continent and the date of the same on the pedestal of Miss Whitney's statue, which Mr. James Russell Lowell has happily described as: "A work both nobly conceived and admirably executed, a fine design adequately carried out, sufficiently true in detail without harm to its ideal character—in short, just what such a statue should be."

A quotation from George Webbe Dasent's Introduction to the *Icelandic Dictionary* admirably shows the sagas to be worthy of the consideration and study now made possible to all students by the great work of Vigfusson, a monument not only to his learning but to the intelligent co-operation of English scholars as well. Mr. Dasent writes: "Although these sagas are filled with the might and glory of kings and jarls, they are thickly sown with the brave deeds and outspoken utterances of sturdy freemen and of those allodial owners of land which belonged to them in their own right, who did not scruple, if the king wronged them, to resist him and even to defy him to the death." And again: "From whatever point of view, therefore, we consider the relations which exist between England and Iceland, whether from that of primeval affinity and a community of race, religion, and law, or from that of connection by commerce, immigration, or conquest, we shall find the two languages and peoples so closely bound together, that whatsoever throws light on the beliefs, institutions, and customs of the one, must necessarily illustrate and explain those of the other. Nor should it be forgotten that in the tenth and eleventh centuries the Icelanders were foremost in the history of the time. They were at once the most learned and the boldest and most adventurous

* Vigfusson's *Prolegomena to Sturlunga Saga*, 1877, and Vigfusson's and Powell's *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* (1883).

of men. From Iceland they pushed on to Greenland and America, and their ships swarmed in commerce or in Viking voyages on all the seas. At the courts of kings and earls, whether Norwegian, Danish, Swedish, or Anglo-Saxon, they were welcome guests, for though none were more dreaded as foes, none were more warmly greeted as friends for their gifts of wit and song."

With these eloquent but well considered words the Icelandic literature and history may safely be left to the consideration of the student.

Sara C. Bull.

ELMWOOD, CAMBRIDGE, *December 26, 1887.*

A word of acknowledgment is due to individual members of the Massachusetts Historical Society for the kindly interest and encouragement, also to Baron Nordenskjöld for information in agreement with the authorities quoted.

It was decided in 1876 that the statue of Leif Erikson should be placed in Boston, and among those now deceased who were the first to give their aid and good wishes were Longfellow, Thomas G. Appleton, Maria Weston Chapman, and Henry P. Kidder.

Among the living may be mentioned the poet, Björnson, the composer, Grieg, and our present minister to Denmark, Prof. R. B. Anderson, all of whom cordially assisted Ole Bull in 1873. It is a satisfaction to note that Milwaukee now has a replica of Miss Whitney's work, thanks to the generosity of a lady resident. It was in Wisconsin, among the Scandinavians, that the movement was first started.

Miss Whitney's model of her statue was greatly admired by Ole Bull, who pronounced it Norse in character and feeling. It would be ungracious to refrain from a grateful acknowledgment in this connection of many messages of remembrance from subscribers to the violinists' initiative share in the undertaking, among which are those of Mr. Whittier, Mr. Lowell, Mr. Edwin Booth, Dr. Bartol, Dr. E. E. Hale, Prof. Horsford, and cables and letters from Norway: Among the latter a kind message from King Oscar of Norway and Sweden.

The unveiling took place on the 29th day of October, 1887. Dr. Edward Everett Hale presided, and Professor Horsford's eloquent address gave the historical outline a living form. Leaving Faneuil Hall, the procession marched to the statue and met there the governor of the state, the mayor of the city and invited guests. The statue was presented to the city by Mr. Oliver Peabody, and accepted by the mayor and governor. "By the pomp and ceremony of a public demonstration," said the *Boston Herald*, "Boston committed herself gladly and irrevocably to a truth which the conservatism of tradition, rather than the blindness of prejudice, had done much to conceal."

Messages and cables, one sent by Mr. E. Vedel, the eminent archæologist, from the Antiquarian Society of Copenhagen, giving "the best thanks of the society for the manner in which the citizens of the United States have honored the deeds and energy of the old Scandinavians," and from the mayors of the cities of Bergen and Staranger, Norway, evidencing the general interest of the home countries in the event. The children also of C. C. Rafn, sent their greetings and recalled the aid and recognition received by their eminent father from American scholars, accompanied by a letter of congratulation from the American minister at Copenhagen.

S. C. B.

CENTRAL OHIO SEVENTY YEARS AGO

ADVENTURES OF JOHN A. QUITMAN

In the autumn of 1819 John Anthony Quitman, then a young man of twenty-one, whose subsequent career made him famous, crossed the Alleghany Mountains on foot, and arrived on the 2d of November at Pittsburgh. Here he took passage on a "keel-boat" down the Ohio, Mrs. Griffith—daughter of Elias Boudinot, the first president of Princeton College—her daughter, and other ladies, being among his fellow-passengers. "The accommodations were very rough," wrote Quitman, in his diary, "but the ladies made it agreeable. Miss Griffith played on the flageolet and I on the flute. I felt like poor Goldsmith when, wandering over Europe, he fluted for his supper. Our fowling-pieces supplied us with game; biscuit and jerked venison were our standbys. At Wheeling Mrs. and Miss Griffith, charmed with our mess table, became our boarders. We laid in some tea and loaf sugar for them, and, to provide more game, we purchased a small canoe, here called a 'dug-out,' or 'man-drowner.'"

There is something very fascinating in this picture of primitive travel down the beautiful Ohio. How the little party must have reveled in the glorious scenery of the noble river, as they drifted leisurely along with its bright current, threading mazily amongst wild and silent bluffs, all robed in the gorgeous livery of autumn! What a contrast to the rattle and jostle of the lightning-express-train travel of to-day!

On the 19th of November the party landed at Portsmouth, Ohio, and thence Quitman set out on horseback for Chillicothe. "Deer were so numerous on the way," he says, "that I shot one with my pistol near Piketon, and with it paid for my lodging and entertainment. On the 22d, at 4 P. M.," he continues, "I dismounted at an inn in Chillicothe, and sung out to the astonished hostler: '*Hic labor extremis, hic meta longarum viarum.*'"

Young Quitman was a native of Rhinebeck, New York, born September 1, 1798. His father was the Rev. Dr. Frederick Henry Quitman, a Lutheran clergyman, the son of an officer in the Prussian army, and his birthplace was one of the small islands of the Rhine. Dr. Quitman was educated at the University of Halle, Saxony, and was subsequently dispatched by the Lutheran Consistorium at Amsterdam as a missionary to the island of

Curacoa, from whence, after a twelve years' residence, he emigrated to this country, settling, finally, at Rhinebeck. His son, John Anthony, was educated for the pulpit, but soon developed a strong inclination for a different profession, and finally began the study of law. About the same time he became adjunct professor of the English language at Mount Airey College, Germantown, Pennsylvania, a position to which he had been promoted from that of tutor in the Hartwick Academy, in Otsego County, New York. He chanced to meet and become acquainted with the Hon. Pfatt Brush, a member of Congress from Chillicothe, Ohio, who advised him to emigrate to that state, and offered him a position as private teacher in his family, together with the privilege of studying law in his office. This proposition was what drew the young adventurer into that then remote country. He was cordially received by Colonel Brush, who gave him a home and instruction in the law, in consideration of reciprocal tuitionary services. The manner in which he occupied himself in his new sphere is thus stated in a letter to his brother :

"I rise early and go to bed late; the greater part of my time is spent in close application to law books. Sometimes I indulge in a walk before sunrise on the banks of the Scioto, and think of the friends I have left on the Hudson, and the many girls I have loved. Sometimes with my gun I ramble through the primitive forests that flank the town on the northwest. I visit the ancient tumuli that abound here, and, 'fancy free,' meditate on the mysterious past. Occasionally—not as often as I wish, and as a luxury almost too great for a poor student—I spend an evening with the belles of Chillicothe. They are social and agreeable."

The following betrays some of the misgivings natural to a young barrister: "When I compare myself with some others here I think I can become a good lawyer, at least, if not an advocate. Should I fail I will find something else to do. Nature has endowed me with some physical force to supply the deficiency of mental power. I think I would make a good soldier, or a fur trader in the Rocky Mountains. If I cannot trap *clients*, I know, from experience, that I have genius for trapping *muskrats*."

As to his future plans we have the following intimation: "I have a serious notion of going to Natchez after I shall have finished my studies, unless I meet with good luck here, such as a partnership with my boss, or some other respectable lawyer."

As to the cost of living in Southern Ohio in those days, we have the following information: "Wheat brings here only 37½ cents per bushel, corn 20 to 25 cents, and other produce is cheap in proportion. In the villages board and lodgings may be had for \$1.00 to \$1.50 per day."

In a letter to his brother, dated June 24, 1820, he writes: "A brother of Colonel Brush has received the appointment of United States Register for the sale of public lands at Delaware, seventy miles north of this—a new district, extending up to Lake Erie. He offers me a clerkship, and ample time to continue my professional reading. I will go. I must get away from the fascinating charms of female society. My natural inclinations waft me too near the rocks of the sirens."

The following glimpse of social life in Chillicothe at that period is given in a letter to his sister of nearly the same date as the above: "I shall leave Chillicothe on the 15th of next month, and during the interval will seek the enjoyment of society here. The fashionable circle consists of about twenty families. As much etiquette prevails as I observed in Philadelphia, and the same hours for calls and receptions. The ladies are gay, dressy, sociable, and well informed. There is quite a circle of distinguished gentlemen, with whom Mr. Ashe, the Englishman, in his recent book of travels, says he dined; but they all agree that they never knew Mr. Ashe." Quitman adds: "Speaking of facetious travelers, I must not omit to say that the famous Captain Riley, of Arab captivity and shipwrecked celebrity, resides here, and continues to relate some wonderful exploits."

His next letter to his brother is dated at Delaware, Ohio, August 16, 1820, and runs thus: "This village is on the very edge of the white population, in the district purchased from the Indians, a few years since. This purchase embraces about eight thousand square miles. It has been divided into two land districts, of one of which (the eastern) Mr. Brush is register. It extends fifty miles on the base line, and thus up to Michigan and Lake Erie, including Sandusky River, and a great part of the Miami of the lakes. This vast tract will be offered for sale in eighty-acre tracts, to the highest bidder, and if not sold may be entered at \$1.25 per acre. The lands are of the finest quality, the greater part of them plains, with here and there copses of trees in them, like islands in the ocean. Corn, wheat and grass attain a luxuriance almost fabulous to relate. These noble plains often sweep beyond the range of the eye; here a long tongue or peninsula of timber projecting into them in graceful curves, there clumps of trees clustered together, or standing at graceful intervals, without underwood, as though planted and nurtured by the hand of art. The timber consists chiefly of oak, hickory, and black walnut."

In a letter written from Delaware, September 18, 1820, he says: "I will stake everything on the rapid progress of this region. Fort Croghan is the place from which the scintillations of my genius shall at some future

day dazzle the aborigines of Ohio. Your moneyed men in Philadelphia would make the best speculation in the world by purchasing lands here. This village has now about fifty well-built houses. In the vicinity is a mineral spring (called a 'lick') where, not many years ago, thousands of buffaloes resorted. The woods now abound with deer, wolves and turkeys, the streams with geese and ducks."

And this is the way he astonished the original natives of Delaware: "I am not yet licensed, but I have made several speeches in court in criminal cases, and gained some reputation. They think me a clever fellow and a good Republican, because I turn out to musters and wear a straw hat cocked up behind. I write a little, too, for the *Delaware Gazette*, and thus my time passes."

With a sentimental remembrance, perhaps of the lovely Chillicothe belles he had left behind him, he adds: "I left Chillicothe with great regret, nor did I know my attachment for it until I was about to leave it. The hospitality and kindness I received there will ever be gratefully remembered."

The following observation is contained in a subsequent letter: "The climate of this country is very unsteady. Two days ago we had warm, smoky weather; now the ground is covered with snow."

In a letter of December 10, 1820, he gives this charming picture of primitive Northern Ohio: "I have just returned from Portland, on Sandusky Bay, one hundred miles from this place [Delaware]. I have now traversed the whole length of the State from north to south, and for the quality of the soil, the size of the timber, the luxuriance of vegetation, in short for every feature that constitutes a rich farming country, it is not to be surpassed. As I rode over the undulating plains, the stands of timber, the trooping deer, the prairie-fowl, the wild-flowers that gemmed the path, the serene and cloudless sky, made an enchanting scene. The trees stood so artistically—here and there the curling smoke of the Indian hunter wreathing around their heads—that I almost looked for the mansion they were intended to adorn."

But wild as the country was, comparatively, the settlers were not destitute of many of the amusements and social amenities enjoyed in older communities, as witness: "This [Delaware] is not so insignificant a village as you fancy it is. We have a singing school, a boxing and fencing school, a debating society, and a Masonic lodge, and parties very often. Most of our citizens have been in the army, and know something of the world. The land office brings people here from every quarter, and of every grade." And again: "You dazzle me with your account of the holidays in Phila-

delphia. Ours were more primitive, but we had our balls and our kissing parties. It is now twelve at night. You are perhaps just returning from your stewed terrapins, your chicken salad, your confections and ices; on my table stands a small pyramid of maple sugar, our only luxury, a present from one of our neighboring belles. Your dressy dolls of Chestnut Street are washing off their rouge, to wake up pale and nervous in the morning, while my Ohio belle sleeps with her roses, and rises with them, blooming and fragrant, on her cheeks."

Quitman had now been in Ohio eighteen months, and, as he says, felt very much inclined, and had indeed at one time decided, to settle permanently in Delaware. But a prevailing scarcity of money, so discouraging to a professional man, and above all a letter which he received about this time, determined him to turn his face to the Sunny South. This letter was written by Mrs. Griffith, his traveling companion on the keel-boat voyage down the Ohio, who, with her family, was then on her way to Natchez, Mississippi, whither she strongly urged young Quitman to come with the intention of fixing there his permanent home. The letter gave a glowing account of life in the South, and of the opportunities there for young men to rise to distinction. The attractions of the Southern climate, too, formed a weighty consideration, and when added to the generous offer of Mrs. Griffith to give the young lawyer, now admitted to the bar, a temporary home in her family, and her aid in securing an introduction to society and business, easily turned the current of his destiny, and fixed his mind upon making Mississippi the theatre of his future career.

Accordingly, on the 5th of November, 1821, he bade adieu to Delaware, nearly the whole population of which assembled, he says, to say to him good-bye. Mounted upon a good horse, a present from Colonel Brush, he sat out for Natchez, accompanied as far as Columbus by Mr. Little, a merchant of Delaware. Amid a storm of sleet and rain he journeyed alone from Columbus to Chillicothe, whence he proceeded to Maysville and Louisville, where he took a steamer for Natchez, arriving there on the 3d of December. He was cordially received by his good friend Mrs. Griffith, began at once the practice of law, and on the 16th of January following wrote to his father: "Why did I not come here instead of stopping in Ohio? Money is as plenty here as it is scarce there. You may have some notion of business here when I inform you that court has been in session twenty-eight days without disposing of the criminal business; there were one hundred and twenty indictments. . . . Natchez is a bustling place. The streets are lined with carriages, drays and wagons. The rush to the river is incessant. Every hour we hear the roar of cannon announcing the

arrival and departure of steamers. Hundreds of arks or flatboats, loaded with the produce of the western states, even from the interior of Pennsylvania, here line the landing for half a mile, often lying five tiers deep. On the 8th I was examined before the Supreme Court, and am now a licensed attorney and counselor of the state of Mississippi. Continue to give me your blessing, dear father, and your son Jack will never disgrace you."

The main object of this sketch, a picture of life in Central Ohio in the early part of this century, has now been accomplished. But it will be interesting to follow rapidly to its end the thread of destiny upon which these scattering events have been strung. Economical and steady, full of energy and ambition, young Quitman was not long in acquiring a good practice and making himself one of the most popular men in the community. His tastes, talents, convictions and temperament were adapted to life in the South, so that he fell in at once with the habits and notions of the people, and became in a very short time a full-fledged Mississippian. In December, 1824, he married Eliza Turner, only daughter of Henry Turner, a native of Virginia, and by this alliance came into possession of a large estate. In politics he became a State Sovereignty Calhoun Democrat, and in 1827 was nominated by his party and elected to the legislature, wherein he at once assumed prominence. In 1830 his name was extensively canvassed to succeed in the United States Senate Hon. Thomas B. Reed, who had just died, but Robert H. Adams was elected. In 1832 he was chosen delegate to the convention to frame a new constitution for the state, and as such distinguished himself by his opposition to an elective judiciary. Shortly afterward he was appointed chancellor of the state, an office which he soon resigned. He was now known as a Nullifier, a school of politics happily yet in the minority in Mississippi, but he was nevertheless chosen to represent his district in the state senate, of which body he was made the presiding officer. Shortly afterward he recruited a company of volunteers, and led them into Texas to assist in the struggle there going on for independence of Mexican rule, and on his return was commissioned a brigadier-general of the state militia.

In the celebrated controversy of 1843 in relation to the repudiation of the state bonds, issued to the amount of fifteen millions for the Union Bank of Mississippi, Quitman was prompt and decided in placing himself with those who advocated payment of the bonds, and against the disgraceful policy which afterward brought such dishonor upon the state.

In 1848 he was again put forward for the United States Senate, William M. Gwin (Duke Gwin), H. S. Foote and ex-Governor A. G. McNutt being his competitors. Quitman was attacked on the ground of

CENTRAL OHIO SEVENTY YEARS AGO

being a straight party man, and for this and his opposition to the proslavery candidate, H. S. Foote being the successful candidate.

On the breaking out of the Mexican war Quitman hastened to Washington, tendered his services to President Polk, and was commissioned a brigadier-general. In his diary of his return trip occurs the following passage, illustrative of life's vicissitudes and contrasts: "12th.—At Pittsburgh, thermometer 102° in the shade; a foretaste of Mexico. Twenty-seven years ago I arrived here, a footworn traveler, with a few shillings in my pocket and all my worldly goods in a single trunk. My comrade and myself spent two days in chaffering for a cheap passage in a keel-boat. To-day I can draw on my merchants in New Orleans, New York and Liverpool, and the attentive landlord at the noble hotel where I put up secures for me a stateroom in a splendid steamer. I hope time and fortune have dealt lightly with my friend."

Arriving at Camargo, and was assigned to the command of a division. Taylor at Camargo, and was assigned to the command of a division. During the battles of Contreras and Churubusco, which speedily followed, Quitman, much against his wishes, was detached with part of his division, and assigned to the duty of protecting San Augustin, then the base of operations. Relieved from this duty after Churubusco, he was selected by General Scott to lead the assault on the heights of Chapultepec. Among the officers of his storming party were General Shields and Lieutenant-Colonel Geary, afterward conspicuous leaders of Union forces in the civil war. Quitman's division, he leading it in person, advanced along the Tacubaya causeway, exposed at every step to a raking fire, dashed across a moras, and climbed the steep ascent, one wing driving the enemy from his breastworks and capturing a five-gun battery, the other pushing for the redan and forcing its way into the castle. But the positions captured were exposed to an enfilading fire, and the most difficult work—the storming of the citadel and the Belen batteries—remained to be accomplished. Reorganizing his columns, Quitman seized a rifle, tied his handkerchief to it as a flag, and ordered the assault, himself taking the lead. The column dashed forward and captured the batteries, Quitman with his own hands planting the flag upon the parapet. Without waiting for orders, he now pushed his division forward into the Grand Plaza of the City of Mexico, where, the citadel having meanwhile surrendered and the Mexican army retreated, he received next morning with military honors the Commander-in-Chief.

Quitman's military career raised him to a high pitch of popularity, and in 1849 he was elected governor of Mississippi by ten thousand majorit

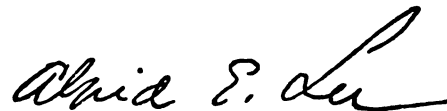
Napoleon said bitterly that some men lived just a few years too long, and it had been well for the subject of this sketch had it been himself instead of the sergeant at his side who fell while planting the Palmetto flag on the Chapultepec parapet. Thoroughly saturated with the political philosophy of Calhoun, who was his model in statesmanship, he was one of the first to suggest and most ardent to advocate secession as a remedy for what were called the aggressions of the North. While governor he denounced the admission of California as a free state, and even convened the legislature in extra session to provide means for resisting this so-called invasion of the sovereignty of Mississippi. Before serving out his term as governor he resigned, owing to a prosecution instituted against him by the government of President Fillmore for alleged complicity in the Lopez filibustering invasion of Cuba. The prosecution was dropped, the jury being unable to agree, and Quitman, returning home from New Orleans, where the trial was had, was greeted at Vicksburg with a salute of one hundred guns, a torchlight procession, and various other demonstrations of popular applause. He was again nominated for governor, but a preliminary election of delegates to a state convention resulting in an overwhelming defeat of the States Rights party, Quitman drew out of the canvass, and H. S. Foote, the Union nominee, was elected. In the summer of 1855 Quitman was elected to Congress by the State Sovereignty party on a straight secession and pro-slavery platform, and on taking his seat was appointed chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs. In the National Democratic Convention of 1856 he was proposed as a candidate for the Vice-Presidency, and on the first ballot received more votes than any other candidate, though not enough to nominate him. In 1857 he was re-elected to Congress by acclamation, and during the exciting session which followed he gave the last public efforts of his life to the measures by which it was sought to fasten the institution of slavery upon the embryo state of Kansas. The English bill referring the slavery question back to the people of Kansas was passed by the House, Quitman and Bonham alone of the Southern Democrats voting against it.

This was the closing act of a memorable and in many respects brilliant career. In July, 1858, General Quitman died on his plantation near Natchez. His last words were: "I wish to vindicate my vote," referring, doubtless, to his vote on the Lecompton bill. Had he lived longer, he would inevitably have drifted into the vortex of secession. A Northerner by birth, he became a slaveholder by marriage, and from that time on was one of the most ardent, and let us hope sincere, advocates of the peculiar institutions of the South. Not strictly a "fire-eater," he yet allowed few

of the "fire-eaters," even Southern-born, to excel him in his devotion to slavery or in upholding it as being necessary and just.

Emigration sometimes does much for a man, and it is curious to imagine what might have happened to John A. Quitman had he remained a citizen of Ohio. Descended from an old Italian family, he was perhaps better adapted for life among the volatile, hot-tempered Mississippians of the last generation, than to be a companion of the staid, plodding Buckeyes among whom he first cast his lot. And yet it may be that just what he needed was the steadying influence of such people as he would have moved among had he continued to be a citizen of the Scioto Valley. Success is not less negative than positive, and implies restraint, self-control, no less than impulse and execution. A man of naturally strong will and brilliant mind, coupled with good habits and great ambition, it is quite possible that John A. Quitman might have become as popular and as successful a political leader in Ohio as he was in Mississippi. His usefulness, indeed, might have been far greater, and his life far more satisfying, even though not so full of daring adventures and giddy episodes.

But with all due allowance for his faults there is much in his career to admire, and the more his character and abilities are studied, the more his extraordinary qualities will be appreciated. Fortune aided him much, but his energy and perseverance far more. Cast adrift with no other resources than a strong body and a vigorous, well-trained mind, he acquired an independent fortune, and achieved an enviable fame. Yet he threw away great opportunities, and a steadier balance, with equal executive force, would probably have made him, beyond all rivals, the most popular and successful leader of the Southern people.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Alfred E. Lu". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned in the lower right quadrant of the page.

CAPTAIN SILVESTER SALISBURY

Among the officers in command of the British forces sent to capture New Amsterdam (New York) from the Dutch in 1664, was Captain Silvester Salisbury. He was descended from the celebrated family of that name, whose history is intimately connected with that of Great Britain from the time of William the Conqueror. Like many another colonial settler, he identified himself with the new country by marriage, selecting a Dutch lady of New York. His daughter also married a resident of New York, and her descendants have preserved and cherished many letters written to Captain Salisbury, and, thanks to his method and care, have perfect copies in his hand-writing of many of his own letters to others. These letters are different in many respects from the ordinary historic correspondence, as they relate to places and localities with which we are all familiar, and are connected with scenes and circumstances that have passed into history.

After the capture of New Amsterdam, Captain Salisbury was appointed to command Fort Orange, which name he at once changed to Fort Albany, in honor of the Duke of Albany, afterwards James II. This fort was the germ of the present city of Albany. Captain Salisbury was also appointed high sheriff of Renssalerwick, and justice of the peace at Albany, positions of both civil and military distinction at the period.

Among the letters received by Captain Salisbury at Albany, is one from a brother officer dated "January 20, 167 $\frac{2}{3}$, Fort James on Manhattan Island," stating, among other things, "that a fleet of forty Dutch privateers was cruising in the West Indies, and causing many to think it would shortly visit New York." These surmises proved true; this fleet recaptured New York from the English, and seizing Captain Salisbury at Fort Albany, carried him a prisoner of war into Spain.* The letter is quaint and gossipy, and treats the reader to bits of local news in the metropolis of that date. It is addressed "To Capt. Silvester Salisbury, Governour of Fort Albany." The writer goes on to say:

"Yours of y^e 11th of January by Indian Post I received, who arrived here on y^e following 20th, wherein I can but take notice of y^e kind remem-

* England and France were in alliance against the Low Countries, and for a short time—in 1673 and 1674—Holland was in alliance with Spain. As the Dutch could not get up the English channel on account of English and French cruisers, Silvester was taken to Spain.

brance of your poor Servant, for which I am much bound to thank you, and not only that in particular, as also for the news you acquainted mee of, but likewise for your last Token of the Otter, sent mee by your Brother (in law), Marius, the w^{ch} I wear for your sake. But amidst the joy your letter brought mee, I was much astonisht and indeed noe less dejected at the relation of that barbarous Murder committed on our ffellow Souldier, Mr. Howard. 'Tis true the person was unknown to me, but yet as he was a Christian and a Souldier, I could but lament the Stratagem, especially when from such an unheard of Barbarity and by the hands of Infidells. However, herein our grief is extenuated, that through your prudence y^e actors for the Blood they spilt are like to launch their own to their Ruin. To w^{ch} end you will have received all Instructions and Directions conducive thereto, as also the Governour's and Secretary's more private Instructions therein by their letters, Wherein pray please to take notice, that although in the form for holding the Court w^{ch} is here sent you, you find the manner of Tryall to be by Jury, the w^{ch} you know is the custom of judging Christians, yet if you see fitt you are not obliged to square your Proceedings by that Pattern, but to try the Criminalls by the Bench without empanelling any Jury at all, y^e fact being soe clear and palpable, and the Murderous Infidells, who understand not Law, that such formality is useless soe, that in the very examining of them by your Commissioners, they bee found guilty, either by Confession or Circumstances, Sentence may forthwith bee pronounced. Here I confess, I must beg your pardon for being so free in a Matter, w^{ch} you are soe well verst in.

As for news here is little stirring, only this very evening, the Governour received a pacquett from White Hall, but to tell you what is in it, I can not, but doe refer you to Capt. Nicolls, his letter (who I question not) but does acquaint you with what is worthy perusall. However, this much understand, that there is not Peace, but as hott in Wars as ever, and the Scotts have franckly given eight hundred thousand pounds to His Majesty, towards the maintaining the Warr. 7 or 8 shippes are arrived to Boston from England this yeare, and 50 or 60 Sayles to Verginia, yet never a one hither, whereby you may judge what a dark corner it is, that we groap in. There is likewise a great Rumor amongst us, that there are 40 sayles of Dutch Privateers in the West Indyes, which gives many to think, wee shall shortly have a visit from them.

Lastly, for our own City news, let this satisfy, that t'other day, we had like to have lost our Hang-man, Ben Johnson, for hee, being taken in Divers thefts and Robbings, convicted and found guilty, scaped his neck through want of another Hang-man to truss him up, soe, that all the

punishment hee received for his 3 years Roguery in thieving and stealing (which was never found out until now) was only thirty-nine stripes at the Whipping Post, loss of an Ear and Banishment. All this happened about a fortnight since. Captain Manning had likewise 2 Servants which he employed at his Island, taken with Ben Johnson in their villainy, but they, being not found soe guilty as hee, came off with whipping and Banishment. Another Disaster about 12 days since befell a young man in this Town, by name one Mr. Wright, a one-eyed man, a Muff-maker by trade, who drink-hard upon Rum one evening with some friends, began a health of a whole half-pint at a Draught, which hee had noe sooner done but down hee fell and never rose more, which Prodigy may teach us all to have a care, how wee drink in imitation of that good old Lesson: 'Felix quem faciunt etc.' This young man's untimely death doth somewhat parallel that person in your letter, who you write was killed with a sling, the which in like manner could but strike a great amasement into all that heard it, by which we may see, that though there is but one way of coming into this world, yet there is a thousand ways of going out of it.

But Hon^{ble} Sir, I fear I press too much upon your patience. I shall therefore conclude. Only my humble service to yourself and Lady, wishing you all wellfare and happiness through the remaining part of this New Yeare, soe I take leave and remain, Sir, your very humble Servant,
J. O. Clarke.

My kind respects I beseech you to Mr. Siston to whom I would have writt had time permitted. ffor the credit about Customes there is none come forth yett. But if in any thing I may serve you, command mee when opportunity presents, and you will find me obsequious to your will.

Once again, Vale.

ffrom y^e Secretary's Office in ffort James, the 20th day of January in the evening, 167²,"

A letter from Captain Salisbury, written to a cousin of his in Portsmouth, England, after his release from incarceration in Spain and return to Fort Albany, contains a very interesting story of some Algerine prisoners, and is in some sense a sequel to Captain Clarke's letter. It is dated "Oct. y^e 18th, 1678, Forte Albany," and reads as follows: "Dear Cousin: I make bould to trouble you with these few lines consarning a case of beavers, marked, as you may see in the margint and which hath been collected upon charity for some people y^t was taken by the Turkes in a small pinke belonging to this place called by y^e name of y^e Susannah of New

York. They was taken y^e lasste year; in Oct., 1677. The case above mentioned is in parte towards their redemption; therefore, the Ministers and Church Wardens of this place hath desired me to writte to you, that you will be pleased to assist Captain Martine, who is Commander of y^e good shippe, y^e *Blossom*, and so y^e charges of the same case of beavers being charity to do as little as possible may. (Sic.) Sr, I am very much ashamed to writte to you consarning myself, by reason I have so much neglected in not writing to you. Y^e last letter y^t I writte to you was by the ship called the Good Faim of New York, Mr. Fryer being master of her. I fear you may forgett me; I went over with Colonel Nichols out of England in 1664, but in Colonel Lovelaces' time was taken prisoner by the Dutch at Forte Albany, where I was then commander. Soe carreyed away into Spain, and at my return his Royal Hyness haith returned me to my same place again. Soe hoping you will be pleased to doe this out of charity, in helping what you can, you will ever oblige him y^t will be redy to sarve you here in what he may. and remaining your namesake and, if you be please, your very loving Cousin and Sarv^t,

S. S.

This case is marked per Margint as you may see, and I hope Captain Martine will drinke a glass of wine with you for my sake as he haith promised me.

Vale !"

At that early date the Barbary States were preying on the commerce of the infant colony, and making slaves of its sea-faring citizens. It also exhibits the weakness of the parent country, England, in not redressing the wrong. It appears that a petition had been made to the governor of New York by Warner Wessels and Antie Christians asking authority to collect moneys for the redemption of prisoners in bondage in the Barbary States in 1693, in which reference was made to a like proceeding in 1678. This, no doubt, was the "brief" of authority given to collect the beaver skins mentioned in Silvester Salisbury's letter to his cousin Hugh, of Portsmouth, England. The petition was dated October 18, 1678, and is worded thus:

"To his Excellency, Benj. Fletcher, Capt. Gen. & Gen. Capt., chieffe of y^e Province of New Yorke, Pennsylvania, New Castle and Counties depending thereon in America &c., and Vice Admiral of y^e same. The humble petition of Warner Wessels and Antie Christians sheweth :

That y^e sonne of y^r servant, Warner Wessels, and y^e husband of y^r servant, Antie Christians, being taken slaves into Salley (sic) by y^e infidels, y^r excellency was pleased upon their humble request, to grant them a

brieffe to collect and receive y^e free and bountiful charity of all good Christians within this province for y^e redemption of the said miserable persons; but in regard y^r humble petitioners are no ways fitt or qualified to collect y^e s^d benevolence, but have so far prevailed with the church wardens and ministers of this citty to collect and receive the same, do humbly pray: That y^r Ex^{ci} would be pleased to grant in such form as y^e annexed which was directed to y^e ministers and church wardens upon the like occasion when a vessel was taken by the Turks in y^e year 1678 and y^t they may be informed to collect 100 pounds which is y^e somme y^t will redeem y^e s^d miserable persons, y^e over-plus, if any be, to be delivered as y^r ex^{ci} shall see meet to be employed for y^e like pious uses."

Governor Fletcher acceded to the request of the petitioners, and issued his "brieffe" of authority to collect such moneys, and appointed Stephanus Van Courtland, Peter Jacob Marius (brother-in-law of Silvester Salisbury), John Kerbyll and John Kipp a committee, who at once proceeded to make the collection. This "brieffe" of authority was dated June 8, 1693. The money when collected was sent to Holland to May and Bancker, bankers, of Amsterdam, who wrote March 20, 1700, to the committee, saying:

"Our last to you was of the 3d of January, 1699, wherein it was stated that Bartholomew Rushton and William Green were alive in Maquin, and through our correspondence at Cadiz we have since used every effort for their redemption; and now lately by letter (a copy of which is annexed), we have received the welcome tidings that in virtue of an agreement obtained by the English they will receive their freedom in a few months; therefore we shall have to contribute but little of the moneys in our hands. We shall be most gladly advised how and in what manner we are to employ the balance of the money, whether in the shipment of goods or on drafts which you may be pleased to draw. Awaiting which we shall end, and remain with due respect after all dutiful salutations. Your Dutiful Sr'ts,

Herr May
William Bancker."

As early as December, 1707, the church wardens and vestry of Trinity Church petitioned the governor to give them the use of the money collected for the redemption of the Barbary prisoners (it not being needed for that purpose) to finish Trinity Church, and erect a steeple thereto, binding themselves in case any of the money was required to redeem prisoners still in bondage, to be accountable for the same. It was therefore ordered that the trustees deliver over the papers and all things relating thereto and the

said sum of money to Thomas Wenham and Robert Lurting, church wardens of Trinity Church, aforesaid. This church edifice was the original one, afterwards consumed by fire during the occupation of the city by the British troops.

Captain Salisbury was sent to England by Governor Andros about 1675 for the purpose of trying to persuade the king to cede Connecticut to New York. The following antique document explains itself:

“To the Committee of trade in the Province of New York,
British Parliament, Feb. 22, 1687.

My Lords: Since my writing this, on perusal of some papers in the Secretary's office, I find some memorandums of Sir Edmund Andros, whereby I understand that in the year 1675-6 he sent home Captain Salisbury to England to let his Royal Highness, now his majesty, James II, know how impossible it was for this government to subsist without the addition of Connecticut; and he himself went with some soldiers to surprise them, intending when he had done it to keep possession by a Fort he designed to make at a place called Saybrook, but was prevented by the opposition of two companies of men then lodged there ready to go out against the Indians with whom they were in war. Much less can it subsist now, without it being at more expense than in the time of Sir Edmund, and having lost Delaware, and so consequently the Peltry trade, which is not much inferior to that of the Beaver, besides much quit rents, and the excise revenue, and to what helps we had there from East and West Jersey. Weighing this with the reasons afore mentioned, I hope his Majesty will be graciously pleased to add that Colony to this, which is the centre of all his dominions in America; and the people thereof have been more inclined to his Majesty's service, and have experienced upon all occasions more loyalty than any other of these parts.”

No doubt Captain Salisbury was chosen for this mission to let his Majesty know that the Colony of Connecticut was essential to the comfort and greatness of New York, on account of his being known personally at court. The result of his visit was a secret; but as Connecticut was not annexed to New York, he certainly was not successful so far as that project was concerned. The secretary of Sir Edmund Andros wrote to the Duke: “Captain Salisbury is arrived, and as soon as I have the opinion of his Royal Highness and his own commands on the several particulars of the letters brought by Captain Salisbury I shall not fail to send you a clear account.”

A letter from the Duke to Sir Edmund Andros, dated “Whitehall, January 25th, 1675,” is preserved. He says:—“I have considered of what ye

have written me by Captain Salisbury touching the command of all the land lying on the West side of the Connecticut River, or lying within my patent, which demand I approve well of, in order to preserve my title entire, which the King, my brother, conveyed to me; but at present for further reasons, I am not willing you should proceed further. I refer you to the Secretary's letter for further particulars. I send you this by the hand of Captain Salisbury, of whom I have a good character, and therefore I would have you remember him upon any fit occasion for advancement in my service."

When Captain Salisbury returned from this mission to England, he brought with him his household belongings, furniture, pictures and silverware engraven with the Salisbury arms, together with two swords or rapiers; one a gentleman's sword, stamped "1616," the other a sword given on knighthood, stamped "1544." They are mounted in silver, of dainty workmanship, and the arms of the family engraven on them. The knight's sword is marked "S.A.C.H.G.V.M." In English law "S.A.C." meant the privilege given by the king to the lord of a manor for holding courts, trying various cases and imposing fines, &c. "H." means Henry. "G.V.M.," given for valor military. From its inscription the sword was probably a gift from Henry VIII. to a Salisbury at the siege of Boulogne, in his war of 1544, probably to Henry Salisbury of Llanrhaidr Hall, who was in the army at that time. Captain Salisbury, being a lineal descendant, came in possession of it and preserved it as a precious heirloom of his ancestor's loyalty and valor. Another relic brought by him was a claymore, picked up at Flodden Field in the time of Henry VIII. There was also an escutcheon, or coat of arms belonging to his family, the same as descended from the Llewini branch, carved in oak or some hard wood, such as were placed over the doors of the manor houses of the owners.

But the heirloom most prized by him and his descendants is an oil painting, nearly or quite life size, of Anne Boleyn, the beautiful but unfortunate queen of Henry VIII., and mother of Queen Elizabeth. The tradition handed down with the painting is that it came into the Salisbury family by a marriage with a near relative of that unfortunate queen. The painting is supposed to be by Hans Holbein, the court painter of Henry VIII. It is in a state of good preservation, and when first seen by the writer was covered by the grime of centuries which rendered it indistinct; but its great age and the circumstances surrounding it made it a curiosity to all who saw it.

Some years since, anxious to see the illustrious queen more distinctly, a lady of the family, a descendant of Captain Salisbury, had it restored, or

rather cleaned by a German artist of New York. As the rich brown tints and flesh-like hues, so marked in Holbein's works, came gradually to light under the manipulation of the careful artist, his enthusiasm knew no bounds, but dancing around the canvas, he shouted, "A Holbein! A Holbein! A Holbein!"

A literary notable of the town of Catskill (where this old painting now is) describes it thus :

"The picture is a remarkable one, growing upon you as you sit and contemplate it. It seems to start from the background and the fair queen appears before you as in the flesh; the lips parted, as if to speak; her eyes glowing with subdued fire. The handsome sitter in the painting wears a brown velvet dress, long-waisted and low-necked, the sleeves are slashed and looped, disclosing the white sleeve beneath. On her head she wears a black lace covering in Spanish style. It flows down behind and is gathered in her lap with her left hand, whose deformity its folds suggest and yet conceal. The right elbow rests on a pedestal, and over the whole picture is thrown a life-like attitude, happily caught by the artist."

Anne Boleyn's mother was a daughter of the Duke of Norfolk; the aged Duchess presided at the court of Henry VIII. and was the grandmother of Anne Boleyn. Upon the queen's death, Henry VIII. appointed her state governess to the Royal Elizabeth, giving her (history says) the home, furniture, silverware, etc., which he had bestowed upon Anne Boleyn.

Catharine, the youngest daughter and child of the Duchess, married the grandson of Sir Rhys ap Thomas of Dynefwr Carnaeven, Wales, the descendant of a long line of princes. This Sir Rhys was a notable person and had much to do with placing Henry VII. on the throne, to commemorate which, and to celebrate his being made a knight of the Garter, he instituted a great tournament, to which came Sir Robert Salisbury from his castle in Wales, with horses from his own stables, all caparisoned for the contest. This Sir Robert was a brother of Henry Salisbury of Llanrhaidr Hall, ancestor of Captain Silvester Salisbury. Henry Salisbury married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Griffeth ap Rhys and Catharine, his wife, daughter of the Duchess of Norfolk and aunt of Queen Elizabeth. Circumstantial evidence, therefore, would suggest that the above mentioned portrait was painted by Holbein for Henry VIII. and adorned the house which he gave, after the death of his queen, to the Duchess of Norfolk, and that it was by her conveyed to the home of her grand-daughter Margaret, wife of Henry Salisbury, and brought by her descendant, Captain Silvester Salisbury, to this country about the year 1675-6.

Captain Salisbury, while commander of the fort at Albany, had the care and management of the Indian tribes of the North and West. The chief among these were the Mohawks, or, as they were then called, Marquas, whose warlike propensities kept the colony of New York in constant alarm; and, as they extended their incursions into the Massachusetts colony, and as far north as the French colonies of Canada, the management of them was no sinecure. The letters of Captain Salisbury from 1675 until his death are full of his dealings with the Indians and with the governors of the neighboring colonies. Among these we find the following:

"Capt. Brockholls.

S^r :

Upon the 20th of the present I received a let^r from Scannecestada y^t there is 2 great troopes going out of the Mauquas fighteing to the North; one troope from the Unagoungas, but y^e other I am in thoughts y^t thay will goe to wards Major Pynchons or that way. To say how many there is in each troope I cannot Learne, and what y^e event will be, time must bringe to passe. I have had noe op^r tunitytie to writ to Mayor Talkutt since I have received his Let^r, but if you will pleas to let me know anything what I shall write to him, if op^r tunitytie Doeth present, I shall be very Redy. All is well at the present, but my poore Child is at y^e present very sore, but I hope in God he shall doe well, which is all at present from hime

Y^t is your very humble Serv^t

Sil^{re} Salisbury.

Fforte Albany y^e 24th of June, 1678."

This letter mentions the sickness of his child, an infant son named Silvester, who died in infancy, from the same sickness, probably, here mentioned. Captain Salisbury appears to have been an affectionate father, and in his letters to the different ones in authority he frequently speaks of his home matters in the midst of business affairs, showing that his heart was with his family.

"To Sec^{ry} Nicolls,

Dear S^r I have not anything worth acquainteing you with, only on the 5th of this month, about 5 in the afternoone, God was pleased to bestoe & blesse me with a dough^r, & as to other News is that y^t Takaghkaratt, a forefigh^r of y^e Maquas has benn in y^e North with 20 men & has met with a neste of Roges of y^e North Indians y^t hath Lived this 2 years by themselves without any coraspondeancy with Christian or Indian, and have killed 5 and have tooke 6 alive, and yesterday Mr. Windall, of this towne, being at Scannecestada spoake with a Maquas that came from

Cannada & he tould him y^t there was Arrived from France five Shipes with 2000 men, and y^t thay had found a Sylver mine, and y^t thay was bildeing by it a greate foit to Containe 80 great gouns & y^t thay was bildeing another fort betwixte Cauderaque up ye Lake neere to ye Sen- nickes to get all the trade & to hinder all thay Cane for Coming heere. This is all at the present from him y^t is your Loving friend & Serv^t

Sil^m Salisbury."

There is also an interesting correspondence which grew out of a controversy between Captain Salisbury and the authorities of Massachusetts in relation to some Natick Indians. The Maquas, in one of their forays, had gone into Massachusetts and captured prisoners which they conveyed into the wilderness to the west of Albany where they tortured and burned them. The Massachusetts men claimed that Captain Salisbury should have ransomed them, but he replied that they had not furnished him the requisite means, or requested him to do so. In a letter from Captain Brockholls to Captain Salisbury he says:

"As to what you mention in your Last Letter of the uncertainty, how long things will bee quiet with you & the Maquas being troubled about the Nattick Indians, who you think are most burnt by them, what is past cannot be recalled, but doe wish, you had more vigorously demanded these prisoners out of th^r Maquas hands whilst with you (as directed), which might have prevented these apprehensions, but there is no living with the Maquas at this rate, that they shall take what prisoners they please, either friend or foe & without a ransome destroy them. I shall conclude and heartily wish there bee a right understanding of these matters, that the Governor at his returne bee not to much displeased therewith, w^{ch} I am not willing to question but you have done y^e best in yor Judg^{mt}: so I remaine."

Also in a letter to Captain Brockholls, Captain Salisbury says in regard to the Nattick Indians:

"Capt. Brockholls, I have Received yours baring date y^e 4th of Jul^y ly Concerning Tyador, y^e Maquas forefighter & his prissoners, y^e Nattick Indians, which I doe believe that y^e most part of them Are burned at this time, as I have had from other Indians y^t Comes every Day out of y^e lande. You say I shoulde Sequere them in my hands, or be put to be kept in y^e hands of our friends, y^e Mohocanders. All this was well wh^{en} at you write, but th^r Moquas are not those sort of people y^t Deliver up th^eir

prissoners for nothing. I doe believe I could have released them for £200 or there abouts, but never had any orders To Disburse any Money for another Collony's Indians, & if I should, then the Governor would be Angorry, we haveing nothing to doe with them norr receive any proffitt by them, and with your leave my thought is y^t if y^e New England people had any kindness for them they would have sent a man time anoffe to have bene at Albany to have spoken with Tyadory, for he was Long anoffe on his way ; but about 14 days affter Sends me a letter to Desire me to Threaten y^e Mauquas for them ; but I Doe think such sort of Im- plyment will becom them Selves better, y^e copy I have sent to in my laste, for in Stead of Sending of Such a let^r, if thay had sent me order to have Disboursed for them 500 or 600 Gilders to have given y^e Maquas, then Perhaps there Eeyes might have bene open, but other ways they be as Deaffe as a stone.

There are more troopes of y^e Maquas out, as I doe here, but come not in our towne, but go over by y^e half Moone. I here y^t one troope Contains of 30 North Indians & but one Mauquas in yer Company ; what it will produce God knows, but I fere it will not be good. That is all at present from hime whose Desire is to be esteemed

your friend and humble Serv^t

Sil^m Salisbury."

This letter was followed by one from Captain Brockholls on the same subject, to which Captain Salisbury replies :

" Hon^r S^r This day there arrived here a troop of 60 Mauquas with 22 prissoners, to wit, 3 men, 17 women, 2 Boys & 2 Crounes, (sic) who state they are frind Indians of y^e English, whereupon I calles y^e Court forth- with and Resolvd to send y^e Secretary & Aernout, y^e Interpreter, to y^e Prissoners to examint them from whence they were, who doe say they are Nattick Indians, frinds to y^e English & under the Command of Major Guggine ; and say they were taken in a Indian Cornfield, called Megaeh- nak, miles from Suddberry, whereupon Tahaidin, the forefighter of y^e Mau- quas was told and Reminded of y^e propositions made by Major Pinchon & Mr. Richards, then Agents of N. England, that yey should befrind y^e Indians, and like wayse how y^e Mauquas Promised to do them no harm. Who answered and said they were taken about 6 mile from any English Place & therefore did take them to be their enemies. Nevertheless Tahai- din Promises that they shall not be Damnyfied till further orders, but I cannot rely upon his word. This is that which hath now lately happened.

I desire that you would send me your advise whereabouts by y^e first. I doubt not if ye^r be frind Indians (as they say) but you or I will receive letters there anent speedily; but if not, Possible they will not trouble themselves, but I doe presume they are of those Praying Indians, because there is one among them that brought y^e Indian Bible here in Gover^r Nicolls' time. No more at present, I am S^r

Your very humble Servt.

Sil^r Salisbury."

The government of these people was a difficult matter; if an officer permitted his feelings to move him in a Christian spirit he was censured, as is shown from the following Minutes of Council:

"COUNCIL MINUTE.

Indians very Unquiet and Warlike.

At a Council 16th July, 1677.

A letter from Captain Salisbury and one from Colonel Courcy of the 10th, menconing an Intellugence from Father Bruyas and his letter also read from Maques Castle of forty Oneydas design to fall on our River Indians at Cattskill, and about an English Girle among the Oneydas; and Capt. Salisbury writing to Father Bruyas requireing the Indians to bring her; also of report of Sinneques coming in 10 days and advice for the Govern^r going up. Advised and Resolved that the Govern^r did nott goe up tiil appointed time, y^e latter end of Aug., and in y^e Interim an Indian may deliver their message, if occasion at Albany to be sent to the Govern^r, or come to York themselves.

Capt. Salisbury to be checkt for writing about the Girl with out order, but particularly for employing the Jesuite; and upon all occasions and addresses, that he referr to what is past, or if occasion, to the Govern^r, & in no case give any other answer or resolves of himself."

Thus, when he interested himself in the redemption of an English gi^rl from the hands of the Oneydas, the Council checked him; but when he did not step out of his authority to redeem Christian Indians, for which no funds were provided, he was censured by the Massachusetts people and governor! Truly, how could he act to suit all?

John J. Morrie

METHODS OF TEACHING HISTORY

Ordinary history lies under five questions—Where? When? What? Who? Why? This order may be varied to suit the purpose or the genius of the historian. The philosophy of history is another department in authorship. Omitting either of these divisions leaves the learner with a medley of information, and the miscellany of raw material comes not much nearer to history than a warehouse of baled cotton does to a well arranged dry-goods house.

In attempting to write or teach history, it is a great misfortune not to attach the material to dates and places and persons. These are to history what the mortise and tenon are to the coming building—fixtures, certainties, and necessities in it, to and from which all in the building is to be measured, and by which it is distinguishable from a lumber yard. Facts have more than a home feeling; they have what in the animal we call instinct, tending to a habitat. To this the mind is responsive, so that when historical facts are called up we at once seek to locate them geographically and chronologically. Otherwise they are lost wanderers, waifs, or estrays. Indeed an event does not come within the pale of history till it is labeled with time and place. Hence the exceedingly important consideration of selecting cardinal, seminal, radiating events to the prominence and dignity of historical position. For these great historical centres are, as the great cities, very few, and a village must not be mistaken for one of them.

In giving the five questions, Who? will ordinarily come last, since it is the province of history to bring forward actions and not actors. The learner needs to know results, and biographies and especially eulogies should be remanded to their own and most important department in authorship. Personal and eulogistic history, as distinguished from biography, carries a triple wrong. (a) To predecessors and associates, who did much in preparing the way and in carrying affairs to the important result. (b) To history itself, in narrowing and dwarfing it to single men and simple biography. In public offices, sometimes the subordinates who do the work are not named or known, while the official head who cannot do it is the only one mentioned. (c) To readers and pupils, in outlining to them a series of men instead of the current of events which constitute human progress.

Therefore, an event or place or date or person should be taken as an

eminent centre, from which great influences radiate, and around and from and to this, one acquiring history should work till he is master of the situation; and then another and still another, till a line of such centres is established. In this way the outlines of a local or national or universal history will be established. It is said that Neander began in this way to write up prominent events in the history of the church, in a series of monographs. Afterwards he wrote into the series some personal relations and minor connecting events, and the result was Neander's *Church History*.

Nor is it necessary to fill the spaces between the events with minute details. Leave these centres to stand out with prominence, as the great cities do to one who has made the tour of the United States. The villages between one can afford to ride by asleep. When Choate was compelled to give up his European tour at one of the Provincial ports, and was awaiting his final voyage in the chamber which overlooked the offing, he gave orders to his attendant: "If a schooner or sloop goes by do not disturb me, but if there is a square-rigged vessel wake me up." There are minor items of knowledge which a learned man should not be ashamed to know. Yet here is the infelicity of much historical teaching in print and by the living voice, which have the dead level of the prairie, where everything is seen and pointed out and made equally impressive. Perhaps our histories of nations and of the old-world centuries are not too bulky for the library and for reference, as we use encyclopædias, but it might be well to have a Sibyl on our school committees to reduce the size of historical text-books. Our children might then be able to know something of Erick and Columbus, the Plains of Abraham, and Yorktown and the birth of thirty-eight States, and something of our government and incredible growth, before they master all the Jonesvilles in their own county and the mud villages on the Nile in the days of the Shepherd Kings, and the itineraries of the Aryan race and of the Goths and Vandals, and the bills of fare at the suppers of Lucullus, and a list of the knights made on Flodden Field.

Many a bright scholar has given study enough to history and read enough since school days to have a fair historical scholarship. But his labor has been sadly wasted through a lack of discrimination between inferior and superior topics, and by attention to an infinitude of items within narrow localities. Says Parkman in his *Discovery of the Great West*: "In early Spanish maps the Mississippi is often indistinguishable from other affluents of the Gulf."

There is probably no department in education where so much is really acquired and so little retained and made available as in history. It is too much like botanizing with a mowing machine and a raker, and a hay loft

for the herbarium. And some of the popular and most voluminous writers of juvenile histories and biographies lead irresistibly to this result. They cultivate indefiniteness and irksomeness over dates and places and names in later days by suppressing them, and run off whole chapters without a foot-note of authority. When the writer made a suggestion to one of these authors that the remedy for this deficiency would add much to the value of his books, he replied that readers would be rather hindered than instructed by such additions. Of course if one is writing from memory, or from historical note-books of long accumulation, when he failed to enter author, book and page, rapid production would be hindered, by removing the deficiency. Yet possibly the republic of letters for minors and pupils would nevertheless be much benefited. Then we are more ready to accept some books on the simple statement of the author than others, but a history is not one of them. Moreover, there is an instructing and culminative force brought to bear on the reader or pupil when places and dates and persons are kept in connection with the events stated and standard authorities are quoted for the statements made. In this way not one alone writes or teaches, but many writers or teachers are in combination to make an impression, and if what is embraced under our five questions unites to impress the event, the unities of history are preserved, and thus history itself.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "H. Barrows". The signature is written in dark ink and features a long, sweeping horizontal flourish at the end.

THE ESCAPE OF GRANT AND MEADE

A CORRECTION OF HISTORY

General Grant, in his *Memoirs* (Vol. II., 210), describes his escape from riding into the enemy's lines on the evening of the 7th of May, 1864, as the army was moving to Spottsylvania, after the battle of the Wilderness. The incident narrated is true in most respects; but, either from misinformation given at the time, or lapse of memory, Grant unwittingly attributes to the wrong man the credit of preventing an accident which might have changed the fate of the war, and resulted in untold misfortune to the army and the nation. The writer of this paper had the good fortune to prevent that impending disaster, as the following account will explain:

Grant writes: "Meade and I rode in advance. We had passed but a little way beyond our left when the road forked. We looked to see, if we could, which road Sheridan had taken with his cavalry during the day. It seemed to be the right-hand road, and accordingly we took it. We had not gone far, however, when Colonel C. B. Comstock, of my staff, with the instinct of the engineer, suspecting we were on a road that would lead us into the lines of the enemy, if he, too, were moving, dashed by at a rapid gallop, and all alone. In a few minutes he returned and reported that Lee was moving, and that the road we were on would bring us into his lines in a short distance. We returned to the forks of the road, left a man to indicate the right road to the head of Warren's column when it should come up, and continued our journey to Todd's Tavern, where we arrived after midnight."

The portion of the narrative that is incorrect is that which attributes to Colonel Comstock and "the instinct of the engineer" the discovery of their mistake.

The truth is, that the Second Corps (Hancock's) occupied a position along and near the Brock Road, on the extreme left of the army, the 1st Division occupying that portion of the line along a road which "forked" from the Brock Road and led to the houses of Stephens and Trigg, where it intersected a cross road running westerly. Upon our taking this position, May 5, this road was only a track leading toward the houses, but the movement of troops and artillery over it gave it more the appearance of a well-traveled road than the one from which it forked.

On the day mentioned by General Grant, our left had been drawn in, and re-fused, so as to lie across both that road and the Brock, at nearly a right angle with the right of the line. The First Brigade of the division was on the left, its right on the farm road, and its left crossing the Brock. This arrangement of the line was on account of a threatened attack by the enemy for the purpose of cutting us off from the Brock Road. Breast-works had been thrown up, but the usual passage-way for troops was arranged at either road. Grant's route toward Todd's Tavern was in rear of the 1st Division, passing through our left on the Brock Road.

Toward evening the 1st Division received its marching orders. They were to "follow the Fifth Corps closely." The Fifth Corps was far to our right, and must pass along the rear of the whole army before reaching our position on the left. It was late in the evening before any signs of movement were discernible, and our worn-out men were sleeping in close and more than doubled ranks along and across the road spoken of, the headquarters of the First Brigade being close to them, between the two roads.

The writer was a personal aide to General Nelson A. Miles, then commanding the First Brigade, 1st Division, Second Army Corps, and was detailed to remain awake and watch the march of the Fifth Corps, in order to arouse and set our division in motion when the time should come "to follow the Fifth Corps closely." While so watching, frequent trips were made across to the Brock Road, or back to the intersection of the two, in order to keep wakeful, returning to the headquarters flag (where a small fire was burning) whenever tired of watching.

It was soon after returning from one of these trips that he was surprised to hear, and then to distinguish in the darkness, a cavalcade of horsemen advancing along the road upon and along which our troops were lying. Running quickly to the head of the column, he cried, "Halt!" and at the same moment recognized General Meade at the head of his staff and escort. He rather brusquely asked, "Who halts me? Do you know who I am?" The writer replied, "Yes, you are General Meade," and gave his own name, rank, and position, adding, "I halted you because a few steps more will bring your horses among our sleeping men, and if you go further you will be outside of our lines and riding toward the enemy." He asked, "How can that be—is not this the Brock Road?" When informed that he had left that road some distance back, he conferred for a moment with General Seth Williams, who was by his side, and then asked the writer if he could put him on the right road. To mount and ride back with him to the "forks" of the road (his staff and escort in wheeling being obliged to exercise great care not to trample upon the rear ranks of

sleeping men), was the work of but a few minutes, and the general's thanks were expressed in a warm manner as for a great service.

It was not until the publication of Grant's *Memoirs*, after both of these great commanders had gone to join the majority, that the writer learned that General Grant and his staff were a part of the halted column, but all the above facts were recorded in his diary at the time, and have kept fresh in his memory.

Through Colonel Frederick Grant, Colonel Comstock's attention was called to this claim soon after the publication of the *Memoirs*, but probably wishing to retain whatever credit Grant's narrative gives him for discovering the mistake, in a letter of May 25, 1886, to Colonel Grant, he attempts to make it appear that "the incident related by General Grant occurred *while it was still daylight*, and after we had passed the Second Corps on our way to Spottsylvania." He adds, "I am quite confident that General Meade was not with General Grant at the time." But this theory would seem to be entirely disproved by the facts, and by Grant's own narration of the event.

The narrative makes it very clear that the incident related by General Grant occurred *after dark*, and not "while it was still daylight."

He says, "*Soon after dark* Warren withdrew," etc. . . . "Warren's march carried him immediately behind where Hancock's command lay on the Brock Road. With my staff, and a small escort of cavalry, I preceded the troops. *Meade with his staff accompanied me.*"

Alluding to the cheers of Hancock's troops as he passed, he says, "The enemy must have taken it for a *night attack*. . . . *Meade and I rode in advance.*"

Taking these statements, the fact that he arrived at Todd's Tavern, but a short distance away, "after midnight," and all the other facts which have become a part of history, into consideration, it seems clear that there could have been but one incident of the kind that evening, that it occurred *after dark*, and that Grant and Meade were both part of the incident.

The stopping of Meade occurred at the extreme left. Warren's Corps was far to the right—some miles away. General Grant and all historians of the campaign say that Warren withdrew and commenced his march towards the left *after dark*. It would necessarily be considerably later when the head of the marching column reached Hancock's left. As a matter of fact, it was well on toward midnight, and it was broad daylight before the Fifth Corps had passed and we got the road.

Had Grant passed the Second Corps "while it was still daylight," he would not have thought of the cheers being taken by the enemy for a

"night attack," nor would it have taken until "after midnight" to reach Todd's Tavern, unless he loitered like a school-boy on the way. Had he reached the place "where the roads forked" while it was still daylight, no such mistake could have been made, for immediately after leaving the Brock Road he would have been in the open country around the houses of Stephens and Trigg, and the breastworks, lined with troops, would have clearly indicated that he was on the wrong prong of the fork, and the error must have been discovered before reaching the point he did.

More than this, there is no other place "where the roads forked." The next and only outlet toward the enemy was the road which leaves the Brock at a right angle and passes Trigg's house, and no commander would think of leaving his direct route to Todd's by a road which turned squarely to the right.

It was the "fork" which misled them. It left the main road at such an acute angle that the two ran almost side by side for quite a little distance, and being so well beaten into the semblance of a road, it is not surprising that it was mistaken for the main route.

General Grant's impression that the error was discovered through the instinct of the engineer is explainable upon a simple theory. Grant and his staff may have been at the time a little in rear of the head of the column. When it was halted, some member of his staff would naturally ride to the front to discover the cause. He could not have galloped thirty feet beyond the head of the column without trampling upon the sleeping troops and being stopped by the breastworks, and had he reached that point by trampling over men sleeping with their hands on the locks of loaded muskets, what the result would have been can only be imagined. But reaching the head of the column, he would learn of the cause of the halt, and return to report it to his chief.

The fact that they were on the wrong road and one that led into the enemy's lines, would be the important fact for Grant to know and remember. How it was ascertained would be of minor importance, and if then stated might easily be forgotten and erased from memory.

There are officers living who knew of this incident at the time, and who can corroborate every fact here stated. We can only regret that the great commander, and his great subordinate commander, who shared in this incident, have been waked by the reveille of the Infinite Ruler, and are lost to the nation they did so much to save.

R. S. Robertson,

FORT WAYNE, INDIANA.

MINOR TOPICS
WITH CORTEZ IN MEXICO

1519

"Mater a Dios, preserve us
And give us the Mexican gold,
Viva Espana forever!"
Light-hearted, treacherous, bold,
With clashing of drums and of cymbals,
With clatter of hoofs and of arms,
Into the Tezcucan city,
Over the Tezcucan farms;
In through the hordes of Aztecs,
Past glitter of city and lake,
Brave for death or for conquest,
And the Mother of God's sweet sake.

Perchance from distant Grenada,
Perchance from the Danube's far blue,
Had fought with Moor and Saracen,
Where the death hail of battle-fields flew.
Down through the smoke and the battle,
Trolling an old Moorish song,
Chanting an Ave or Pater,
To whiten the red of his wrong.
Dreaming of Seville, Toledo,
And dark soft Catholic eyes,
Light-hearted, reckless, and daring,
He rides under Mexican skies.

Child of valor and fortune,
Nurtured to ride, and to strike,
Fearless in defeat or in conquest,
Of man and of devil alike.
Out through the clamor of battle,
Up through rivers of blood,
"Viva Espana forever!"
God and the bold brotherhood!

Strike for the memories left us,
 Strike for the lives that we keep,
 Strike for the present and future,
 In the name of our comrades who sleep ;
 Strike ! for Jesus' sweet Mother,
 For the arms and the vows that we hold ;
 Strike for fortune and lover,
 God, and the Mexican gold."

* * * * *

At morning gay, careless in battle,
 With love on his lips, in his eyes,
 At even stretched pallid and silent,
 Out under the Mexican skies.
 And far in some old Spanish city,
 Two dark eyes wait patient and long
 For a lover who sailed to the westward
 Trolling an old Moorish song.

W. W. Campbell

WASHINGTON'S GIFT TO HAMILTON

Letter from Hon. Alexander Hamilton.

EDITOR OF MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY :

In the "Washington number" of your Magazine, which I have just read with much pleasure, and in an article over your signature, I find the following. Speaking of the replica of Stuart's full length portrait of Washington, painted for the Marquis of Lansdowne, purchased by Mr. Constable, you say : "It is in perfect preservation at the present time and in the possession of Mr. Constable's grandson, Mr. Henry E. Pierrepont of Brooklyn. *Before it was sent to New York, however, Stuart painted a half length Washington from it, which Mr. Constable presented to Alexander Hamilton, and which is now in the possession of that great financier's grandson.*"

The part I have italicized is wholly an error, so far as it confounds the Stuart in my possession with either of the portraits belonging to Mr. Constable. The one I have bears the date "Decr 1797" placed on it by Stuart, according to a very

common practice of artists. Stuart's bill to Mr. Constable, the original of which I have seen, is as follows :

"W ^m Constable Esq	to G. Stuart	D ^r	
1796 Nov ^r to one portrait of said W.		D ^r	100
1797 July 4. one of the late President of the United States			
at full length.			500
1797 July 4. one do half length.			250
		D ^r	850 Dollars

Philadelphia July 13. 1797."

Receipt in full on the Bill signed
G. Stuart.

This bill shows that all Mr. Constable's pictures, and there seem to have been three, were finished and paid for and no doubt delivered—as Mr. Constable's impatience to have them is clearly shown by his two visits to Philadelphia in his chariot and four to watch their progress—six months before the portrait in my possession was completed.

What became of Mr. Constable's two other portraits of Washington I have no means of knowing, but the dates and the bill show clearly that none of them can be confounded with the one in my possession.

The picture I have was the gift of Washington to Hamilton, with another interesting object belonging to me, also Washington's gift.

Washington had repeatedly called upon Hamilton, when the latter was in private life, for aid in preparing his messages, his Farewell Address, and other important papers, which was fully and freely given, and Washington's letters to Hamilton contain more apologies for so doing than he ever addressed to any other man. Washington felt the obligation and wished to show his sense of it. Hence the two gifts.

This portrait has been in the possession of my grandfather's family for about ninety years, and my grandmother, my father, and the older members of the family spoke of it always as Washington's gift.

My father, who was sixteen years of age when his father, General Hamilton died, left it to me by will, and speaks of it as the "Portrait of Washington by Stuart presented to my Father, by General Washington."

I cannot suppose that your information came from Mr. Pierrepont, as this explanation has been already made to him. You have probably taken it from the "Life of Gilbert Stuart," which is inaccurate in this instance, as I hear it is in others. Mr. Constable's family no doubt confounded the portrait with another gift of Mr. Constable to General Hamilton of some interesting French books.

IRVINGTON, NEW YORK, *January 31, 1888.*

A. Hamilton.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

AN UNPUBLISHED WASHINGTON LETTER

From the Collection of Mr. William Alexander Smith.

[*Editor Magazine of American History:* The following letter of Gen^l George Washington to Gen^l Alexander Spotswood, which I believe has never before been published, has a timely application to the present condition of our country and further evidences his strongly patriotic feeling. W^m ALEX. SMITH.]

Philadelphia 22 Nov^r 1798.

D^r Sir,

Your letter of the 13th ins^t enclosing a publication under the signature of Gracchus, on the Alien & Sedition Laws, found me at this place—deeply engaged in business.

You ask my opinion of these Laws, professing to place confidence in my judgment, for the compliment of which I thank you. But to give opinions unsupported by reasons might appear dogmatical ;—especially as you have declared that Gracchus has produced “the rough conviction in your mind of the unconstitutionality and inexpediency of the Acts above mentioned.”—To go into an explanation on these points I have neither leisure nor inclination ; because it would occupy more time than I have to spare.

But I will take the liberty of advising such as are not “thoroughly convinced” and whose minds are yet open to conviction to read the pieces and hear the arguments which have been adduced in favor of, as well as those against the constitutionality and expediency of those Laws before they decide.—And consider to what lengths a certain description of men in our Country have already driven and even resolved to further drive matters ; and then ask themselves if it is not time & expedient to resort to protecting Laws against Aliens (for citizens you certainly know are not affected by these Laws) who acknowledge *no allegiance* to this country, and in many instances are sent among us (as there is the best circumstantial evidence) for the *express purpose* of poisoning the minds of our people, and to sow [*sic*] dissensions among them in order to alienate *their* affections from the Government of their choice, thereby endeavoring to dissolve the Union ; and of course the fair and happy prospects which were unfolding to our view from the Revolution. But as I have observed before I have no time to enter the field of Politicks ; and therefore shall only add my best respects to the good family at New Port—and the assurances of being,

D^r Sir, Your Very Hbl^t Servant,
G^o Washington

To M^r Alexander Spotswood.

DEATH OF WASHINGTON

Colonel Benj. Tallmadge to Rev. Manasseh Cutler.

[*Editor Magazine of American History:* I enclose a hitherto unpublished letter from Col. Benj. Tallmadge to Rev. Manasseh Cutler, which you will perhaps find of sufficient interest to publish in the Magazine of American History. E. C. DAWES.]

Litchfield Jan. 11. 1800.

Dear Sir,

I have now before me your letter of the 23^d ultimo for which I thank you. It is really pleasing to find that people begin to open their eyes to their true interest in the Ohio Company. I have not yet conversed with one person in this State, who appears unfriendly to the plan of opening an Office at Marietta for the Sale of our lands. I have had no letters from R. Island on the subject, but have been informed that they are pursuing similar measures to ours. I have warned a meeting of the Proprietors in this state, to assemble at Hartford on the 29th of this month. I hope and expect a general attendance will be given. I have Gen. Putnam's advice, &c, and by the help of your form of a power of Att^y, and the Instructions, I hope we shall have the business greatly facilitated.

Our Country seems to be clad in *real mourning* for the loss of our great Benefactor, Patriot and Friend, the illustrious Washington. I can truly say that the loss of my own Father did not so sensibly affect me as has the death of this peerless Man. While he lived, I was fully satisfied that his equal was not on Earth, and since he has died, the public testimony to his worth, has exceeded even the most sanguine expectation. Altho' from a long and tolerably intimate acquaintance with him, I have been abundantly convinced of his attachment to the *Christian System*; yet had he been explicit in his profession of *faith in and dependence on* the finished *Atonement* of our glorious Redeemer for acceptance and pardon, what a conspicuous trait would it have formed in his illustrious character. In removing such high and elevated Personages, from the stage of action, how astonishingly great and glorious does the divine Character appear. Let poor groveling mortals quarrel as they please, his undisturbed Government and purposes roll on, and his whole Counsel shall stand. How perfectly becoming is it for us, and all created intelligences, to be silent and adore; and may God grant us grace to acknowledge him in all his Dispensations, and devoutly to adore his all-wise and superintending Providence.

I am, D^r Sir, sincerely,
& affectionately Yours,
Benj.^a Tallmadge.

Rev. M. Cutler.

ONE MORE UNPUBLISHED WASHINGTON LETTER

[Contributed by George W. Van Siclen, Secretary of the Holland Society.]

[*Editor Magazine of American History:* At the annual dinner of the Holland Society of New York at the Hotel Brunswick, January 10, 1888, among other interesting relics exhibited was the following autograph letter of George Washington, never before published, which may be of interest in view of the "Washington number" of the magazine which has just appeared. It belongs to Seymour Van Santvoord, Esq., of Troy, New York, a member of the Society. Enclosed is a copy *verbatim et literatim*. GEORGE W. VAN SICLEN.]

To the Minister Elders and Deacons of the Reformed Prodistant Dutch Church of the Town of Schenectady.

Gentelmen :

I sincerely thank you for your Comgratulations on my arrival in this place

Whilst I join you in adoring that supream being to whome alone can be attributed the signal successes of our Arms I can not but Express gratitude to you Gentlemen for so distinguished a testimony of your Regard

May the same providence that has hitherto in so Remarkable a manner Evinced the Justice of our Cause lead us to a steady and honourable peace and may I's attendant blessings soon Restore this our Florishing place to its former prosperity

Schenectady

G^d Washington

June 30th 1782.

VOL. XIX.—No. 3.—18

NOTES

A YANKEE CHOWDER—The following interesting article appeared in *The Weekly Magazine*, printed at Philadelphia, August 18, 1798. It is a valuable addition to the history of chowder, so ably discussed in the *Magazine of American History* for 1884 [Vol. XI.]: "Newbury-Port is about three miles from the sea. The inhabitants cheerfully devote a day to the entertainment of strangers, and this complaisance was experienced by our company.

We were invited to sail down the Merrimack river to the Black Rocks. Here we landed some of our company, who preferred the sport of the meadows, while we proceeded in quest of fish. Though the time of tide was unfavourable, we caught a sufficient quantity of flounder, cod, and other fish, of which there is a great variety in this river. The two former, however, were preferred by the connoisseurs. About noon we landed; and being joined by the gunners, formed a party of about fifteen persons. None were idle: all were cooks. While some were employed in cleaning the fish, others were busied in peeling onions; till at length a large pot of victuals was prepared. They called it *Chouder*.

I have no fondness for culinary researches: yet as this process was somewhat singular, it may not be improper to describe it.

Chouder may be made of any good fish; but the ingredients of *our* mess were as follow:

1. A few slices of the fattest pork,
2. A layer of flounders,

3. Ditto of onions,
4. Ditto of cod-fish,
5. Ditto of biscuit.

Then came the pork again, and the other articles in succession, till the pot was filled to the brim. Pepper, salt, and other seasoning, were liberally used. Being hung over the fire, without any water, for half an hour, it was then taken off the oar, from which it had been suspended, and which rested upon two jagged points of the rocks.

We now formed a circle, and attended to the ceremony of saying grace, which is religiously adhered to in New England. The chouder was then put into large white shells, which we found on the beach, and we began to eat it with smaller shells, fastened to pieces of split shingle. These natural utensils answered every purpose of dishes and spoons. Our seats were the rocks.

The breezes from the salt water, the exercise of the morning, and the length of time since breakfast, enabled us to do ample justice to chouder. Whether it was owing to an extraordinary appetite, or some peculiar excellence in our cheer, I shall not pretend to determine; but never did I taste anything so grateful to the palate. The best of liquors were added to the repast, and our pleasures were heightened by the agreeableness of our company."

MINTO

WALKING ON THE WATER—From the *Maryland Gazette* of 1746, the following extract has been contributed by Mr. W. F. Fishop, of LaGrange, Illinois: "On Saturday, May 26, 1746, two men o

repute, fishing off Kent Island, about four o'clock in the afternoon, the weather clear and calm, they saw, to their great surprise, at a small distance, a man about five feet high, walking by them on the water, as if on dry ground. He crossed over from Kent Island to Talbot county, about the distance of four miles."

THE DEATH PENALTY IN 1746—In the *Maryland Gazette* of May 20, 1746, appears the following: "We are informed that on Friday last, Hector Grant, James Horney, and Esther Anderson, white servants, were executed at Chester, Kent county, pursuant to their sentence for the murder of their late master. The men were *hanged*, and the woman *burned*."

EXHIBITION OF HISTORIC PORTRAITS IN MONTREAL—An important Exhibition of Historic Portraits and allied objects was opened by the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal, on the 15th of December last, continuing three weeks. Among the portraits were original paintings of Wolfe, Hertel de Rouville (of the Deerfield incursion), the Intendant Talon, Père Joques, the martyr of the Iroquois country, Charlevoix, Lafitau, and other historians, Le Moyne d'Iberville, the founder of New Orleans, and many others of similar importance. Historical students will be interested to know that a catalogue showing the owners of these was prepared at some length and can be obtained from the Society. The Exhibition contained, besides portraits, objects such as silver cups which belonged to Montcalm, many crosses of chevaliers of St. Louis, ancient

dress, service and funeral swords, miniatures, etc. The portraits were some of great age and frequently of great interest as representing 16th and 17th century art. Strangely, a similar exhibition was independently projected and carried out at the same time by the Philadelphia Academy of Fine Arts. The two exhibitions seem to have been the first of their kind in America.

WERTMULLER'S PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON—The effects of Adolphus Ulrich Wertmuller, the artist to whom Washington sat for his portrait, were sold at auction May 12th, 1812, at Philadelphia. Among the paintings No. 10 is described as "Gen. Washington, head size, painted from Person." "No. 54, Gen. Washington, from person; small oval, 6 inches by 5 $\frac{1}{4}$, in 1794." Among the professional articles offered was "No. 7, A Straining Frame with prepared canvas for full size of Gen. Washington." W. K.

HENRY WARD BEECHER'S ESTIMATE OF GEORGE WASHINGTON—"And their works do follow them," was Mr. Beecher's text. Of Washington he said:

"Certainly his works follow him. A great man; not great in intellectual endowment; not by any remarkable genius in any direction, but that of sound judgment and discretion; but a man untainted by personal ambition. He kept himself by the power of God pure in patriotism, large in statesmanship, amidst the squabbling influences of a tempestuous time; a man devoted to the best interests of the nation that was born under his care. Patient, untiring, hope-

QUERIES

in the darkest hour; a sublime courage both on the field of battle and in the hour of misfortune and adversity, irproachable in personal morals, wise in all things pertaining to public affairs, he collected about him counsellors who in their several spheres were wiser than he, and gathered from them the whole wisdom of the time in affairs of State. No man is a wise ruler who does not gather about him the wisest counsellors, and his name, while it will be preserved by the peculiar relations in which he stands to this nascent republic, is written in history, reappearing in counties and towns. Yet it is not so much his name as that his works do follow him. We have no Napoleon, no ambitious Cæsar, no Romulus or Remus to whom we can turn back with pride, but we have a man with the sympathies of a man, near to us, wise, patient, courageous, pure, large hearted and devoted to the interests of the commonwealth. It is well for young men of this day to ponder these things. The curse of our public men has been that they had no faith in the saving power of rectitude and goodness. Many and many a man of gigantic power has fallen because he sold himself to the selfish influence of the hour, and did not dare to trust himself to rectitude; did not dare to be called a Radical; did not dare to face an inflamed and ignorant populace and to insist upon it that nothing is for the public good that is not founded upon truth, justice and rectitude. To-day how are men fallen in the Senate of the United States—they can not fall in the House of Representatives. How are men whom we have a right to admire—around about whom, whether on one side or the other, we have been glad to twine laurels—how have they, against their better judgment, against the better instincts of their natures, bowed down to the outcry of a furious mob that gives expression only to its prejudices. Daniel Webster would have been President of the United States easily and illustriously if Daniel Webster had believed that rectitude always is safety; but he quivered before the face of the Moloch in the South. fell and never rose. And that public man that in the councils of his nation now acts according to the principles of rectitude and takes good or ill as they come—his works will follow him and he will be honored in the time to come."

QUERIES

THE MOUND BUILDERS—Who were they, and where and how did they live? Is there any truth in the story that they were the veritable Icelandic adventurers of remote antiquity, who are said to have discovered America in 1000? S. S. S.

LORD—Thomas Lord, and Dorothy his wife, came to New England in the *Elizabeth and Ann*, in 1635, and settled in Hartford, Connecticut, with their children. In her will in 1669, Mrs. Lord bequeathed a large amount of property for the period, and, with other bequests, she gave to her daughter Ann, wife of Mr. Thomas Stanton of Stonington, her Bible, and a piece of silver, a "can" or a bowl. (The writer has not the full copy of the will by her.) Is either the Bible or the silver article still

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in existence? If so, where? Mrs. Lord used (evidently) her husband's seal in sealing her will. The wax still bears the impression of the arms of the "La-ward *alias* Lord" family. In what part of England was the seat of that family? Is anything known of the ancestry of Thomas Lord, or Dorothy, his wife?

LAY—John Lay of England is first heard of in Saybrook, Connecticut, in 1648. He afterward removed to Lyme. He left in England a son, John, who

followed him to this country, some years afterward. Meantime the father had married a second time, and had a son, whom he called John also. The three Johns lived in Lyme, as did afterward some of their descendants. But most of the later generations removed to other places. Information concerning the ancestry and descendants of John Lay is desired for a book of family pedigrees and histories.

MRS. EDWARD E. SALISBURY
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT.

REPLIES

DANIEL WEBSTER [xviii, 443, 541; xix, 84]—When Webster dropped into poetry on the occasion of his response to a serenade at Washington on the evening of June 22, 1852, he misremembered the passage which he quoted. The passage is the opening stanza of a poem by Sir Henry Walton, addressed to the Queen of Bohemia, and is as follows:

"You meaner beauties of the night,
That poorly satisfy our eyes,
More by your number than your light,
You common people of the skies,
What are you when the moon shall rise?"

A comparison of the above with Webster's speech will show how much he confused the passage which he quoted or attempted to quote. (It may be added that some versions of the poem have the following variations from the text given above: in the first line, "Ye" for "You;" in the second, "Which" for "That" and "men's" for "our;" in the third, "with" for "by;" in the fourth, "Like" for "You;" and in the fifth, "Where" for "What" and "sun" for "moon.")

BOSTON, MASS.

C. W. LEWIS

THE CODDINGTONS AND BRINLEYS [xvii, 364]—*Editor Magazine of American History*: I note the following in "Colonel Chester's London Marriage Licenses," because it serves to illustrate the history of the Coddingtons and Brinleys, to whom you referred in your article on "Shelter Island:" "William Coddington, Esqr of the Isle of Rhodes, beyond seas, Widower, about 40, and Anne Brindley about 24, daughter of Thomas Brindley, Esqr. of Eaton, Co Bucks, alleged by John Mayer, of St Bennet, Paul's Wharf, London, gent.—at Datchett, Co Bucks, 12 Jan. 1648. F." The letter "F" indicates the source from which the item comes, viz.: Faculty Office of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

J. M. R.
PARIS, FRANCE, *January 7, 1888.*

HERALDRY [xix, 173]—About the end of the thirteenth century, in the reign of Henry III., figurative marks of distinction assigned to individuals by certain courts first acquired a systemized form in England. The wrongful assumption of arms was punishable by law.

TOWNSHEND.

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At a stated meeting of the society held on the evening of Tuesday, the 7th inst., the Hon. John A. King presiding, the committee on subscriptions for the Building Fund announced gratifying progress. The report of the librarian enumerating the donors to the collections during the past month, showed an addition of 148 volumes to the library, and of 6 oil paintings designated by the late Cephas G. Thompson as a gift to the gallery. The paper of the evening, read by the Rev. Philip Schaff, D.D., entitled, "The history of the amendment to the Constitution concerning Religious Liberty," was a most able study of the European idea of toleration, contrasted with the American principle of freedom of religious thought and worship.

Mr. Edward F. de Lancey offered a preamble and resolutions calling attention to the approaching Centennial of the adoption of the federal Constitution by the state convention, and urging that a memorial from the society be presented to governor and legislature, requesting that the event be suitably commemorated at Poughkeepsie, on the 26th of July next. The resolutions were adopted. John Wilmarth, Lawrence Voorhies Cortelyou, and Egbert Benson were elected members of the society.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At the annual meeting of this society November 16, 1887, Edward G. Mason was elected president, in place of E. B. Washburne, deceased. And on December 6

John Moses was elected secretary and librarian, in place of A. D. Hager, resigned.

The regular quarterly meeting of the society was held Tuesday, January 17, 1888, President Edward G. Mason in the chair. The minutes of the annual meeting of November 16 and December 6, 1887, were read and approved.

Donations of the published works of Rev. Dr. John M. Mason, containing his celebrated interview with Alexander Hamilton after his duel with Aaron Burr; and of a three-dollar bill of the "Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company," signed by "Alexander Mitchell, Secretary," and "George Smith, President," and endorsed by "Strachan & Scott," were received from Joseph O. Rutter, Esq., and were duly acknowledged. The report of the secretary and librarian was read, showing additions to the library of 67 bound volumes and 157 pamphlets. The Executive Committee reported that it had caused the society building to be renovated, and procured insurance to the amount of ten thousand dollars upon the books, paintings, and collections of the society. It has presented the aims and objects of the society to a number of citizens, and has been authorized to submit to your committee on nominations the names of thirty-one new candidates for membership. They have also obtained from several old members, who had practically retired from the society, a renewal of their connection with it. So that it is not too much to say that since the annual meeting the number of active members of the society has been increased one-half. It has gathered to

gether and arranged from the society's files a sufficient number of papers and documents to constitute a new volume of the society's collections. It has under very careful consideration the subject of a new society building, and expects to present at the next quarterly meeting a well-matured plan in reference to it and a sufficient subscription to justify the commencement of its construction.

THE NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its annual meeting January 24, 1888, at Trenton, which was opened with some remarks by the Rev. Dr. Hamill, its president, briefly reviewing the work of the society since it was organized in 1845. Of the original officers, the only survivor is the Hon. Joseph P. Bradley, the first recording secretary, and now justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. The paper of the day was by A. D. Mellick, Jr., of Plainfield, entitled "The Hessians in New Jersey—just a little in their favor." He quoted largely from contemporary writers, to show that the officers of the German regiment were gentlemen, and inferred that the men were simply harmless, good-natured German peasants. Gen. James F. Rusling, of Trenton, took the ground that Mr. Mellick's own paper showed that the Hessians massacred in cold blood the Americans at the battle of Long Island, that they were deserters, and that they reluctantly came to America at all. He said it was either too early or too late to attempt to reverse the verdict of our forefathers, and it was still evident, from the best that could be said in their favor, that they were blood-thirsty, dishonorable, and largely the riff-

raff of the petty German provinces. Officers of the society were elected for the ensuing year as follows: president, Rev. Samuel M. Hamill, D.D.; vice-presidents, John T. Nixon, Hon. John Clement, Dr. Samuel H. Pennington; corresponding secretary, Dr. Stephen Wickes, of Orange; recording secretary, William Nelson, of Paterson; treasurer and librarian, F. W. Ricord, Newark; executive committee, George A. Halsey, Rev. George S. Mott, D.D., John F. Hageman, David A. Depue, Nathaniel Niles, John I. Blair, Gen. William S. Stryker, Franklin Murphy and Robert F. Ballantine. Plans were exhibited of the new building which it is proposed to erect at Newark for the society's use, at a cost of \$25,000, and a very general desire was manifested to see it completed. A resolution was adopted expressing sympathy with the people of Greensburgh, Pennsylvania, in their efforts to get that third e restored to the name of the place, in honor of Gen. Greene, although Mr. Nelson thought it would be well to wait until the New Jersey legislature would restore the name of the Kill Van Kull, now called Kill *Von* Kull, and Pinhorne, near Snake Hill, now called Penn Horn, which should properly perpetuate the name of William Pinhorne, justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey two hundred years ago, and for many years prominent in the councils of both New Jersey and New York. The next meeting of the society will be held at Newark in May.

THE WISCONSIN HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its thirty-fifth annual meeting on the 6th of January, at Madison, Wiscon-

sin, and in the absence of President John A. Rice, Vice-President Simeon Mills occupied the chair.

Secretary Thwaites presented his annual report, showing that the society is enjoying great prosperity in the several branches of its useful and honorable work.

The library additions for the year have been 2,787 volumes and 1,996 pamphlets, a total of 4,783 books and pamphlets, against an average of 4,622 per annum for the past decade. The present strength of the library is 60,722 volumes and 62,727 pamphlets—a grand total of 123,449.

The report gives the details of various mechanical improvements which have recently been made in the library,—in which greatly increased shelving capacity is included,—and numerous conveniences that have been introduced for the benefit of general readers and special investigators. It is announced that Vol. VII. of the catalogue is in the hands of the binders; that Vol. X. of the Wisconsin Historical Collections will soon be issued from the press, and Vol. XI. may be expected in May next; that a special catalogue of literature bearing on the late American civil war was published in the course of the year, and that other special class lists will follow this; and that a revised biographical catalogue of the art gallery, which now contains 147 oil and crayon portraits, is in course of preparation.

The antiquarian fund, established only a year ago, has reached the sum of \$450.35. The secretary makes a vigorous appeal for donations to this eminently useful fund, the income from which

is to be devoted to the procuring of Wisconsin antiquities, manuscripts, or other objects of historic interest, and historical investigations within the state.

Professor James D. Butler delivered an able and scholarly address on "Alexander Mitchell as a Financier," of whom he said: "It was near the first summer days of 1839 that Alexander Mitchell came to Milwaukee as the secretary of a so-called insurance company—but in reality a bank. The founder of this company was George Smith, a Scotch farmer who came to America in 1834, to purchase lands, but soon turned his attention to banking. Starting originally in Chicago—calling his establishment an insurance company in order to avoid the odium in those days attaching to the name 'bank,' Smith finally thought Milwaukee a fresher field for his enterprise. Daniel Wells, a Milwaukee friend of Smith, secured from the first territorial legislature of Wisconsin, in the winter of 1838-9, not without strong opposition, a charter for an insurance company with banking privileges. This charter was signed by the governor on the last of February, 1839, and early in May stock was subscribed in Milwaukee to the extent of \$101,300—Smith subscribing \$100,000 and Wells and five others the balance. It was voted that \$1,100 per year be given as salary to the secretary of this company."

NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY—At the annual meeting of this society, held at its hall on Friday evening, January 13, the following officers were elected: president General James Grant Wilson; vice

president, Dr. Ellsworth Eliot, and second vice-president, Dr. Samuel S. Purple; publication committee of the society's quarterly, the *Record*, General James Grant Wilson, Rev. Beverly R. Betts, Edward F. de Lancey, Dr. Samuel S. Purple and Thomas G. Evans. The annual address was delivered by General Wilson, whose subject was "Memorials of Columbus," in which the speaker described the many interesting memorials of "the world-seeking Genoese" which he saw in Spain and Italy. General Wilson read an extract from a letter recently received by him from the descendant of Columbus, the Duke of Veraguas, in which he says: "The best portrait of Columbus is the one you saw in the National Gallery of Spain, and the best statue the one by Sunal, recently erected in Madrid. . . . I do not think any of the historians or writers have been successful in their attempts to deprive Genoa of the honor of being the birthplace of Columbus, or taking from Havana the glory of possessing his ashes."

At a meeting of this society, January 27, a paper was read by Miss Marie A. Brown, on "Scandinavia." Miss Brown was one of the leaders in the movement at Boston which resulted in the erection of a monument to the memory of Leif Ericsson, the Scandinavian, who, it is claimed, discovered America in the eleventh century. She is on her way to Washington to present a petition to Congress to postpone the contemplated celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery by Columbus until some newly discovered facts concerning Ericsson's discovery are laid before the country.

Cornelius Vanderbilt, chairman of the building committee, read the report recommending the removal of the society to more commodious quarters in Forty-fourth Street, near Fifth Avenue, which was adopted by the trustees.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its sixty-sixth annual meeting on the 10th of January, President Gammell in the chair. Reports were read, and President Gammell read his annual address which was one of great interest.

Officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows: president, William Gammell; vice-presidents, Dr. Charles W. Parsons, Elisha B. Andrews; secretary, Amos Perry; treasurer, Richmond P. Everitt.

The society held its regular meeting on the 26th of January, when a paper was read by Levi W. Russell, principal of the Bridgham Grammar School, on "Forestry, with Special Reference to Rhode Island." He began by calling attention to the fact that the people of the world hold the ground upon which they live only by a joint occupancy with trees; that trees and civilization exist together. Whoever works for a proper proportion of forest ground in a civilized country works for the permanent prosperity of that country. The total deforestation of a country means its desolation. It is not wise to be unheedful of the calamities resulting from the deforestation of nations whose history lies before us. Many direful lessons come to us from countries of the Old World and from many islands of the sea.

HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

An interesting glimpse of Philadelphia in 1787, at the time the convention was in session that framed the Constitution, is given in the recently published *Life of Rev. Manasseh Cutler*. He relates in his journal that he made a very early morning call on the Honorable Elbridge Gerry, and remained to breakfast. He writes : " Few old bachelors, I believe, have been more fortunate in matrimony than Mr. Gerry. His lady is young, very handsome, and exceedingly amiable. Mr. Gerry has hired a house, and lives in a family state. I was surprised to find how early ladies in Philadelphia can rise in the morning, and to see them at breakfast at half after five, when in Boston they can hardly see a breakfast table at nine without falling into hysterics. I observed to Mrs. Gerry that it seemed to be an early hour for ladies to breakfast. She said she always rose early, and found it conducive to her health. She was inured to it from her childhood in New York, and that it was the practice of the best families in Philadelphia."

Mr. Cutler says of his visit to Dr. Franklin : " There was no curiosity in Philadelphia which I felt so anxious to see as this great man, who had been the wonder of Europe as well as the glory of America. When I entered his house I felt as if I was going to be introduced to the presence of an European monarch. But how were my ideas changed when I saw a short, fat, trunched old man, in a plain Quaker dress, bald pate, and short white locks, sitting without his hat under a tree (in the garden) and, as Mr. Gerry introduced me, rose from his chair, took me by the hand, expressed his joy to see me, welcomed me to the city, and begged me to seat myself close to him. His voice was low, but his countenance frank and pleasing. He instantly reminded me of old Captain Cummings, for he is nearly of his pitch, and no more of the air of superiority about him."

It is a healthful sign when a whole generation of men and women are being awakened to the fact that it is a good thing to know something about the nature and operation of the government under which they live. America is just now in this awakening process. We are aware that daylight is seen in the morning hours long before the sun appears above the horizon. Thus we are encouraged to believe that the country will be entirely roused from its long nap during the year 1888, and ready when the day arrives for active commemoration of the grandest and most momentous event in its history—Washington's inauguration as first President. A common impulse should animate every citizen from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and the thrilling event be signalized by universal rejoicing. Meanwhile a celebration in which great historic interest centres will take place in Marietta, Ohio, on the 7th of April next—the landing of the first settlers at the mouth of the Muskingum river which has truly been said to have had its parallel only in the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth in 1620.

The American Historical Association has appointed the following delegates to attend the 7th of April celebration at Marietta, Ohio : Ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes, Rev.

fred P. Putnam, D.D., Dr. William F. Poole, president of the Association, Professor Herbert B. Adams, secretary, Clarence C. Bowen, treasurer of the Association, and Professor George W. Knight, of Columbus, Ohio.

What Mr. Beecher said about government in one of his patriotic sermons in 1860, recently gathered into a beautiful volume by John R. Howard is worth remembering: "Civil governments are said to be of God. All government is ordained of God, and civil governments also, not as by revelation and commission, but because the nature of man necessitates government. God did not create man, and then commission a government over him, but he created man with a necessity and instinct of government, and left that instinct and necessity to develop themselves. God made men to wear clothes, but he threw out a pattern for them to make their clothes by. He left them to choose their own garments. God made appetite, but he never made a bill of fare. He left men to pick out their own food. God made man's necessity for government, and then set him alone, and that necessity for government wrought out civil governments."

The first great domain to which the United States secured sovereignty was the region between Pennsylvania and the Mississippi river extending from the great lakes to the Ohio river, and this was placed under one territorial government by the Ordinance of 1787. The British had considered it "the paradise of America," and pressed it reluctantly; while France and Spain had meddled with serious intent. Then came up a domestic question of ownership, viz., did this vast region belong to the nation in common, or as it the property of one or more of the individual states? Four states claimed it in whole or in part—New York, Virginia, Massachusetts and Connecticut. Professor James W. Andrews, ex-president of Marietta College, says: "The four states in the end gave up their claims, New York leading the way, and Virginia following. Two of them, New York and Massachusetts, made their cessions without a qualification or reservation, while Virginia and Connecticut made important reservations." The course of New York in this connection is ably presented in another part of this magazine by Mr. Douglas Campbell.

All the world knows that Maria Mitchell was appointed the first professor of astronomy in Vassar College when it was opened in 1863. But one student was not at present in the brilliant reception given in her honor at the Hotel Brunswick in New York city by the Alumnae Association of Vassar on the 24th of February last. Much to the disappointment of the Vassar graduates and their guests, Miss Mitchell was not to be present. Mrs. Wood, president of the New York Alumnae Association, put an eloquent plea, however, for the absent astronomer. She said: "As many times as Miss Mitchell went over the ground in astronomy, she never failed to study each day's lesson with each year's class. Her students could regularly count on having an easy and short lesson the day after her faculty meetings. Attendance at these meetings she used to consider the biggest part of all her college duties. She would say, 'I'll give you only a hint as to how to prepare. You must go to faculty to-day, and I'll be too weary to prepare a long lesson myself.' In the early days of the college these meetings had more of a religious character than at present. They were usually opened with prayers and some passage from the Bible. Professor Mitchell would always manage to get late for this part of the programme and when the president requested her presence, she made future reference to the matter by saying the remark that she was 'unable to pray to order.'"

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Referring to the personal history of Miss Mitchell, Mrs. Wood said : " She went to school at Nantucket. When eighteen she became librarian of the Nantucket Athenæum. For twenty years she kept the place, and now she says that in those times she laid the foundation of her attainments in astronomy and mathematics. Her duties as librarian were few, and she used the opportunity to solve the problems of space. Not until the stars had lost their twinkle in the early dawn did she for night after night leave her telescope to go to sleep. In 1847 came the discovery of the comet, which introduced the young astronomer to the older astronomers of the world. For the finding of that wanderer the King of Denmark gave her a gold medal. To this, most people think, her reputation is due. But she says : ' No. If any credit is due it is for the mathematical success of working out its orbit. This was difficult, and took a long time to accomplish.' There are seven other comets which she has found, being in advance of other watchers in some cases by a few days, in others by only a few hours. Soon after 1847 Miss Mitchell went to Europe, gazed through the great telescopes, was fêted by the wise men, and was a guest in England of Sir John Herschel and Sir George Airy, then Astronomer Royal at Greenwich. After her return, and when Vassar was founded, she became its Professor of Astronomy. That she might study the heavens she did not marry. And her friends think that in any sphere she would have gone to the front as a woman remarkable in every way. Three institutions have given her the degree of LL.D., Columbia the latest."

Speaking of Miss Mitchell's appearance, dress, and character, Mrs. Wood remarked : " Time has touched her face with many softening lines. The features are still irregular and unclassic, but a pure life, high thoughts, and noble purpose, have written in eloquent language the evidence of a great nature. She dresses in the quiet Quaker garb, is like and unlike a Friend. Her character is not well rounded. It has square and some sharp corners. In the common meaning of the word, Maria Mitchell was not popular at Vassar. Her rooms were not crowded with students. She was not of that group of teachers who gave the college girls a taste of home, and who entered freely into close friendship with them. But they revered her with that awe which women have for one of their own kind far above them. Even though her classes always did themselves credit, she would not allow visitors unless she herself invited them. Once recently President Taylor was quite nonplussed when, as he entered her class room in company with a distinguished college guest, she said : ' Now, girls, I hate company, and I know you don't want to show off. So you may be dismissed.' "

The following anecdote illustrates itself : " Once when Maria Mitchell was in the cars between Boston and New York, the newsboy in the train eyed her with evident interest. As a result of his inspection the little fellow offered her none of the trashy literature he distributed to the other travelers, but presently, with an air of decision, brought her one of Mrs. Stowe's works. When she shook her head, he said : ' Scuse me, but ain't you Mrs. Stowe ? ' Not to be baffled by her refusal to accept the name he tried to fit to her face, he presently returned to the attack, saying : ' Then perhaps you're Mrs. Stanton ? ' Receiving a second negative, he added respectfully : ' Would you mind tellin' me who you are, m'am ? ' It is not probable that the name, Maria Mitchell, gave the persistent boy any very definite enlightenment, but he exclaimed triumphantly : ' I knew you was somebody.' "

BOOK NOTICES

UAL OF THE CONSTITUTION OF
E UNITED STATES. By ISRAEL
RD ANDREWS, D.D., LL.D. 12mo, pp.
Cincinnati and New York, 1887. Van
werp, Bragg & Co.

name of the author of this volume, the
it and scholarly ex-President of Marietta
e, is a sufficient guarantee that the work is
ghly well done. The studies which it em-
have grown out of the necessities of the
oom. Dr. Andrews' primary object in its
ation was to provide a suitable text-book,
ough his deep interest in the subject, and
ss of material accumulated in his la-
s researches for answers to the multitu-
questions arising on the important subject
government, he extended his investiga-
and the result is before us in a manual
bly adapted for consultation and refer-
y the general public. The use of small
r a portion of the text brings the work
the reach of classes in schools that have
ae for the whole. Dr. Andrews claims,
ry justly, that "a knowledge of the na-
d operation of the government under
we live is necessary for the successful
ition of the business of life, and to se-
e happiness of ourselves and those de-
t upon us." He defines the object,
and nature, as well as the different forms
government, and in clear, comprehensive
1, points out the peculiarities of the gov-
t of the United States, which, he says,
t a simple or consolidated republic on
e hand, nor on the other is it a league of
es. Many seem to suppose that there is
dle ground between these two; that the
of the one is equivalent to the affirmation
other." Dr. Andrews then goes on to
hat "the nation has a Constitution in
he character of the government is clearly
ted," that this Constitution is the su-
aw of the land; that the country is divided
visions, called states, each of which has
ition, confined in its operation to state
and that, unlike a simple republic, the
l Constitution recognizes the existence of
es with their separate constitutions and
rious departments, while the American
are a nation in the same sense and just
as the people of France.

ave never before to our knowledge had
d so clear an exposition of the great
es of the Constitution in concise and con-
form for reference, and not only instruct-
ywhere, but the intelligent public outside
ols and colleges will heartily welcome
pearance of this excellent work. Dr.
s voices the sentiment of right-minded

Americans, when he says that with correct under-
standing of governmental questions we "can
better adapt ourselves to the circumstances in
which we are placed and avoid the perplexities
and difficulties in which one ignorant of the laws
and institutions of our country is liable to be
placed."

THE FISHERIES AND FISHERY IN- DUSTRIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

By G. BROWN GOODE, Assistant Secretary of
the Smithsonian Institution, and a staff of as-
sociates. Section II. Quarto, pp. 787. Gov-
ernment Printing Office, Washington, D. C.
1887.

We have in this great volume an interesting
geographical and statistical review of the fish-
eries of the United States and fishing commu-
nities for the year 1880. We here learn that the
value of the fisheries of the sea, of the great
rivers, and of the great lakes was for that year
\$43,046,053, and that of those in minor inland
waters was \$1,500,000, in all \$44,546,053. These
values were estimated upon the basis of the
prices of the products received by the producers,
and if average wholesale prices had been con-
sidered, the value would have been much greater.
The editor in his introduction says that the
fisheries of New England are the most important,
where the principal fishing ports, in order of
importance, are: Gloucester, Portland, Boston,
Provincetown, and New Bedford, the latter be-
ing the centre of the whale fishery. Next to the
New England comes the South Atlantic States,
then the Middle States, and the Pacific States
and Territories. Forty-three distinct fisheries
are recognized by American writers, each being
carried on in a special locality and with methods
peculiar to itself. The sponge fisheries of the
United States are confined exclusively to the
west coast of Florida, where it is said one hun-
dred sail of vessels are engaged in the business,
the value of the sponges taken out in 1880
amounting to \$200,750. This work is full of
timely and valuable information, and it has been
handled ably in its preparation.

FIRST STEPS IN ELECTRICITY. By
CHARLES BARNARD. 16mo, pp. 133. New
York, 1888. Charles E. Merrill & Co.

The aim of Mr. Barnard, to entertain and in-
struct young people, both at home and in school,
is very apparent in this charming book on elec-
tricity, a subject about which every one is more
or less curious. The success of Mr. Barnard in
this class of writing is well known. His lan-
guage is well chosen, clear and full of meaning,

all technical terms are eschewed unless fully explained, and the young mind grasps his reasoning, without bewilderment or weariness. He opens his little work by describing a thunderstorm, and calls attention to the play of electricity in a young girl's hair on a frosty morning; and the tiny flashes of light on the cat's back in a dusky room on a winter's night. He then goes on to describe a number of simple and inexpensive experiments in electricity that can be performed at home and in schools, none of which are difficult or dangerous if ordinary care is used. His idea seems to be to give the reader a general knowledge of the laws governing the manifestations of electricity in nature, and to show how this force is used in the arts, in business, and in manufactures. He describes magnetism, magnets, magnetic inductions, electric bells, and the telephone. Mr. Barnard has produced an excellent work, one which we can heartily commend to every school and household in the land.

LOCURINE, A TRAGEDY IN VERSE. By ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE. 12mo, pp. 149. New York: Worthington Company, 1888.

A new poem by Mr. Swinburne is an event of such consequence in the literary world that the daily papers on this side of the Atlantic literally tumble over one another in their anxiety to be first in presenting it to an American public. Whether so much journalistic enterprise pays or not from a financial point of view, probably the "dear public" will never know, but to people who approach poetry in the right spirit, it would seem that such perusal as is accorded to the "last edition" of a daily must be very unsatisfactory. Personally we much prefer to wait for a comfortably bound volume and a leisure hour, before attempting to read anything so profound as let us say Browning or Swinburne.

The dedication in verse to Alice Swinburne, serves as an introduction, and we can do no better than to quote two of its stanzas:

A ninefold garland wrought of song-flowers nine,
Wound each with each in chance-in-woven accord,
Here at your feet I lay as on a shrine
Whereof the holiest love that lives is lord.
With faint, strange hues their leaves are freaked
and scored:
The fable-flowering land wherein they grew,
Hath dreams for stars, and gray romance for dew.

No part have these wan legends in the sun,
Whose glory lightens Greece and gleams on Rome,
Their elders live; but these—their day is done.
Their records, written of the wind in foam,
Fly down the wind, and darkness takes them home.
What Homer saw, what Virgil dreamed was truth,
And dies not, being divine; but whence in sooth,
Might shades that never lived win deathless youth?

This affectionate inscription to a sister to whom the poet is said to be especially attached is followed by a tragedy in the full meaning of

the word, but a tragedy related in lines that charm the ear and irresistibly stimulate the imagination. Upon the whole, the author's genius has never more conspicuously evinced its peculiar powers than in this its latest inspiration. Mr. Swinburne is probably now near the zenith of his powers. It seems hardly possible that near twenty years have passed since *Atalanta* in Calydon first electrified the English reading world, yet so it is, and with regularity unusual in a poet of his temperament he has from time to time given new evidence of his ability. He is still on the right side of middle life, and we may safely count upon other contributions to the archives of poesy, before his brilliant intellect begins to show signs of deterioration.

POEMS BY DAVID ATWOOD WASSON.

16mo, pp. 165. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1888.

During his life the author of these poems made but little progress toward publishing them in a permanent shape, but in his will he left the task in able hands, with the present satisfactory result. Mr. Wasson's poems are familiar to all readers of American publications, and his many admirers will welcome this edition of the best examples of his muse. We understand that a life of Mr. Wasson is in preparation. When it appears it will find a suitable companion in this collection of poetry so appreciatively arranged and edited by one who signs merely the initials E. D. C.

PATRIOTIC ADDRESSES IN AMERICA

AND ENGLAND, from 1850 to 1895, on Slavery, the Civil War, and the Development of Civil Liberty in the United States. By HENRY WARD BEECHER. Edited, with a review of Mr. Beecher's personality and influence in public affairs, by John R. Howard. 8vo, pp. 857. New York, 1897. Fords, Howard & Hulbert.

This elegant volume is something more and better than a biography. The first one hundred and fifty pages comprise a sketch of Mr. Beecher's life, enriched with personal reminiscences, anecdotes, and letters, written from the standpoint of a life-long and intimate friendship, by one who for twenty or more years was associated with the great preacher in the business relations of a publisher. Mr. Howard does not, however, in his introductory sketch attempt to chronicle details, while he gives a well-proportioned view of Mr. Beecher's whole career, styling it very modestly a "Review," and showing through his masterly touches the pure, unselfish springs of action,

the steady consistency of Mr. Beecher's. But this introduction is only one feature of the interesting work. The addresses of Beecher which it contains are the true gold mine. They constitute a glowing picture of the times that gave them birth. The story of the nation in its most critical period is told as with a blazing torch all through these eight pages. In speaking of the public utterances of Mr. Beecher, Mr. Howard furnishes items of great interest. He says: "The height that arose in Mr. Beecher's mind, if not sensed altogether, was apt to find instant and full expression. He was quite as likely to burst out into splendid eloquence amid a group of chatting friends, or even to a listener, as before a vast audience. He moved by his own inner forces." In reply to an inquiry from Mr. Howard, on one occasion as to the line of treatment he would take in a course of lectures he was about to deliver, Beecher replied: "I know what I am to aim at, but of course I don't get down to anything specific. I brood it, and ponder it, and dream over it, and pick up information from one point and another, but if ever I think the plan opening up to me I don't dare to put it or put it down on paper. If I once have a thing out, it is almost impossible for me to let it go. I never dare, now-a-days, to write out a sermon during the week; I write it sure to kill it. I have to think around about it, get it generally ready, and then to write it when the time comes."

Descriptions and biographies of Mr. Beecher are not partial side lights, however. Mr. Howard says truly, that "real knowledge of him can be had only from his own utterances, the living flame of his genius burns immortally." The patriotic addresses are divided into three classes: "Freedom and Slavery," preceded before the war, "Civil War," produced during the war, and "Civil Liberty," produced at the close of the war. In the first division is the now famous article from the *Independent* of February 21, 1850: "Shall We compromise?" the reading of which to John Brown on his death-bed elicited from him a response, "That man understands things; he has gone to the bottom of it. He will be from again." In the second division are several great speeches in England that produced such an effect on the world's history. The division contains the two famous "Clevelanders," written in August and September, on reconstruction. The sermon that followed on "National Unity" is one of remarkable power. In referring to the disturbing necessities that are coming upon us through the movement hither of immigrants from all over the world, Mr. Beecher said: "The mingling together of these strange materials

will give rise to quite enough of jarring and of activity; but we perceive still another element of discord in the conflict of social customs. Our Puritan fathers made channels, and Europe is furnishing the water that flows in them. We see that the landmarks are going. We see that under foreign influences our channels are becoming too narrow and too strait. We perceive laws overwhelmed, sacred ideas rudely overborne, and the venerable Lord's day given up to festive songs, to dances and to bibulous hilarity. Many are alarmed, and think that the end of the world hath come. Nay, not by some space yet!" In "Retrospect and Prospect," a sermon preached in Plymouth Church on Thanksgiving Day, 1884, Mr. Beecher said, in regard to the unity of the human race: "Mankind are capable, by reason of their common origin and substantial likeness, of interaffiliating and dwelling together—and in unity. That is the consummation of Christianity."

The illustrations in the volume are well-chosen. The frontispiece is a new steel engraving of Mr. Beecher at the age of forty-three, from a photograph. There is also a portrait of him at the age of sixty-five, and one at the age of seventy-three. The volume contains fifteen or more portraits of the eminent men of the anti-slavery and the civil war periods, including those of Horace Greeley, Charles Sumner, Daniel Webster, and President Lincoln.

THE ICELANDIC DISCOVERIES OF AMERICA; or, Honor to Whom Honor is Due. By MARIE A. BROWN. 12mo, pp. 208. London, 1887. Trübner & Co.

Miss Brown has written a very readable book in her effort to resurrect and bring into prominence the Viking period, and establish the fact that America was discovered by the Icelanders in 1001. In her opening paragraph she says: "We have all been taught that Columbus discovered America, and it is very hard to disabuse our minds of that idea," in which sentiment we agree with Miss Brown—we go further, even, and place upon permanent record our doubts of her making any perceptible progress in the direction of disabusing the American mind of that idea. We fail to see wherein it would benefit the human race to deprive Columbus of his crown. He seems to have earned it with uncommon industry. The heroic Norsemen five centuries before the time of Columbus were, we have always believed, well acquainted with the eastern coast of North America; yet Iceland was a dependent and neglected province of Denmark, without colonies or remains of settlements in North America, at the time it was visited by Columbus, who was in pursuit of nautical information, and unquestionably obtained what he could respecting the voyages and adventures of

the ancient Icelanders. How much that helped him is a conundrum. The fact is none the less true that he conceived one of the boldest designs in human history, and through original plans and persistent endeavor succeeded in its accomplishment. Where would have been our glorious country but for Columbus? Was it not as remote from the knowledge of the world of 1492 as if the Norseman had never seen it?

Miss Brown is an enthusiast in Norse history, and has spent many years in close, painstaking researches. It is a very picturesque and interesting period with which she deals. The sober historical narrative handed along through the ages by the Icelanders is worthy of our notice, even though their American discoveries led to no practical results. Miss Brown learns through her studies that "the Norsemen were truly a great people." She says: "Their spirit found its way into the Magna Charta of England and into the Declaration of Independence in America." She further says: "In the Norsemen one continually has the gratifying surprise of hearing of a race who, in all the main political and social questions, were right in themselves, without the need of reform and agitation. That the people in Scandinavia had a voice in public affairs, is best proven by the fact that the people of America and England are free, at least comparatively so, in a political aspect." This is a strong statement. She goes on to draw a romantic and delightful picture of the Norse discoveries, who "regarded the ocean as little more than a babbling brook, and had more vessels and crews than they knew what to do with. Like our fashionable Americans at the present day, the Norse travelers had been everywhere—almost—and pined for a new coast. So one day they found Greenland, and soon after chanced upon America. They came home and told the news, and then others went. . . . These Norse voyagers started off merrily, anticipating enjoyment. . . . Money, men, vessel, provisions, everything needful they had; the only thing they did not have was knowledge of the route, but that was not serious. They made as quick a voyage (to America) as if they had known the way." Miss Brown indulges in a train of energetic reflections and illustrations about the Romish Church; and she quotes liberally from what are considered authentic documents.

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FOR SCHOOLS. With maps, plans, illustrations, and questions. By ALEXANDER JOHNSTON, LL.D. 12mo, pp. 473. New York, 1887. Henry Holt & Company.

Among the numerous short histories of the United States prepared for the use of teachers and classes in our schools, the one before us is

destined to hold the highest place. Professor Johnston has taken a broader and more comprehensive view of the subject than any of his predecessors. He has written with a studied simplicity of language which is in itself high literary art, and has grouped the leading events in our history—exactly such as the pupil ought to know about—in the clear-cut and agreeable style which cannot fail to secure attention from those it is desired to benefit. He has not made a story-book. We cordially commend the good judgment and taste with which he has passed lightly over the Indian wars and adventures of the colonial period, that hitherto have occupied an inordinately large portion of our school histories, and given the essential facts relative to the formation of our national government, the growth of the states, the administrations of our presidents with the leading events in each, and the responsibilities of the American citizen to the present and future. The colonial period is here, for the first time in a work of this character, well-proportioned to our national history. Professor Johnston has not aimed to make either a story-book or a picture-book. He believes in maps as a legitimate embellishment, but he does not favor the idea that ordinary pictures serve to illustrate history. Usually it is the poor picture that is introduced into the school-book, and the child is misled in all his early notions of art.

Professor Johnston's work is comparatively free from errors, which cannot be said of many of those of his predecessors in the same field. There are however, one or two points in the book before us that should and will undoubtedly be corrected in the next edition. The school pupil should no longer be taught the old traditional fable that when Jacob Leisler had been convicted of treason, his "enemies made Governor Slaughter drunk, got his signature to the death warrant, and hanged Leisler before the governor became sober again." There is not a line in all history to support any such statement. The truthful records of the sad event show that the death warrant was signed on Thursday, and the execution did not take place until Saturday. Then again the death warrant was signed in the forenoon, and not until after it had been advised by the governor's council, and approved and the approval placed on record by the House of Representatives. That it was a great political blunder we all know. But the tradition handed along by the violent partisans of that heated period, through many generations, should never become accepted history and taught to our children. Professor Johnston's work is too good to be marred by this well-worn bit of fiction.

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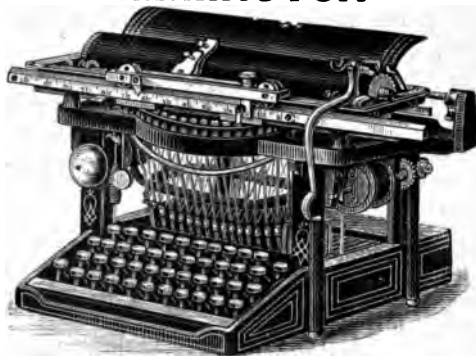
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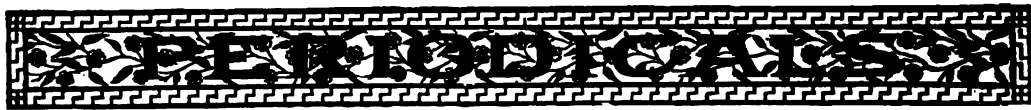
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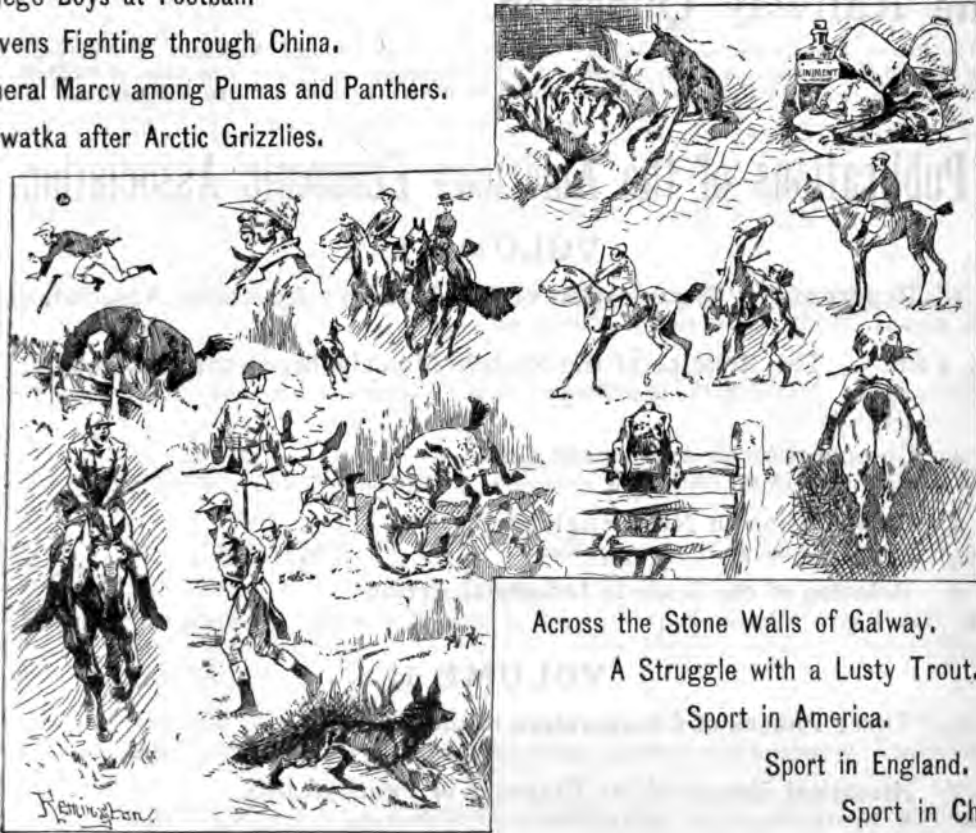
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ASSETS \$118,806,851 88.

Insurance and Annuity Account.

	No.	Amount.		No.	Amount.
Policies and Annuities in force, Jan. 1st, 1887	129,927	\$393,809,202 88	Policies and Annuities in force, Jan. 1st, 1888....	140,943	\$437,628,932 51
Risks Assumed.....	22,305	69,457,468 37	Risks Terminated.....	11,299	35,637,738 74
	152,232	\$463,266,671 25		152,232	\$463,266,671 25

Revenue Account.

To Balance from last account ...	\$104,719,784 31	By Endowments, Purchased Insurance, Dividends, Annuities and Death Claims.	14,128,423 00
" Premiums.....	17,110,901 68	" Commissions, Commutations, Taxes and all other Expenses	3,649,514 49
" Interest, Rents and Premium on Securities Sold.....	6,009,020 84	" Balance to new account.	110,061,718 68
	\$127,839,656 77		\$127,839,656 77

Balance Sheet.

To Reserve for Policies in force and for risks terminated.....	\$112,430,096 00	By Bonds Secured by Mortgages on Real Estate.....	\$49,015,268 06
" Premiums received in advance	83,314 86	" United States and other Bonds.	43,439,877 81
" Surplus at four per cent.....	6,394,441 62	" Real Estate and Loans on Col- laterals.....	20,159,173 37
		" Cash in Banks and Trust Com- panies at interest.	2,619,362 66
		" Interest accrued, Premiums de- ferred and in transit and Sun- dries.....	2,973,109 98
	\$118,806,851 88		\$118,806,851 88

I have carefully examined the foregoing statement and find the same to be correct.

A. N. WATERHOUSE, Auditor.

From the Surplus above stated a dividend will be apportioned as usual.

Year.	Risks Assumed.	Risks Outstanding.	Surplus.
1884	\$34,681,420	\$351,789,286	\$4,743,771
1885	46,507,139	368,981,441	5,012,634
1886	56,982,719	398,909,208	5,643,568
1887	69,457,468	427,628,932	6,394,442

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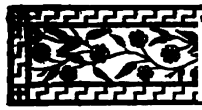
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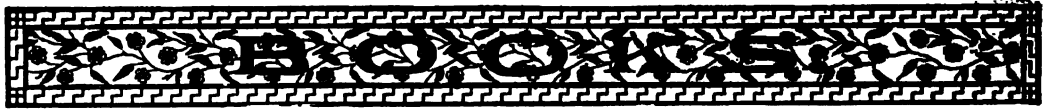
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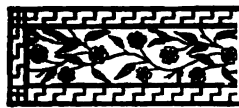
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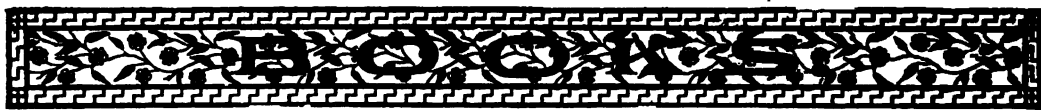
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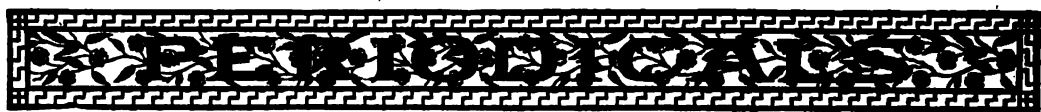
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Mrs Whipter

FROM THE ORIGINAL MINIATURES BY ROBERTSON, ON IVORY, NEVER BEFORE ENGRAVED.

[In joint possession of the granddaughters of the artist. Mrs. Charles W. Darling and Mrs. S. M. Mygatt.]

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XIX

APRIL, 1888

No. 4

UNPUBLISHED WASHINGTON PORTRAITS

SOME OF THE EARLY ARTISTS

IN introducing the beautiful Robertson miniatures, about which so much has been written and so little known, for the first time to the American reader, it is instructive to note the progress of a refined sentiment in this country through the freshly awakened interest in the varied portraiture of Washington. Since the issue of the "Washington Number" of this magazine many a long unused key has been turned bringing to light heir-looms rare and precious—notably the gems of art and silent eloquence which form our frontispiece. It will be seen on critical inspection of these how materially the portrait of Martha Washington differs from the one hitherto supposed to be the genuine Robertson, which appeared on page 107 in February last. The facts were as then stated in reference to these miniatures having been retained in the family of the artist and made into brooches; but they were never engraved until now. The one heretofore used may have been one of Robertson's later productions, but that remains to be proven. The originals, exquisitely executed on ivory in water-colors, now belong to the two granddaughters of Robertson, Mrs. Charles W. Darling of Utica, and Mrs. S. M. Mygatt of New York city. They represent the artist's first portrait work in this country, while he was spending some weeks for the purpose of study in the Presidential mansion at Philadelphia, and are believed to be the finest examples of his painting extant.

Each of the early artists who interpreted for himself on ivory or canvas the moral energy and genuine nobility reflected from the serene countenance of our great American commander, whose entire life was oppressed with responsibility, illustrated an important chapter in that particular period of our history. Each original portrait—painted from life—has long since become of priceless value to its possessor, and it is an event of exceptional interest when any one of these antique treasures makes, after so many years, its initial bow to the public. The portraits of Charles Wilson are widely dispersed and doubly suggestive as cherished memorials

of the rise and development of native American genius in art at a crisis in our country's destiny. One of his productions during the early years of the revolutionary struggle is the fine bust portrait of Washington, which, through the courtesy of its present owner, we publish for the first time this month on a subsequent page.

Archibald Robertson was a Scotchman from Aberdeen, some thirty years of age when he came to America. He had studied art with Joshua Reynolds and Benjamin West, and had used his own brush with such success in London as to attract attention from the English court, where he was called the "Reynolds of Scotland." The Earl of Buchan, noting his signs of promise in portraiture, invited him to an interview immediately after learning of his contemplated removal to the New World, and gave him a letter of introduction to Washington, thereby paying him one of the greatest of compliments. He was instructed to deliver the letter with his own hand, and in order to secure beyond failure his admission into the presence of the President of the United States, the Earl committed also to the artist's care a gift intended for Washington—the famous "Wallace box." Robertson arrived in New York city October 2, 1791, and, without much delay, waited upon the President in Philadelphia, then the seat of government, and fulfilled his engagement with Buchan by placing in person the box and its enclosure in the hands of Washington himself. The letter from Buchan to Washington was as follows:

Sir:

DRYBURGH-ABBEY, June 28th, 1791.

I had the honor to receive your excellency's letter relating to the advertisement of Doctor Anderson's periodical publication in the Gazette of the United States; which attention to my recommendation I feel very sensibly, and return you my grateful acknowledgments.

In the 21st number of that literary miscellany, I inserted a monitory paper respecting America, which I flatter myself may, if attended to on the other side of the Atlantic, be productive of good consequences. To use your own emphatic words, "May that Almighty Being who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aid can supply every human defect, consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the American people a government instituted by themselves for public and private security, upon the basis of law and equal administration of justice, preserving to every individual as much civil and political freedom as is consistent with the safety of the nation; and may He be pleased to continue your life and strength as long as you can be in any way useful to your country.

I have entrusted this sheet inclosed in a box made of the oak that sheltered our great Sir William Wallace, after the battle of Falkirk, to Mr. Robertson of Aberdeen, a painter, with the hope of his having the honor of delivering it into your hands; recommending him as an able artist, seeking for fortune and fame in the New World. This box was presented to me by the Goldsmith's Company at Edinburgh, to whom, feeling my own unworthiness to receive this magnificently significant present, I requested and obtained leave to make it



ARCHIBALD ROBERTSON

JULY 8th 1805, AGED 40.

26th 79 Liberty Street
NEW YORK.

[From a rare print, in possession of the family.]

over to the man in the world to whom I thought it most justly due; into your hands I commit it, requesting of you to pass it, in the event of your decease, to the man in your own country, who shall appear to your judgment to merit it best, upon the same considerations that have induced me to send it to your excellency.

I am with the highest esteem, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient

And obliged humble servant,

BUCHAN.

General Washington,

President of the United States of America.

P. S.—I beg your excellency will have the goodness to send me your portrait, that I may place it among those I most honor, and I would wish it from the pencil of Mr. Robertson. I beg leave to recommend him to your countenance, as he has been mentioned to me favorably by my worthy friend, Professor Ogilvie, of King's College, Aberdeen.

Robertson has left in his personal handwriting a graphic account of this first interview with President Washington, which is best told in his own language:

"The bearer of Lord Buchan's compliments, although familiarly accustomed to intimate intercourse with those of the highest rank and station in his native country, never felt as he did on his first introduction to the American hero. The excitation in the mind of the stranger was evidently obvious to Washington, for from his ordinary cold and distant address he declined into the most easy and familiar intercourse in conversation, with a view to disembarass his visitor from the agitation excited by the presence of a man whose exalted character had impressed him with the highest sentiments of respect and veneration for such lofty virtue. Washington easily penetrated into the heart and feelings of Lord Buchan's friend, and he left no means untried to make him feel perfectly at ease in his company during the period he intended to spend with him in Philadelphia. The General, not finding his efforts altogether successful, introduced him to Mrs. Washington, whose easy, polished and familiar gayety, and ceaseless cheerfulness, almost accomplished a cure, by the aid of her grandchildren, G. W. Custis and Miss Eleanor Custis, afterwards Mrs. Lewis, and wife to the nephew of General Washington. Another effort of the first President to compose his guest was at a family dinner party, in which the General, contrary to his usual habits, engrossed most of the conversation at the table, and so delighted the company with humorous anecdotes that he repeatedly set the table in a roar. The result of these attentions the General now perceived had nearly produced a radical change, and to have the desired effect of fitting the artist for the task he had undertaken for Lord Buchan, in making as good a likeness of Washington as he possibly could. The artist being now prepared, and left to his own direction in the manner and way he should proceed in his process, preferred making his original first attempt in miniature on ivory, in water-colors; *pari passu*, he at the same time painted a likeness of Mrs. Washington as a mate to the General's. The original one painted for Lord Buchan was in oils, and of a size corresponding to those of the collection of portraits of the most celebrated worthies in liberal principles and in useful literature in the possession of his Lordship at Dryburgh Abbey, near Melrose, on the borders of Scotland."

Robertson then goes on to describe the dinner at the President's, which he says was at three o'clock, "was plain, but suitable for a family in genteel and comfortable circumstances. There was nothing specially remarkable at the table, but that the General and Mrs. Washington sat side by side, he on the right of his lady; the gentlemen on his right hand and the

President Washington. Martha Washington.

Colonel John Trumbull. ○

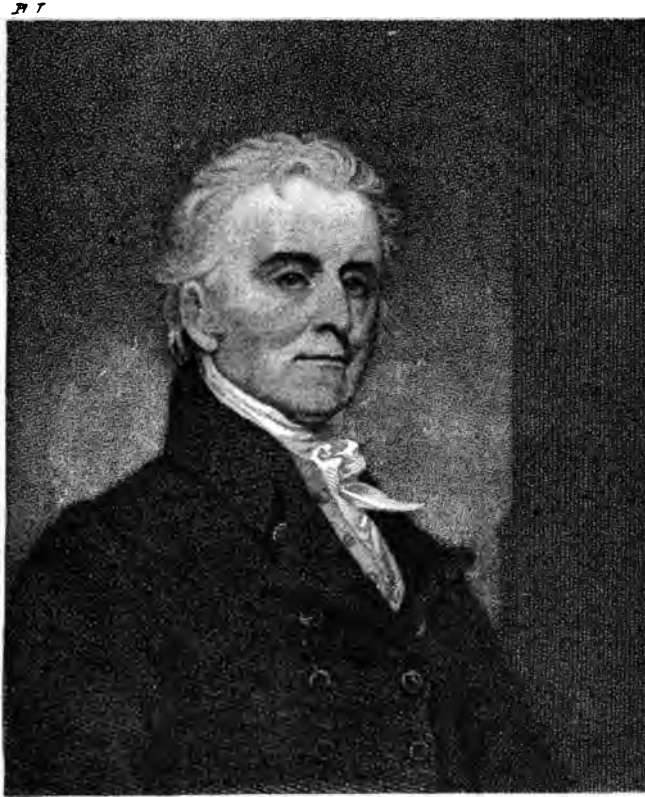
○ Mrs. General Green.

Colonel Tobias Lear. ○

○ Miss Eleanor Custis.

Major Jackson. Archibald Robertson.

ladies on her left. It being on Saturday, the first course was mostly of



Engraved from the original. 1863

Engraved from the original. 1863

J. T. Frum

eastern cod and fresh fish. A few glasses of wine were drunk during dinner, with other beverage; the whole closed with a few glasses of sparkling champagne, in about three-quarters of an hour, when the General and Colonel Lear retired, leaving the ladies in high glee about Lord Buchan and the 'Wallace box.' "

This quaint "Wallace box" was about four inches long, three broad, and two deep, constructed of six pieces of the heart of the oak that sheltered Sir William Wallace after the battle of Falkirk. It was one-eighth of an inch thick, finely polished on the outside, and the whole united by an elegant silver binding, the lid opening upon hinges one-third down.

the side, having a silver plate inside bearing the inscription: "Presented by the goldsmiths of Edinburgh to David Stuart Erskine, Earl of Buchan, with the freedom of their corporation, by their Deacon, 1791."

The gift of this box to Washington was esteemed one of the highest of compliments. The Scotchman said: "The glory of triumphant military skill and bravery, although sufficiently appreciated by enlightened men of liberal views, was thought nothing to that of being the happy instrument of establishing on correct principles a genuine representative civil government. The progress of the states was anxiously and dubiously regarded by true philosophers and the friends of free principles in Europe until the final establishment of the federal Constitution by the installation of Washington as its first President. For an idea had gone abroad, namely—'No Washington, no free government.' But then all doubts vanished. It cannot be denied that there were those who wished for a government founded on the bayonet, but Providence spared Washington sufficiently long to accomplish the great work, and frown down such an attempt. Among no people did the happy settlement of the federal government afford more satisfaction than to the host of enlightened and liberal-minded Scottish patriots of every rank, who, deploring the abuses of the government under which they were born, rejoiced in the happiness of their transatlantic kinsmen, who wished to convey to the American hero, by a palpable memorial, the most expressive idea of a Scotsman's highest respect for the character and virtues of the modern American Wallace."

The correspondence between Washington and Buchan, in reference to the "Wallace box," is of much interest; but our space will only admit of the following clause from Washington's will, by which the box was returned to its giver on his decease:

"To the Earl of Buchan, I recommit the box made of the oak that sheltered the brave Sir William Wallace after the battle of Falkirk, presented to me by his lordship in terms too flattering for me to repeat, with a request to pass it, on the event of my decease, to the man in my country who should appear to merit it best, upon the same conditions that have induced him to send it to me. Whether easy or not to select the man who might comport with his lordship's opinion in this respect, is not for me to say; but conceiving that no disposition of this valuable curiosity can be more eligible than the recommitment of it to his own cabinet, agreeably to the original design of the goldsmith's company of Edinburgh, who presented to him, and at his request consented that it should be transferred to me—I do give and bequeath the same to his lordship; and in case of his decease, to his heir, with my grateful thanks for the distinguished honour of presenting it to me, and especially for the favorable sentiments with which he accompanied it."

Two brothers of Archibald Robertson, Andrew and Alexander, followed him to this country, and together they opened a school for painting,

sculpture, engraving, and architecture, at 79 Liberty street, New York city—a school which flourished for two score years, with results not easily measured or adequately estimated. One of the pupils in this institution was John Vanderlyn. Robertson also opened a studio for himself, and instituted lecture courses. He painted several portraits of Washington, one in oil, on a slab of marble nine by twelve inches, at the President's suggestion while he was sojourning in the Executive mansion. It is described as "a half-length; three-quarters view, coat of snuff-color with an exuberance of shirt-ruffle, a highly-finished work in appearance as soft as if on ivory." He executed a great variety of sketches of places and scenes, a marked example being the view of New York city from the Jersey shore prior to the beginning of the present century, now in possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.

It is said that Charles Wilson Peale painted Washington from life fourteen times—in full, three-quarters, half length, and in miniature. From these originals he made many copies. One of his best known works, Washington as a Virginia colonel, executed in 1772, was reproduced, so says a French writer, more than one hundred times. For upwards of a decade the elder Peale was the only American portrait painter known to fame, and was sought by sitters from afar—not infrequently from Canada and the West Indies. Watson and Smybert, who gave the earliest professional impulse to the art in America, had long since passed away; Copley, who caught his first notions of color and drawing from Smybert's copy of Vandyke, was in England; Trumbull, who conceived a fascinating idea of the career of a painter from Copley's elegant costumes of crimson velvet, and comfortable mode of life, when he visited him at the time of his marriage, and Gilbert Stuart, had not yet become familiar names; and Robert Fulton and William Dunlap were twenty years younger than Peale. Several miniatures were painted by Peale while at Mount Vernon in 1772. There is an entry in Washington's account book of personal expenses as follows:

	" May 30th, 1772.
By Mr. Peale drawing my pict.	£18 4s.
" Miniature for Mrs. Washington.....	13
" Ditto for Miss Custis.....	13
" Ditto for Mr. Custis.....	13

57 4s.

Peale also painted miniatures of both Washington and Mrs. Washington in the year 1776. In response to a request from Mrs. Washington,

Peale took charge of the setting of some of these miniatures in the winter of 1780-1781, as the following correspondence reveals :

" New Windsor, Dec. 26, 1780.

Sir

I send my miniature pictures to you and request the favor of you to get them set for me. I would have them as bracelets to wear round the wrists. The pictures already set I beg you to have cut the same size as the two, and set alike, as I may make a pair of either of the three pictures. The diamonds may be set in a pin for the hair. I would have the three pictures set exactly alike, and all the same size. If you have no crystals yourself, if they can be had in the city, I beg you to get them for me. I would like to have them set neat and plain, and will be much obliged to you to hurry the person that undertakes the doing of them, as I am very anxious to get them soon.

I am, sir, your ob^t h^l sv^t,

MARTHA WASHINGTON.

In the box threc miniatures, 2 half joes and small pieces of gold."

" Philad^a, January 16, 1881.

Dr Madam

The jeweller promises me to have the bracelets done in a few days. I have begged him to take the utmost pains to set them neatly. As no foreign glasses were to be had, I have moulded some of the best glass I could find, and got a Lapidary to polish them: which I hope will not be inferior to those made abroad. I have cut the pictures to one size, and mean to go a little further than you are pleased to direct—that is, to have square loopholes for occasional use as a locket, and the additional expense is inconsiderable.

Respectfully yours,

C. W. PEALE.

Mrs. Martha Washington."

The eminent scholar, General G. P. Thruston of Nashville, Tennessee, is the possessor of the original bust-portrait of Washington—here for the first time engraved—the coloring of which is superb. In the "Original Portraits of Washington" by Miss Johnston, a work issued in 1882, appears the following paragraph:

"The only bust-portrait of Washington of cabinet size, from the hand of Charles Wilson Peale, once belonged to Captain Williams of the Topographical Bureau, who married Miss Peter, a great grand-daughter of Mrs.



George Washington

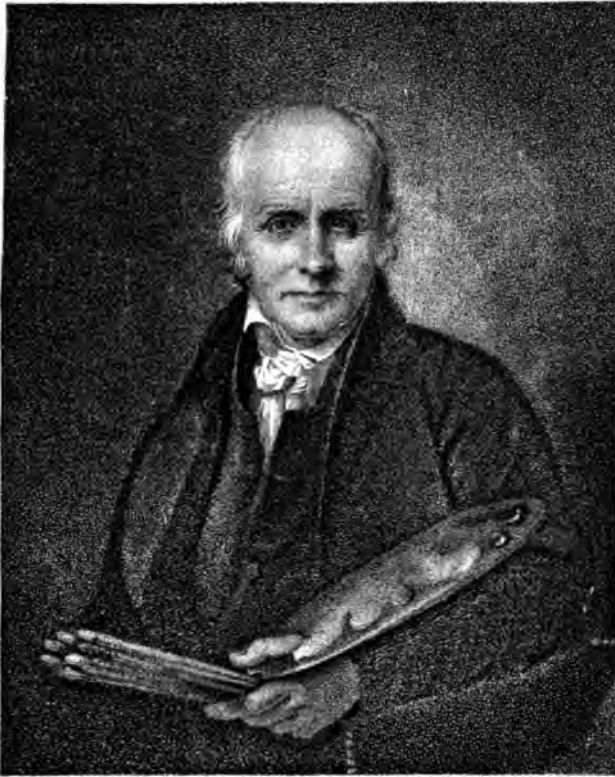
FROM THE BUST PORTRAIT BY CHARLES WILSON PEALE, NEVER BEFORE ENGRAVED.

[The painting is in possession of General G. P. Thruston, Nashville, Tennessee.]

Washington. This portrait, in 1832, became the property of Judge Thruston of Kentucky, and descended to his daughter, the late Mrs. Jeanette Thruston Powell. It is very brilliant in tone and readily identified as a work of Peale, though there was a tradition attributing it to Gilbert Stuart. It is now in the possession of Admiral L. M. Powell, Washington."

Admiral Powell left the picture by will to his nephew, General Thruston, who prizes it as it deserves.

The versatility of talent which characterized Charles Wilson Peale, uniquely illustrates the times in which he lived. He made up in unceasing energy what he lacked in opportunity; he began life in 1741, and was twenty-six before he studied painting, although it appears to have been his natural bent from childhood. He was at one time and another a saddler, harness-maker, silversmith, watchmaker, carver in ivory, moulder of glass, schoolmaster, janitor, painter, engraver, soldier, inventor, lecturer, author, sportsman, naturalist, scientist, legislator, and the first dentist in the country who manufactured sets of enamel teeth. And he made a very respectable figure in each calling. There was very little to encourage his seeking art as a profession, no standard, no school, no support. "You have come a great way to starve," said Benjamin West, when told that his subsequently distinguished countryman had visited London to study at the Royal Academy. Dr. Franklin wrote to Peale in 1771, "there is no doubt of the Arts flourishing hereafter on our side of the Atlantic, as the number of wealthy inhabitants shall increase, who may be able and willing suitably to reward them; since, from several instances, it appears that our people are not deficient in genius." But even the great philosopher recognized the precarious nature of the vocation if depended upon for a subsistence, and advised Peale "to claim large prices before he should be compelled to wear spectacles." Peale, like many another of the early artists, found painting as capriciously remunerative as his early education for it was limited and accidental. He had to look to individuals for employment and support. Some twenty years later and long before commercial success had become honorably identified with tasteful liberality, Trumbull said to a young student of art, "You had better learn to make shoes or dig potatoes than become a painter in this country." The industry and genius of Peale triumphed, however, over all the depressing conditions of the period, and for what he achieved with his own brush and has handed along through the century, and because of his conscientious and intelligent labors in the cause of art, he is entitled to our everlasting gratitude. He painted the portraits of his family upon a large canvas in 1773—completed in 1780—known as the "Family Group," which hangs in the gallery of the



C. W. Peale

New York Historical Society. It embraces his own portrait and those of his wife and children, David Ramsay the historian, and his favorite dog, "Argus." All the portraits of Washington by Peale, independent of the professional skill which they represent in the infancy of native art, are essential to our gallery of Washingtonia. He also transferred to canvas the features of most of the celebrities, native and foreign, associated with American history and society in the beginning of our career as a nation, among whom were John Hancock, Robert Morris, Dr. Franklin, Lord Stirling, General Greene, Baron Steuben, General Gates, Dr. Witherspoon, Peyton Randolph, Rochambeau, De Kalb, Laurens, Chastellux, Albert Gallatin, Dr. Benjamin Rush, Dickinson, Lincoln, Volney, Pickering, George Clymer, Governor McKean, and Bishop White. His last work was

a full length portrait of himself, painted at the age of eighty-three. He died in 1826.

When Washington died, Malbone was but twenty-two years of age, and although he had been established for three years as a miniature painter in Boston, there is no record that he ever sought to distinguish himself by painting our first President. He was a native of Rhode Island, and his artistic gifts and social graces seem to have been inherited from his ancestors. He found in scene painting his first tangible hint of a possible future career. He became the intimate friend of Washington Allston, of South Carolina, who was two years his junior. In 1800 Malbone accompanied Allston to Charleston, and in that cultured Southern city he found immediate appreciation and sympathy. In all the principal cities of America Malbone's exquisite miniatures were scattered from time to time during his brief life which was terminated by death at the age of thirty. They are to be found in many of the families of Charleston; of Brigham and Peters, of Philadelphia; of the Derbys, of Salem, Massachusetts; of Erving, Amory, Dana, and others, of Boston—precious links of connection with the romantic past. It is the peculiar charm of miniatures that they are usually sacred to affection, are treasured in the casket or safe deposit vault, not exposed on the wall, and consequently regarded with a tenderness that language fails to express. What a perfect lyric is in poetry, the miniature is in painting. Malbone's drawing was absolutely correct, and he had a quick insight into character. Some remarkable examples of his work exist in the miniatures of Mr. and Mrs. William Dana, of Boston, made about the year 1799, which we have the pleasure of engraving for the first time, and presenting to our readers. Mr. Dana was the son of Benjamin Dana, of Cambridge; Mrs. Dana was Eliza Davis, daughter of Major Robert Davis who figured at the Boston Tea Party, and siege of Boston in the Revolution—a brother of General Amasa Davis, and Hon. Caleb Davis speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives. Mrs. William Dana's sister married William Ely of Hartford. These pictures were described, on one occasion, by the Newport art correspondent of the *New York Evening Post* as follows: "In the interest of art it may be well to mention that there are in existence two admirable miniatures on ivory by Malbone, of Mr. and Mrs. William Dana of Boston, painted from life, and they are remarkable for their beauty and finish and are considered among the finest efforts of that distinguished artist. They are in possession of Mrs. Charles Chauncey Darling, of New York."*

* Mrs. Charles Chauncey Darling, the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. William Dana, having since died, these miniatures are now in possession of her son, General Charles W. Darling of Utica.



MRS. WILLIAM DANA.



WILLIAM DANA.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MINIATURES BY MALBONE. NEVER BEFORE ENGRAVED.

[In possession of General Charles W. Darling, Utica, New York.]

Malbone was excessively fond of music and poetry, loved everything that was beautiful, and, through his sweetness of temper and charming manners, won hosts of friends. His personal qualities and intellectual tastes were similar to those of Allston, and the close companionship of the two, alike gifted, candid, and earnest—their walks, discussions, criticisms of each other's art work, and contagious enthusiasm, was of great mutual advantage. Allston said: "Malbone had the happy talent of elevating the character without impairing the likeness; this was remarkable in his male heads. No woman ever lost any beauty from his hand; the fair would become still fairer under his pencil. To this he added a grace of execution all his own. He was amiable and generous, and wholly free from any taint of professional jealousy."

Martha J Lamb

THE ACQUISITION OF FLORIDA

At the beginning of this century, the relations of the United States with foreign powers were much complicated. At no other period of our history have so many and such difficult questions of an international character been presented for discussion and settlement. The wisdom and firmness and potential influence of Washington, the strong republican convictions of Adams, the large and varied ability of Jefferson, Madison, and a number of eminent diplomatists, the patriotism and integrity of all, were demanded in full to adjust our new Republic to her rightful position in the family of nations. International jurisprudence was in an unsettled condition. It has very slowly acquired the certainty and precision now recognized by government courts and treatises on the Law of Nations. In fact, no nation since 1789 has contributed more to the settling of the principles which underlie the mutual rights and duties of independent political communities than the United States. In 1823, Canning, the Prime Minister, distinguished for his thorough knowledge of international law, said in the House of Commons: "If I wished for a guide in a system of neutrality, I should take that laid down by America in the days of the Presidency of Washington and the secretaryship of Jefferson." Phillimore, in his great work, says of the Non-Intercourse Act of 1809: "It was worthy of the country which has contributed such valuable materials to the edifice of International Law." President J. Q. Adams, in his message, 1826, speaks of our first treaty with Prussia as "memorable in the diplomatic annals of the world, and precious as a monument of the principles in relation to commerce and maritime warfare with which our country entered upon her career as a member of the great family of independent nations." The *Edinburgh Review*, in a notice of Judge Wharton's Digest, associating him in legal literature with Kent, Story and Wheaton, recognizes fully the indebtedness of modern international law to the United States, and adds: "The international law of the United States is characterized by a marked individuality and independence of thought. The statesmen of the Republic have not felt themselves bound by theories, however venerable, or been troubled by the conflicting views of eminent jurists. They have rested their contentions on clear principles which they have evolved for themselves, and they have enunciated their views without obscurity and with perfect straightforwardness."

The United States had just been admitted as a co-equal into the great family, but she was nevertheless regarded as a *parvenu*, an intruder, and the principles of her Constitution were looked upon with distrust and suspicion, not to say with hatred and contempt, by the crowned heads and those who affirmed and practiced the right of coalition against any power that sought to disturb the European equilibrium, or questioned the "right divine" of kings and nobility. At this day, when our power is respected and feared, and our growth and prosperity are an unceasing wonder, we can hardly understand how we were belittled and insulted, and what constant and studied disregard and violation of our equal rights were inflicted in our infancy. A willingness to go to war with France for the maintenance of our dignity, the punishment of the pirates in the Mediterranean, a war with England, extension of territory, an unwavering assertion of our equality, vindicated the right to an independent existence and to a participation in all that belonged to, or grew out of, the intercourse of nations. Perhaps the friction was greater, and the willingness to apply the law which governs external affairs of communities was more reluctant, because of the early avowals of Washington and Jefferson that our cis-Atlantic country was not to be harassed by entangling alliances with European states. Refusing to become an integral part of the great European system, to ally herself with foreign governments in their dynastic wars and endless disputes as to succession, balance of power and rectification of boundaries, the United States found the European governments inclined to ignore the rights of her citizens and her claim to the freedom of the seas.

Troubles with Spain began during the administration of Washington, and continued up to the slow acknowledgment of the independence of her former colonies, sometimes verging on serious hostilities. As early as 1788, with the connivance and active agency of Gardogne, the Spanish minister at Washington, an effort was made to detach the trans-Alleghany country from the Union, and in 1792, there was a serious difference of opinion and discussion as to the navigation of the Mississippi. In 1801, Mr. Charles Pinckney, then minister at Madrid, was instructed to urge on the Spanish government redress for sufferings from capture by privateers unlawfully cruising out of Spanish ports, and from unlawful condemnations by Spanish tribunals. The spoliations committed on American commerce were so heavy, and tribunals of justice and the government failing to give redress, a clear intimation was made that more effective measures must be resorted to. The importance of the question, Mr. Pinckney was told, would require all his zeal, patriotism and delicacy. Some effi-

cient effort was due to the sufferers and "to the dignity of the United States, which must always feel the insults offered to the rights of individual citizens." The irritations with Spain had been aggravated by her possessions on our frontier, by her national pride and sensitiveness, and by her ancient claims of precedence over other states.

The purchase of Louisiana from France, in 1803, excited a controversy between Spain and the United States which continued with more or less acrimony until the whole question of territory and boundary was settled by the acquisition of Florida. The acquisitions of Louisiana and Florida were almost inseparably allied, and our government, as early as 1804, sought, but in vain, the influence of the French government in favor of our construction of the treaty, and to help in the acquisition of territory east of the Perdido River. It would be a hopeless task to seek to unravel all the treaties made since that of Utrecht, 1713, which concern the extent and the boundaries of the various territorial divisions between Georgia and the Rio Grande.

In 1763, what was then known as Louisiana was divided between Great Britain and Spain. France lost by this treaty all her possessions in North America. In addition to Canada, she ceded to Great Britain the river and port of Mobile and all her possessions on the left side of the Mississippi, except New Orleans and the island on which it was situated. The residue of Louisiana was ceded to Spain in a separate and secret treaty. The cession of Florida to Great Britain was the price paid for the restoration of Cuba to Spain. Great Britain divided the territory into East and West Florida, and in 1783 ceded them to Spain, and the provinces were known and governed by these names as long as they remained under the dominion of His Catholic Majesty. Spain, thus owning both banks of the Mississippi at its mouth and for some distance above, claimed the exclusive navigation below the point of the southern boundary of the United States. The refusal of the use of the lower river aroused much and indignant feeling in the West. Kentucky and Virginia made vigorous protests against a proposition to concede Spain's right to close navigation. The angry dispute was terminated by the treaty of 1795, one article of which provided that the river should be open to the navigation of the citizens of the United States from its source to the ocean. Another article granted the right of deposit in the port of New Orleans and to export thence merchandise and effects on the payment of warehouse hire. By the treaty of October 1, 1800, between the French Republic and Spain, known as the St. Ildefonso treaty, Spain made a retrocession to France of the province of Louisiana as at that time possessed by Spain, and "such as it was when

France possessed it." When this cession occurred, Great Britain and the United States took alarm. Mr. Jefferson in his message, 15th December, 1802, said: "The cession of the Spanish province of Louisiana to France, which took place in the course of the late war, will, if carried into effect, make a change in the aspect of our foreign relations, which will doubtless have just weight in any deliberations of the legislature connected with that subject." With the sagacity of a statesman he saw how essential the property and sovereignty of the Mississippi and its waters were, to secure an uncontrolled navigation and an independent outlet for the produce of the Western states, "free from collision with other powers and the dangers to our peace from that source," and therefore he authorized propositions to be made for obtaining the sovereignty of New Orleans and of other possessions in that quarter.

The abrupt closing of the port of New Orleans, without the assignment of any other equivalent place of deposit and the injuries sustained until the restoration of the right of deposit, suggested naturally the expediency of guarding against their recurrence by the acquisition of a permanent property near the entrance of the Mississippi into the Gulf. The first propositions were treated by France with decided neglect. "The French government," said Madison, "had manifested a repugnance to the purchase which left no expectation of an arrangement with France by which an acquisition was to be made, unless in a favorable crisis, of which advantage should be taken." The distress of French finances, the unsettled posture of Europe, the increasing jealousy between Great Britain and France, made "the favorable crisis," and Bonaparte, on 30th April, 1803, agreed to sell or cede his new acquisition to the United States. The words of the treaty were somewhat remarkable; but it is important, in view of subsequent discussions and negotiations, to bear in mind that in the transfer the identical language was employed that had been used in 1800, so that the government of the United States was subrogated, in express terms, to the rights of France and of Spain. Phillimore, in recording this "derivative acquisition" of territory, says: "It belongs to the province of the historian to record the ineffectual regret of deceived and injured Spain, and the sagacity of the United States in profiting by the troubles of Europe, both at this period and subsequently by the acquisition of Florida.

Spain remonstrated with France against the cession of Louisiana, and endeavored to prevent the execution of the treaty, being not unwilling to use pecuniary arguments if they promised success. Mr. Cevallos, the Spanish minister for Foreign Affairs, in an interview with Mr. Charles

Pinckney, our minister at Madrid, denied the right of France to make such a cession, alleging that in the preceding cession by Spain to France there was a secret article that France should never part with Louisiana except to Spain, and that if she ever wished to dispose of it, Spain should have the preëmption.*

This discontent of Spain increased her unwillingness to make a prompt and peaceable settlement of the vexed questions which had been pending for some years between the two countries, and which every month's delay increased in number and exasperation. In the instructions to Mr. Pinckney, March 31, 1804, Mr. Madison made an elaborate argument to show that the eastern boundary of Louisiana extended to the Perdido. For many years the controversy was waged. The United States insisted that by the treaty of 1800 Spain ceded the disputed territory, as part of Louisiana, to France, and that France, in turn, in 1803, ceded it to the United States. Spain, with equal earnestness and persistence, maintained that her cession to France comprehended what was at that time denominated Louisiana, consisting of the island of New Orleans and the country west of the Mississippi. C. J. Marshall, in *Foster v. Neilson*, 6 *Peters*, 306, said: "Every word in that article of the treaty of St. Ildefonso which ceded Louisiana to France, was scanned by the ministers on both sides with all the critical acumen which talents and zeal could bring into their service. Every argument drawn from collateral circumstances connected with the subject, which could be supposed to elucidate it, was exhausted." Each party adhered to the original opinion and purposes. The arguments, read after fifty years have elapsed, do not, on either side, seem so conclusive as to leave no loop to hang a doubt upon. The very forcible contention of the United States, that France having ceded the province of Louisiana in full sovereignty, with all the rights which belonged to her under the treaty of 1800, the United States succeeded to those rights, was enfeebled

* *Amer. State Papers*, 567, 568, 598. The Marquis Casa Irujo, the Spanish Representative, protested against the cession as a sort of crime. I have applied through the minister of Foreign Affairs for the evidence of this secret agreement, and have been assured that it does not exist in the Archives. Besides, the cession by France was made with the full knowledge, and no objection was made until Irujo's protest. In March, 1803, the American minister in Spain was informed of the transfer of Louisiana to France, and in answer to an application made by the direction of his government, Don Pedro Cevallos stated "that by the retrocession made to France of Louisiana that power regained the province with the limits it had, saving the rights acquired by other powers; and that the United States could address themselves to the French government to negotiate the acquisition of territories which might suit their purpose." The Spanish government was apprised of the intention of the United States to negotiate for the purchase. The Spanish ambassador witnessed the progress of the negotiation at Paris, and the conclusion of the treaty was promptly known and understood in Madrid.

somewhat by the declaration of Talleyrand, that by the treaty of St. Ildefonso Spain retroceded no part of the territory east of the Iberville, which had been held and known as West Florida, and that, in all the negotiations between the two governments, Spain had constantly refused to cede any part of the Floridas, even from the Mississippi to the Mobile. In January, 1805, Mr. Monroe arrived in Madrid, having been commissioned with special authority to act in conjunction with Mr. Pinckney, and he remained over a year in the vain endeavor to effect a settlement of the matters in controversy. Coupled with the adjustment of the Louisiana boundary and other matters in dispute, was a proposition to purchase the whole of Florida for a sum of money which was designedly left indefinite. In the draft of a treaty for the accomplishment of the two principal ends and for the payment of outstanding claims, was a proposition to have, for a term of years, a neutral ground between the west of Louisiana and the Spanish territory, now known as Texas. The neutral territory was to be so limited or defined as not to deprive the United States of the waters flowing into the Gulf between the Mississippi and Colorado rivers.

The voluminous correspondence shows a strong desire on the part of the government at Washington to terminate amicably all existing differences, and to place the relations between Spain and the United States on a basis of permanent friendship. The extraordinary nature of the commission was a distinct declaration of the critical state of affairs and of the importance of the questions at issue. The United States claimed indemnification for damages done to peaceful and lawful commerce within the jurisdiction of Spain, and for the losses which accrued from the suspension of the right of deposit at New Orleans, as guaranteed by the treaty of 1795. A board of independent and impartial men was suggested, with authority to consider and to adjust counter-claims between the two nations. The gist of the negotiations, however, artful as may have been the attempt not to make too conspicuous, was the settlement of the western boundary of Louisiana and the acquisition of Florida. In the instructions to Mr. Monroe, April 15, 1804, he was, (1) to obtain the sanction of Spain to the late cession of Louisiana to the United States; (2) to procure the cession of territory held by Spain east of the Mississippi; and (3) to make provision for the payment of American claims.

The masterly presentation of all the points mooted by our representatives is of interest chiefly to the historical student, because the United States has now undisputed ownership of the whole coast line from St. Mary's to the Rio Grande, and no question with a foreign power, based on the old contention, can possibly arise. The cases before the Supreme

Court,* supplemented by the legislation of Congress, have settled the land contests growing out of sovereignty and ownership, which the United States anticipated and tried to prevent. In the progress of the negotiation, Rio Bravo was mentioned as a limit of Spanish, and the Colorado as the limit of American settlement. The President was very averse to the occlusion from settlement, for a long period, of a wide space of territory westward of the Mississippi, and to a perpetual relinquishment of any eastward of the Rio Bravo, and the relinquishment, if made, must be conditioned on the entire cession of the Floridas. It was *in arguendo* suggested to Messrs. Monroe and Pinckney that if Spain were engaged in or threatened with war she might be more willing to yield to terms, which, however proper in themselves, "might otherwise be rejected by her pride or misapplied jealousy." In an able letter to Cevallos, our commissioners said that as the United States surrounded Florida, except where the ocean intervened, it was an object to possess it. The acquisition of Louisiana had minified the importance of the possession, but as long as Spain held it it would be a cause of jealousy and variance, for each nation would be compelled to have a strong force, and other powers would be interested in provoking a rupture. Florida being in the hands of the United States, all cause of inquietude and misunderstanding would be at an end, territories and police would be distinct, military stations would be removed from each other, and neither power would be interested in disturbing the concerns of the other.

On January 28, 1805, the commissioners submitted the project of a convention for the adjustment of claims and the cession of the Floridas. Florida was "known not to be fertile," and no land greed actuated the United States, for they had "territory enough to satisfy their growing population for ages to come." Probably this opinion, that the United States had, within their limits, what "it will take ages to fill," was caused by the fact, as stated, that "the territory on both sides of the Mississippi is yet a wilderness," and these arrangements, required by mutual interests, were important to be made "while it remained so." These sagacious men had not the vaguest conception of the boundless progress of our people, under the energy of free institutions. Reasons of safety and peace were the predominating influence for pressing the acquisitions. The "project" contained what seemed to be a favorite plan in Washington, and which, in the light of subsequent events, seems to us visionary, not to say absurd. "This was the establishment of an intervening neutral territory,

* 2 *Peters*, Foster *v.* Neilson; 6 *Peters*, Arredondo; 12 *Peters*, Garcia; 9 *Howard*, United States *v.* Payne; 11 *Wallace*, United States *v.* Lynde, &c

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to remain such for twenty years, and give time for ulterior arrangements." The submission of the proposed convention led to a prolonged and somewhat acrimonious discussion. At intervals, notes were interchanged. The Spanish Minister of State, Don Pedro Cevallos, by tone, language, utter indisposition to accommodate the business on just principles, annoying and studied delays, became offensive to the commissioners, who although "hurt" at the treatment they received, exhibited remarkable forbearance and tact. With persistency and iteration, with repeated avowals of respect and desire for peaceful arrangement, and with a commendable abstinence from all recrimination or menace, the contention and wishes of the United States were presented. On the 12th of May, 1805, the commissioners submitted the ultimate conditions on which they were authorized to adjust the points depending between the two governments, and they are here reproduced with some fullness as illustrative of the points at issue, and the exceeding difficulties of the protracted negotiations which finally added Florida to the Union. "On condition His Catholic Majesty will concede the territory eastward of the Mississippi, and arbitrate the claims of the citizens and subjects of each power, according to the convention of August 11, 1802 (which up to this time Spain had refused to ratify), the convention will agree to make the Colorado the boundary between Louisiana and Spain, establish a district of territory of thirty leagues on each side of the line, which should remain neutral and unsettled forever, and relinquish the claim for spoliations committed by the French within the jurisdiction of Spain and the claim to compensation for injuries received by the suppression of the deposit at New Orleans." The propositions were absolutely rejected, and Mr. Monroe considering the negotiation concluded, asked and obtained his passports, that he might repair to London, where he was the resident minister. Before his departure from Madrid, he and Mr. Pinckney gave an account of their "unwearied and laborious exertions," and of the utter failure of the mission in all its objects.

The recapitulation of the history of the effort to adjust the differences has at this day, when we are quietly enjoying the fruits of this and subsequent negotiations, rather a humorous aspect. Candor, conciliation, urgency, moderation of language, patience, were met by pleas in abatement, pleas for delays, irrelevant discussions, imperious tone, exaggerated pretensions, and a general behavior that made it incumbent on commissioners to argue and protest that they were not the dupes of the management of the Spanish diplomat. Mr. Pinckney soon resigned and returned home. In these hypercritical and iconoclastic days, it has become common to disparage that eminent patriot and statesman, James Monroe. An examina-

tion of his services in Spain shows exceptional qualifications as a diplomatist: prudence, self-restraint, courtesy, dignity, tact, energy, familiarity with treaties and international law, ability in argument, devotion to his country's honor and interests, marked in a conspicuous manner his public life in this most difficult of all courts. Judge Wharton, more familiar than any other person with our diplomatic history, says in reference to negotiations with England, "that in ability, candor and fairness, Mr. Monroe's papers stand in the front rank of diplomatic documents."

The government at Washington, deeply sensible of the importance of the post at Madrid, and of the urgency of the pending questions, appointed James Bowdoin, of Boston, as minister plenipotentiary, and afterward associated General Armstrong in a special mission respecting these delicate Spanish controversies. The object of the United States in reference to the Floridas was clearly made known to them, and equally as explicitly to George W. Erving, who, as secretary of legation, in the absence of his chief, became *chargé d'affaires*. Mr. Erving remained in Spain until August, 1810, when he returned to the United States. From the withdrawal of Monroe and Pinckney to the arrival of Mr. Erving, in July, 1816, as minister, scarcely anything of a diplomatic character was accomplished between the two countries. The distracted state of Spain, the internal convulsions, and wars with other countries, made it impossible to accomplish anything in the two chief matters entrusted to our representatives. The hostilities between Great Britain and Spain were concluded by the treaty of peace, amity and alliance of January 14, 1809, when the two belligerents became allies against France, a common enemy, and there ensued that famous peninsular campaign of Wellington, wherein he out-manoeuvred and defeated Napoleon's best marshals, and the more remarkable guerilla contests—a mode of warfare borrowed from the Moors—in which the skill and experience of the best trained officers and soldiers of France found more than a match in the desultory warfare of the indomitable Spaniards. The prosecution of campaigns required all resources, physical and intellectual. A struggle for dynasty and existence left little leisure or inclination for Transatlantic questions. There could have been no more unpropitious period for calm discussion and parting with territory. Besides, Spain was doubly irritated, the United States having been compelled to occupy Florida. This forcible seizure grew out of the claims for spoliations, the inability of Spain to maintain her authority in Florida and repress depredations and insurrections, and the intrusive occupation by Great Britain of Pensacola and other portions of the province. The shifting events in Europe made the passing of Florida into the possession of another power

not improbable, and it became imperative to seize and hold the country, subject to future and friendly negotiation.

In 1814, Mr. Anthony Morris, who had authority to receive "informal communications" from the Spanish government, expressed the opinion that East and West Florida could be purchased. He intimated that ten thousand dollars for *douceurs* would be "indispensable," as the different departments of the Spanish government were not sufficiently "regenerated" to allow great hopes of success without the use of means of this description. This suggestion elicited no consideration nor reply. In 1816, January 19, on the renewal of the suspended diplomatic relations, Mr. Monroe, as Secretary of State, suggested to Chevalier de Ouis that it furnished a proper occasion for the consideration of the differences in relation to the purchase of Louisiana and the contested limits. In March, 1816, Mr. Monroe informed Mr. Erving that Ouis had intimated that the Spanish government might be willing to cede its claim to territory on the eastern side of the Mississippi, in satisfaction of claims, and in exchange for territory on the western side. The United States proposed to accept a cession of Florida as a basis of the release of claims held by citizens of the United States against Spain, and offered at the same time by way of compromise to take the Colorado River as the western boundary of the Louisiana purchase, although it had been previously maintained that that purchase extended to the Rio Grande. Mr. Monroe and Mr. J. Q. Adams held very strongly that the Rio Grande was the true southwestern boundary. Mr. Ouis declared these propositions inadmissible, went into elaborate repetitions of the discussions of 1802-1805, and demanded restoration of places occupied by federal troops. On July 19, 1818, Don José Pizarro, writing to Mr. Erving, said: "In one of our late conferences I had the honor to state to you anew His Majesty's readiness to cede both of the Floridas to the United States . . . in consideration of a suitable equivalent to be made to His Majesty in a district of territory situated to the westward of the Mississippi." In July and August, Mr. Erving, replying to the Spanish Minister of State, refers to "His Majesty's disposition to cede his possessions to the east of the Mississippi for a reasonable equivalent," and suggests instead of the guaranty of Spanish territory by the United States—a thing which could not be done—a better guaranty in the form of "a desert," or unoccupied, uninhabited tract of thirty leagues on the Colorado, extending up to 32° north latitude, as "a barrier between the possessions" of the two countries. Negotiations between the two countries were suspended, by formal notice, until satisfaction should be made for the proceedings of General Jackson in Florida, which

His Catholic Majesty denounced as outrages upon his dignity and honor, and for which he demanded apology and indemnity. John Quincy Adams, in papers which are an enduring monument to his patriotism and ability, "carried the war into Africa," and charged and proved that it was "to the conduct of her own commanding officers that Spain must impute the necessity under which General Jackson found himself of occupying the places of their command." "The horrible combination of robbery, murder, and war, with which the frontier of the United States bordering upon Florida, has for several years past been visited, is ascribable altogether to the total and lamentable failure of Spain to fulfill the 5th article of the treaty of 1795, by which she stipulated to restrain, by force, her Indians from hostilities against the citizens of the United States." "Had the engagements of Spain been fulfilled, the United States would have had no Seminole war." Far from indemnifying the crown of Spain for losses sustained, the American minister at Madrid was instructed that the crown of Spain should indemnify the United States for the expenses of a war which Spain was bound to prevent.

It is difficult to realize the vexatious vicissitudes which attended this long-drawn-out negotiation. In course of time it at last became apparent, even to Spain, that Florida must come under the sovereignty of the United States. The idea of its transference to another foreign power was not to be tolerated for a moment. Its continued retention by Spain, remote, proud, sensitive, jealous, involved in foreign wars and chronic internal turmoils, would generate ceaseless trouble and necessitate quasi-belligerent forces on the border. Indian incursions and depredations, unprevented by Spanish authorities, made it imperative to cross the line in pursuit, and for the punishment of the savages. "Masterly inactivity," a phrase borrowed by Mr. Calhoun, in his Mexican war speeches, from Sir James McIntosh, was too feeble a policy. The vigilance of Erving and other ministers was unceasing. Efforts to purchase were thwarted. Negotiations were begun and suspended. Procrastination was pursued under specific instructions to that end. The patience and forbearance and moderation of the United States had been wonderful. Even Mr. Adams restrained largely his irritability of temper and vitriolism of pen; but this patient submission was manifestly nearing an end. Mr. Ouis, seeing that procrastination as a game and a policy was exhausted, sent on October 24, 1818, to Mr. Adams, a proposition to cede all the property and sovereignty possessed by Spain in and over the Floridas, under certain conditions. The conditions were promptly rejected; a "final offer" on the part of the United States was made; matters grew worse, and belligerent

measures seemed imminent. Mr. Adams, October 31, 1818, used this significant language: "The President is deeply penetrated with the conviction that further protracted discussion . . . cannot terminate in a manner satisfactory to our governments. From your answer to this letter he must conclude whether a final adjustment of all our differences is now to be accomplished, or whether all hope of such a desirable result is, on the part of the United States, to be abandoned." After some letters, showing a wide divergence of views, on January 11, 1819, Mr. Ouis announced that by a courier extraordinary from his government he was authorized to give a greater extent to his proposals. On the 9th he submitted his *projet*, and Mr. Adams on the 13th responded by a counter *projet*. At this point Mr. Hyde de Meuville, the French Minister, at the request of Mr. Ouis, "confinèd by indisposition," had an interview with Mr. Adams and a full and free discussion of the two *projets*. Explanations and modifications were made, and on February 22, 1819, was signed in Washington "a Treaty of Amity, Settlement and Limits," which provided for the cession of Florida and "the reciprocal renunciation of certain claims as adjusted by a joint commission." The commissioner had power to decide conclusively upon the amount and validity of claims, but not upon the conflicting rights of parties to the sums awarded by them. *Comegys v. Vasse*, 1 *Peters*, 193. The spoliation claims held by the United States against Spain were renounced, and the United States undertook to make satisfaction for the same to the amount of five millions of dollars.

The Rio Grande contention was given up, a majority of the Cabinet overruling Mr. Adams, and holding that the immediate acquisition of Florida was too important to be jeopardized, or "clogged by debatable demands for territory to the south-west." The intervening neutral territory, the uninhabited desert, the impassable barrier between the two countries, which, for so many years and so often was proposed and relied upon to prevent conflict of jurisdiction and of people, seems to have been quietly ignored. The Louisiana boundary was settled by following the Sabine, Red and Arkansas rivers as far westward as the 42° north latitude and pursuing that degree to the Pacific Ocean.* In settling disputed boundaries, and, in fact, in making this treaty, the United States did not assent to the claim of sovereignty or ownership over the territory between the Mississippi and the Perdido. Both legislative and executive departments of the government, prior to 1819, treated territory west of the Perdido as

* The conflicting claim of title to territory between Texas and the United States, see President's Proclamation of December 30, 1887, grows out of the terms of this fixing the boundary line between the two countries.

part of the territory acquired from France in 1803, and in *Pollard v. Files*, the Supreme Court declared as the settled doctrine of the judicial department of the government that the treaty of 1819 ceded no territory west of the Perdido River.*

The United States exonerated Spain from all demands in the future on account of the claims of her citizens, and undertook to make satisfaction for the same to an amount not exceeding five millions of dollars. It is commonly stated that the United States purchased Florida for that sum of money. In the negotiation the Spanish minister objected to the article stipulating for the payment, on the ground that it would appear from it that in consideration of that amount Spain had ceded the two Floridas and other territories, when she would not have ceded them for \$20,000,000 but for her desire to arrange and terminate all differences with the United States.† In 1805, Monroe and Pinckney, in their proposal to the Spanish government for the cession of Florida, said that Florida was not valuable for its land, and suggested that the sum paid "for the whole of the province of Louisiana furnished a just and suitable standard" as to what would be proper in paying for Florida. The area of Florida is 56,680 square miles, and Mr. Jefferson paid \$15,000,000 for all the country west of the Mississippi not occupied by Spain, as far north as the British territory, and comprising, wholly or in part, the present states of Arkansas, Kansas, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon, and Colorado and the Indian Territory and the territories of Dakota, Idaho, Montana, Washington, and Wyoming.

The treaty submitted to the Senate on the day it was signed, was at once unanimously ratified, thus giving additional lustre to the birthday of Washington. Before the adjournment of Congress acts were passed authorizing the establishing of local governments over the acquired territory. John Forsyth, of Georgia, was appointed minister to Spain, and he carried with him a copy of the treaty and minute instructions as to the exchange of ratifications.‡ So confident was the government of early action, the *Hornet*, which carried Mr. Forsyth, was ordered to remain at Cadiz a sufficient length of time to carry back the ratified copy. So anxious and so certain in

* 2 *Howard*, 591 ; *Foster v. Neilson*, 2 *Peters*, 253 ; *Garcia v. Lee*, 2 *Id.*, 515.

† In a memoir on the negotiation, published by Ouis in 1820, he sought to show that the treaty of cession ought to be considered as a treaty of exchange of Florida for Texas, a country more extensive, fertile and valuable.

‡ Mr. Forsyth was instructed to preserve the right of the United States to the alternative of being first named and of the representative to sign first. In the counterpart, the other nation has the like privilege. In 1815, Great Britain claimed as a precedent a previous waiver of this international practice by the United States, but it was withdrawn.

of speedy assent were the authorities at Washington, instructions were sent to Mr. Erving that it might be expedient for him to exchange the ratifications, if by any accident the formal reception of Forsyth should be delayed "beyond a very few days." Fearing the absence of Mr. Erving, on account of the infirm state of his health, or the non-arrival of Mr. Forsyth, a special messenger, with duplicate copies of treaty and instructions, was sent to Mr. Thomas L. L. Brent, the Secretary of Legation, so that he might exchange the ratifications. After this twenty years of negotiation it was supposed that the trouble was ended, but he who measures a Spaniard by the ordinary standard will find himself, in the end, grievously disappointed.

Long experience has been condensed into a popular proverb, *Del dicho al hecho va mucho trecho*. From the saying to the doing is a great distance. The *Hornet* returned in the summer, not with the ratification but with recriminatory dispatches because of the unexpected and inexcusable delay. Spain did not give her assent. She offered various evasive excuses and pretexts. She might promptly have disavowed the treaty as in excess of her instructions. She did not. She consented to the negotiations. She knew what had been done, and seven months passed before she uttered a word of complaint. When it became known that Spain refused to confirm the contract and interposed frivolous excuses for her conduct, much indignation was aroused, and harsh measures had advocacy in the press and in Congress. It was well said the cession was no new thing, and that the agreement, from preliminary steps to final consummation, was as well known in Madrid as in Washington, at least so far as substance was concerned. President Monroe said in his message that Spain had formed a relation between the two countries which would justify any measures on the part of the United States which a strong sense of injury and a proper regard for the rights and interests of the nation might dictate. Adams contended that Spain was under obligations of honor and good faith, and in a letter to the chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations, Mr. Lowndes, of South Carolina—author of the phrase, "I had rather be right than be President"—asserted the "perfect right" of the government to compel a specific performance of the engagement and secure indemnity for the expenses and damages which grew out of the refusal of Spain to ratify. Intemperance of language and proposal was met by wise counsel, and the proposed immediate military occupation was defeated. After weary years of patience and of earnest effort to avoid war, very fortunately the country was not precipitated into it by the hot heads and Hotspurs. It was well determined to await the logic of events, and not hazard the gaining of what must surely, like ripe fruit, fall into our hands. General Jackson once said,

"Geography controls my politics," and so the geographical position of Florida made it inevitably a part of the Union. Count Aranda, when he was Prime Minister of Spain, as far back as 1783, distinctly foresaw and acknowledged the necessity of the acquisition.

The irritation felt at the repudiation of a solemn international compact excited general attention, and it was felt that a war might produce grave international complications and transfer not only Florida but Cuba and Texas also to the United States. France and Great Britain remonstrated with Spain, and she realized that the temporizing and procrastinating policy must give way to positive and definite action. On the 24th of October, 1820, the Cortes having previously authorized and advised, the king, Ferdinand VII., approved and ratified the treaty. Such was the slowness of communication in those days, that four months elapsed before the ratification was known in Washington. (I have received instructions from the State Department by post in eleven days.) The time fixed for joint ratification, six months, having expired, the treaty was re-submitted to the Senate and ratified a second time, 19th February, 1821. On the 22d—again connecting the hallowed day with Florida—the House of Representatives gave their assent to the necessary legislation.

Thus an acquisition long sought for, essential to our internal quiet and to save us from foreign intermeddlings, strifes and conspiracies, was consummated. For nearly a quarter of a century the negotiations were pursued in Spain or in Washington—sometimes interrupted by fretful suspension of diplomatic intercourse, by the revolutionary disturbances in Spain, by English and French wars, by Spanish tenacity for American possessions, and the incurable propensity not to do to-day what can be deferred until to-morrow. No one can read the correspondence in full without a high appreciation of the patriotism and ability of Madison, Monroe, Pinckney, Adams, and Erving. Their state papers show patience, forbearance, courtesy, dignity, tact, power of argument, familiarity with international jurisprudence, and intense loyalty to our institutions. It is not easy to comprehend the disadvantages under which our able negotiators labored in the earlier periods of our history, when our rights as a member of the family of nations were ignored or grudgingly conceded. The credit of the Florida success is enhanced when we consider the personal and national characteristics of the Spaniards. With unquestioned courage, chivalry, scrupulous observance of etiquette, they are vain, proud, sensitive, distrustful of foreigners, obstinate in their opinions, and possessed of a most patience-wearing disposition to procrastinate. The stoical fatalism of the Moor seems in some of its forms to have been bequeathed to his conqueror.

This protracted negotiation is a noble tribute to American diplomacy. The general public sees the external work, the final result, the actors in the last scene of the historic drama, and is ignorant or unobservant of the quiet secretary or minister, in his office, at official interviews, in social intercourse, watching for opportunities, seizing propitious occasions, removing prejudices, presenting arguments in every possible aspect and removing Protean objections. It is he who prepares for the ultimate victory. George W. Erving, far away in Madrid, did more to acquire Florida than every Senator who voted to ratify the treaty. It is a pleasant reflection and honoring to our country and civilization that although often on the rugged edge of war, yet, without a drop of blood the question was settled, boundaries were determined, conflicting claims were adjusted, and a large territory was added to our national domain.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "J. M. Erving", written in a cursive style. The signature is underlined with a single horizontal line.

MADRID, SPAIN.

BETWEEN ALBANY AND BUFFALO

EARLY METHODS OF TRANSPORTATION AND TRAVEL

The highways of a nation are, to a certain extent, an index of its progress and civilization. "Of all inventions," says Macaulay, "the alphabet and the printing press alone excepted, those inventions which abridge distance have done most for the civilization of our species." Barbarism knows nothing of "rapid transit." It uses what nature has furnished, or what the rudest art can make—the water course or the footpath. Barbarism is isolated and stagnant. Its commerce is undeveloped; its social life is primitive. Its only need is a rude path for the hunt or for war, and this it finds at random through the forest. But civilization requires interchange between man and man. Colonization leads the way and makes new settlements far from the old centers. Commerce follows in its train, and trade demands a safe and measurably rapid means of transit. The demands of wealth, pleasure, travel, encourage improvements in the methods of transportation, until the rude foot-path of the savage is exchanged for the N. Y. C. R. R., with its "vestibuled flyer."

Macaulay has given us an account of the English roads in 1685: "They were worse than might have been expected from the degree of wealth and civilization which the nation had then attained." Even on the best lines the ruts were deep, the descents precipitous, and the way hardly distinguishable, in the dusk, from the heath or fen on either side. It was only in fine weather that the whole breadth of the road was available for wheeled vehicles. Often the mud lay deep on the right and left, and only a narrow track of firm ground rose above the quagmire. Almost every day coaches stuck fast, until a team of cattle could be procured to tug them out. On the roads of Derbyshire travelers were in constant fear of their necks, and were frequently compelled to alight and lead their beasts. In some parts of Kent and Sussex none but the strongest horses could, in winter, get through the bog, in which, at every step, they sank deep. Such a state of things was in keeping with a period when there was not a daily newspaper in the kingdom; when the country gentleman was almost a savage, and when the clergyman was often hostler, gardener, or errand boy, and was generally expected to marry the cook. The English roads of a century later had been wonderfully developed, and the great stage lines

radiating from London, reached every part of the kingdom. As an illustration of the perfection of the roads and the accuracy of the system, the case is recorded of two mails, in opposite directions, north and south, starting at the same minute from points six hundred miles apart, and meeting almost uniformly at a particular bridge which bisected the whole distance. The Roman roads reached a higher degree of durability and perfection than any public roads before or since. These great highways, radiating from Rome, extended to the very limits of the empire. They were marked off with mile-stones; post-houses were erected at short intervals with relays of horses; and, by the use of these, one hundred miles could be traversed in a day. Tiberius, on one occasion, traveled two hundred miles in twenty-four hours; and a letter could be sent from Britain to Rome in twenty days.

In speaking of early methods of travel in the valley of the Mohawk, we shall touch upon matters which are, for the most part, prosaic, and yet have a curious and somewhat antiquarian interest connected with them. At times an air of poetry and romance is thrown about these scenes. Much of the life and spirit of the times have been lost, since few have transmitted with detail their personal experiences. But the meeting of parties going to and fro; the moonlight rides upon the packet boat; the passing of the boats and stages; the constant feeling of surprise and expectancy in a new country; the intermingling of travelers, merchants, lawyers, physicians, at the wayside inn; these, and a score of other experiences, gave to the old methods of travel a keen enjoyment which our modern way of rushing through the country has entirely lost. "The modern methods of traveling," says De Quincey, "cannot compare with the old mail-coach system in grandeur and power. Tidings fit to convulse all nations must henceforward travel by culinary process, and the trumpet that once announced from afar the laureled mail, heart-shaking when heard screaming on the wind and proclaiming itself through the darkness to every village and solitary house on its route, has now given way to the pot-walloping of the boiler."

Following the example of all right-minded historians, whether ecclesiastical or profane, we may divide the discussion of this subject into *Ancient*, *Mediæval* and *Modern* methods of travel. The *Modern* method—that of the locomotive—we shall dismiss at once with a portion of De Quincey's contempt, as being altogether out of keeping with the character and aims of an historical magazine. The batteau, the canal boat, and the stage coach shall be our theme.

The natural facilities for inland navigation afforded by the lake and

river systems of the state of New York, were early made use of by the Iroquois, and were early observed by the French and English.

In 1738 Mr. Colden, the surveyor-general, in reporting to Lieutenant-Governor Clarke his observations on the province of New York, says: "The province of New York has for the conveniency of commerce advantages by its situation beyond any other colony in North America." He then points out the natural and easy water communications between New York city and Lake Ontario, thus making it possible for commerce to be carried from New York through a vast tract of western country more easily than from any other maritime city in North America. In 1783 General Washington sailed up the Mohawk to Fort Schuyler, and crossed over into Wood Creek; and he, as a Virginian, noticed with surprise and even with some apprehension, the wonderful facilities for inland navigation in this state. The route from the Hudson River to Lake Ontario, was through the Mohawk River, Wood Creek, Oneida Lake, and the Oswego River. There was a portage of fifteen miles from Albany to Schenectady; a second portage of some distance at Little Falls; and a third, variously estimated at from one to three miles, from the head of navigation on the Mohawk, to Wood Creek. The Mohawk was, on the whole, a navigable stream, though from various rapids, and the scarcity of water, navigation was at times difficult, and the portage at Little Falls was a serious obstacle. Wood Creek was a narrow, winding stream, and often almost impassable on account of fallen trees. Even at low water, however it would allow an ordinary batteau load of fourteen or fifteen hundred pounds. Oneida Lake was of course navigable at all times unless there was a strong contrary wind

In 1785 the legislature appropriated the munificent sum of one hundred and twenty-five dollars (\$125.00) to enable Mr. Christopher Colles to make an essay towards removing certain obstructions in the Mohawk River. In August, 1792, a committee was appointed by the directors of the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company to examine into the state of the Mohawk from Schenectady to Fort Schuyler. This company aimed only at improving the natural water courses, and opening communication by canals to Seneca Lake and Lake Ontario.

The committee reported that measures must be taken to clear and deepen in certain places the bed of the Mohawk, and also Wood Creek; that a canal with locks should be made at Little Falls; and also a canal cut from the Mohawk to Wood Creek. The entire length of the canals proposed was but a few miles; yet the work was regarded as so formidable that fifteen years were allowed the company for its completion. In about

five years from the survey the work was nearly finished ; but the charges for toll were so heavy that " the canals were but little used—the land carriage and the natural rivers being generally preferred." More than \$400,000 had been expended on these improvements ; the number of boats upon the river was comparatively small, and the toll at the locks at Little Falls was necessarily high. In making this ascent, " each ton of merchandise paid a toll of \$2.25, besides a toll of from \$1.50 to \$2.62½ on each boat."

The farmers still continued to carry their provisions by land. Each team could draw about one hundred bushels, and these wagons going back empty were glad to carry freight as cheap or cheaper than the terms offered by the boats. A writer in 1807 urges that the great object of the company should be to reduce the tolls, increase the number of boats, and so divert the traffic from the land to the river. Over the portage of fifteen miles from Albany to Schenectady, the charge for freight was sixteen cents per hundred weight. From Schenectady to Utica—a distance of one hundred and four miles by water—the charge was seventy-five cents per hundred weight, either by land or water.

A traveler on the Mohawk in 1807 has left us some account of the mode of travel. There were three kinds of boats in use : one, called the Schenectady boat, forty or fifty feet long ; a second, commonly called a Dorem or Dorm (probably Durham) larger and stronger than the former and sharp at both ends ; and a third kind called " flats," which the writer does not more particularly describe. On all of these boats sails were spread when the wind was favorable. The Schenectady boats were preferred. They would carry ten tons when the river was high, but in the summer months not more than three or four tons. They could make from eighteen to twenty or twenty-five miles a day against the stream. They were steered by a large swing oar—as long as the boat—and had a movable mast in the middle on which a square-sail and a top-sail could be set. The *Mohawk Regulator*, on which our friend was cruising westward, could make six miles an hour against the stream ; and " during this time, believe me," he says, " nothing can be more charming than sailing on the Mohawk." But so sinuous was the course of the stream that it was seldom the wind would hold fair for more than three or four miles, and for their progress up the river they were mainly dependent upon pike-poles. These were from eighteen to twenty-two feet in length, armed with an iron spike in one end, and having at the other a large knob or button, on which the boatman could rest his shoulder and push with all his force. A plank with cross cleats ran the whole length of the boat on either side. Four pike-men were sta-

river systems of the state of New York, were quois, and were early observed by the French.

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tioned on each side, and fixing their pikes firmly in the bottom of the river, placing the button against the shoulder, and falling down on "all fours," they could drive the boat forward with considerable speed. Though the river was shallow, there was no danger in ascending it, as progress was at the best slow, and at low water it was necessary to drag the boat over many places by hand. But in the descent there was some risk of staving the boat upon rocks or snags. At some places the channel was not more than eight feet in width, so as hardly to allow the passage of a boat without rubbing. This narrowing of the channel was sometimes natural and sometimes artificial.

The artificial deepening of the channel had been suggested in the report of the committee of 1792. Two ridges or walls of stone were built, converging down the stream to an acute angle; and the water, crowded into this narrowing channel, increased in depth several inches. Where it had not been more than eight inches, it rose to twelve, "and strange as it may appear," says the writer, "a boat drawing 15 inches will pass through it with safety and ease." On their approach to Utica during a violent storm, an unexpected danger was suggested by the falling of a large tree into the Mohawk, just opposite the boat, "so that though drowning," he says, "is scarcely possible on the Mohawk, there is some risk of being dashed to pieces by the falling of trees which overhang the banks."

Mrs. Grant was one of the first white women who ever traveled westward through the valley of the Mohawk. This was probably as early as 1750. There were no roads worthy of the name. The party proceeded up the Mohawk in batteaux, and spent the first night with the famous Hendrick, the great Mohawk sachem, who had visited England with Colonel Schuyler in 1710. The traveler was then only a child, full of romance and love of adventure. "Never," she says, "was a journey so replete with felicity." The wildness and novelty of the scenery charmed her romantic imagination. Wood Creek they found almost blocked up with fallen trees. The light canoes were lifted over; but for the heavy batteaux nothing remained but to cut a way through with the axe; and such was the delay that they were three days in going fourteen miles. The profound solitude, the nights, passed in some instances upon the river bank; the trees laden with rich foliage, and with nuts which she liked to gather, kept the young girl in a state of excitement and delight; and it was only the occasional chorus of wolves, to which the bull-frogs roared a tremendous accompaniment, that made her in after years recall portions of the journey with a feeling of terror.

As early as 1757 we have an account of the facilities for land travel

westward from Albany. From Albany to Schenectady—six or seven leagues—the road was excellent for all sorts of carriages. The soil was sandy, and the country covered with open timber. Four miles from Albany there was a house which served as a tavern, and five miles farther west another of the same description. From Schenectady to Fort Hunter—seven leagues—the public carriage-way continued along the south bank of the Mohawk, with twenty or thirty houses scattered along the road. From Fort Hunter to Canajoharie (twelve leagues) the road was tolerably good, so that carriages could pass over it. Between Canajoharie and Fort Kouari (German Flats) a distance of four leagues—the road passed over what the writer calls “a mountain,” which it required two hours to pass. From Fort Kouari to Fort Williams, at the head of navigation on the Mohawk, was counted twelve leagues. The first twenty-four miles of the distance could be easily traversed by carts. The remaining twelve miles was serviceable for sleds in winter, and for a horseman at all times, though in some places the mud was almost bottomless. About twenty-two miles east of Fort Williams, the road, as one came from the west, forked, and the northern arm led by a ford over the Mohawk, to the Palatine village. So much for the road south of the Mohawk from Schenectady to Fort Williams. The same journey could also be made on the north bank. Leaving Fort Williams the road for twenty-two miles was passable only on foot or horseback. At this point the foot path joined the north fork of the road from the opposite side of the river, and this was passable for all sorts of vehicles to the Palatine village, and apparently also to Little Falls. Here there was a road for the portage on either side of the river, but that on the north side was the better. From the eastern end of the portage at Little Falls to west Canada Creek, there was only a foot path, which was difficult even for a horseman. After fording the creek, the road was passable for wagons for a distance of thirty miles, to the residence of Colonel Johnson. From Colonel Johnson’s house to Schenectady was reckoned seven leagues. The road was good, and all sorts of vehicles could pass over it.

The next traveler whom I find in this region is Elkanah Watson, in 1788. Starting probably from Albany, on the second evening he reached “the miserable tavern of Col. Starling, six miles from old Ft. Schuyler.” From Colonel Starling’s to the river, the roads were almost impassable, and he was three hours in riding six miles. From Fort Schuyler to Whitesborough, the road was “as bad as possible; broken bridges, stumps, and my horse at every step knee-deep.” In 1791 Mr. Watson again left Albany for the West. He traversed a pine barren sixteen miles, to Schenectady.

Considering the size of Albany and Schenectady, and that this road had been for one hundred and seventy years the only channel of communication between them, he thought "its present shameful state a matter of regret and astonishment." It merely followed the old Indian foot path, whereas the nature of the ground would admit of a spacious turnpike. From Schenectady they dispatched two batteaux, with six men and ample provisions, up the river, while they proceeded on land, to meet the batteaux at Herkimer. Between Schenectady and Johnstown, he found an infamous carriage road; bridges not only in a ruinous state, but absolutely dangerous. "The present road system," he says, "is a disgrace to this fine state. We were driven by a stupid fellow, sometimes rattling us over stones and rocks, as if the devil was at our heels; and then creeping along over a level road, as if going to a funeral." "Such, oh man," ejaculates Mr. Watson, "is the perverseness of thy nature!" Near Fort Herkimer they joined the batteaux, and then, with the use of oars and pike-poles, proceeded at the rate of three miles an hour. From Fort Schuyler an Indian road was being opened to the Genesee country. Leaving Fort Schuyler, both the Mohawk and Wood Creek were found almost impassable from the trees which the new settlers had cut and allowed to fall into the stream.

A traveler who left Albany in 1792 found the road as far as Whites-town passable for wagons; but could not prevail upon the driver of his sled to go beyond this point. From Whitestown to the Genesee River the road was little better than an Indian path, barely opened enough to allow a sled to pass. A new sled was hired, but they were obliged to carry along provisions for man and beast and blankets as a substitute for beds. In 1797 the legislature undertook the improvement of the road from Fort Schuyler to Geneva. A lottery had been granted for the opening and improvement of various roads, and among them this road was included. The people along the line subscribed four thousand days' work. The distance was nearly one hundred miles. The road was made sixty-four feet wide, and through the low and wet parts of the country it was paved with logs and gravel; and though in June, 1797, it had been little better than an Indian path, it was so much improved that on the 30th of September a stage started from Fort Schuyler with four passengers, and reached the hotel at Geneva in the afternoon of the third day. In the winter of 1798 two stages, one of them carrying the mail, ran each week from Geneva and Canandaigua to Albany. A writer in 1799, in giving directions for the benefit of those wishing to go to the Genesee country, says: "They will with ease reach Albany by water and from thence they can either hire

wagons, or take navigation by the Mohawk and canals to Geneva. Unless the water be in good order, I should certainly prefer the land journey. A wagon with two oxen and two horses will go 20 miles per day with a load of 30 hundred weight. The accommodations by the state road will be found very good."

To a mind intelligent and able to appreciate the beauties of nature, a ride through the Mohawk valley, even at this early day, must have afforded a rich and varied enjoyment. Such a traveler was President Dwight, who made his memorable journey to Whitestown in September, 1799. The ranges of hills on either side of the valley were crowned with forests; the river was almost always in view—"a sprightly, noble stream." "Its waters," he says, "are always delightful, and often ornamented with elegant islands." The low lands on either side were rich and handsome. Dr. Dwight found the condition of the roads, however, very far from what could be desired. Many of the bridges were so much out of repair as to alarm the good dominie. "The road on the lowlands," he says, "is good in dry weather; but in wet, muddy and extremely disagreeable. On the hills it was indifferent, but perhaps as good as could be expected in a country so recently settled." But when we find that Dr. Dwight left Schenectady on September 22d and spent the night of the 23d in Utica, we must admit that the rate at which he traveled was creditable both to the road and to his horse. He says that a turnpike was begun between Utica and New Hartford, and was considerably advanced. From Utica to Lairds, the soil was such that in the moist season the roads were a mass of mud, and in the wet season intolerable. "Traveling," he says, "is not merely uncomfortable, and discouraging, but an herculean labor." It had rained for a fortnight, and for the last thirty miles before reaching Utica the horses could only walk. Travelers from the West, who met them at Lairds, reported the mud deeper than it had ever been known. Their horses were drenched in the mire to the hips and shoulders, and the riders were pale and broken-spirited with excessive fatigue. "To have continued a journey of pleasure in such circumstances," says the worthy Doctor, "would have been madness"—in which sentiment we heartily concur.

The whole valley of the Mohawk was also rich with scenes of natural and historic interest. The stately residence of Sir William Johnson, the great boiling pot at Canajoharie, the picturesque scenery of Little Falls; these and other points, demanded the attention of the tourist. The whole course of the river abounded in legends and traditions, quite equal to those of the Hudson. Stories of massacre, of treachery, of revenge, of courage, were rehearsed to the traveler by eye-witnesses or participants; so that a

student of nature, or man, or history, could hardly have found a journey along the Mohawk, even in 1799, tedious or uninteresting.

The great Genesee road, as it was called, began at Utica. We are told that the inhabitants of Utica subscribed to finish the first mile. They formed twenty shares of fifty dollars each (the estimated cost was one thousand dollars per mile) and these shares they afterward sold at forty-four cents on the dollar. In 1801, we find notice of a law to the effect that in all cases of carriages and sleighs meeting west of Schenectady on the great roads running east and west on either side of the Mohawk, and from the village of Utica to the town of Canandaigua, the carriages or sleighs going west should give way to those going east, under penalty of three dollars.

In 1804 we are told that a turnpike road is completed from Albany to Canandaigua at great expense, which is discharged by tolls, and renders traveling and carriage of produce much easier when the rivers are not navigable. Wagons frequently carried loads of fourteen barrels of flour to Albany and returned with an equal weight, and sometimes carried two tons, going and returning in fourteen days.

In 1804 we find Dr. Dwight once more mounted on his clerical steed, with his face set resolutely toward the west. His previous journey to Whitestown had not discouraged him; the roads had improved in the interval of five years, and this time he shall be our guide, if we have the courage to follow him as far as Niagara. Let us join him at Manlius, at which point, coming from the south, he struck the "*Great Western Turnpike*." "Here," he says, "our traveling inconveniences chiefly vanished." The road was excellent, and the surface smooth. The whole appearance of the country was improving. Fruit-trees abounded, among them, the peach, growing and bearing luxuriantly. Along this road, as far as Canandaigua, houses and settlements were scattered. Many of the houses were neat and some handsome. As a whole they exceeded Dr. Dwight's most sanguine expectations. At Marcellus he attended church on September 20, in a snow storm which covered the ground to the depth of more than an inch. At Cayuga Bridge he found a settlement of a dozen houses—three of them very good. But the most conspicuous object was the bridge itself—a structure, which, in view of the newness of the settlement, he thinks may justly be styled "a stupendous erection." It was the longest bridge in the United States, was the property of a Mr. Swartwout of New York, and cost twenty thousand dollars. The toll for a man and horse was twenty-five cents—a charge which, considering the capital invested and the amount of traveling, the good dominie thought rather exorbitant.

Dr. Dwight observed carefully and describes at length the country through which he passed—its forests, streams, lakes, hamlets, the character of its soil and population—but his narrative is somewhat meager as regards those facts for which we are now particularly looking. For considerable intervals we are left in ignorance as to how he was lodged and fed, and how he found the roads. A mile and a half beyond the Genesee he found a small inn, where he dined on bread and butter with cheese, in the open air, as the hostess was laudably employed in scrubbing the only room in the house. Fifteen miles farther on, the roads were horrible. Stumps and roots innumerable made the traveling dangerous. The mud was knee-deep, and so stiff that the horse could barely extricate himself. The road was a narrow passage, newly cut through the forest. After groping and struggling for three hours over a distance of four miles, he reached his inn—a log-house—where he was kindly and comfortably entertained.

At Batavia Dr. Dwight was confronted with a problem which taxed his powers of judgment as well as his mathematical faculties. There were two roads to Buffalo Creek—one eighteen miles in length with thirteen miles of mud—the other twenty-three miles in length with nine miles of mud. To balance the relative amount of mud against the relative number of miles was a nice task. But as against mud, distance carried the day, and Dr. Dwight toiled and floundered over the longer road. He dined at Dunham's, five miles beyond Batavia. They reached Vande Vender's at sunset, but could not get in, as the house was full. Eight miles farther on in a pouring rain brought them to Munger's, where there was absolutely nothing to eat. A good-natured waggoner, on his way to Upper Canada relieved their distress by furnishing the "inn-keeper" some flour—when, presto!—as if by magic, there was promptly furnished "a good cup of hyson tea, with loaf sugar, cream, and excellent hot biscuit and butter." At two o'clock the next day, after floundering through bogs and among stumps, they reached Buffalo. Munger's hostelry was evidently not equipped on a princely scale, for on Dr. Dwight's return he found the larder in the same impoverished condition. Again there was neither bread nor flour, and they were obliged to sup on "sipawn"—or hasty pudding. Dr. Dwight made his return journey on horseback as far as Manlius. A little east of Manlius he took the stage. There were seven passengers packed in a crazy vehicle which constantly threatened to break down. Incessant rain had made the roads a mass of mire, and the horses were obliged to walk, or rather wade, at the rate of two miles an hour. They took supper at Vernon, at "Young's tavern," and then pushed on to Utica, to catch the Albany stage the next morning. One o'clock in the

morning found them at Laird's, where the family rose good-naturedly and furnished them refreshments. From New Hartford the road was better, and they reached Utica, half frozen, just before five o'clock, A.M. They had been seventeen hours in covering the forty-one miles between Manlius and Utica. But we have seen enough and too much of western travel in the year 1804.

In this same year (1803 or 1804) Gouverneur Morris is credited with having made the first suggestion of a canal across the state from Lake Erie to the Hudson River. In 1811 certain commissioners, appointed by joint resolution of the Senate and Assembly to explore the route of inland navigation from the Hudson to the lakes, reported that "experience has long since exploded in Europe the idea of using the beds of rivers for internal navigation, where canals are practicable. In the navigation of rivers, reliance must be had principally on the labor of men; whereas along canals, the force employed is generally that of horses. But the labor of men is dearer and the subsistence of horses cheaper in America than in Europe. Experience, moreover, has, in this country declared against following the course of rivers, more decidedly than in the old world; for there, notwithstanding the excellence of the highways, transportation is often performed by boats drawn up the river; but along the Mohawk, though the road from Schenectady to Utica is far from being good, it is frequently preferred to the river."

On the 4th of July, 1817, the work of excavating the Erie canal was begun; October 23, 1819, the commissioners navigated it from Utica to Rome, and in 1825, Clinton's big ditch was completed, and the waters of Lake Erie mingled with those of the Hudson. On the 22d of October, 1819, the first boat sailed on the Erie canal from Rome to Utica. It was dragged by a single horse trotting on the embankment in the tow-path. It was an elegant boat, constructed to carry passengers, and called the "Chief Engineer"—a compliment to Benjamin Wright, Esq. At nine o'clock the next morning the bells were rung and the commissioners proceeded in carriages from Bagg's Hotel to the place of embarkation. A military band played patriotic airs. From bridge to bridge, from village to village, the excursionists were saluted with cannon and the ringing of bells. The people ran across the fields, climbed trees and fences, and crowded the bank of the canal, to see the wonderful sight. In forty minutes they reached Whitesborough, where a party of ladies came on board. The scene was one of great festivity and rejoicing. In the language of a spectator, it was "truly sublime."

The packet was regarded, by many, as furnishing all that could be

desired in the way of comfort or even luxury. The boats were large and furnished with sleeping berths. The charge was three or four cents per mile, and meals were provided on equally reasonable terms. The rate of speed was four miles an hour, so that traveling was almost as rapid as on the rough turnpike, and in the judgment of many much more agreeable. Often the traveler varied the monotony of riding, by leaving the boat, perhaps at a lock, and walking on in advance; a duty, according to Miss Martineau, more obvious than any other, in order to air the cabin (close enough at the best) and get rid of the odors of the table, before the passengers were shut up for the night. Miss Martineau's experience was less happy, we trust, than that of many another traveler on the Erie canal. "I would never advise ladies," she says, "to travel by canal, unless the boats are quite new and clean, or at least far better than any that I saw or heard of. On fine days it is pleasant enough sitting outside (except for having to duck under bridges every quarter of an hour) and in dark evenings the approach of the boat lights on the water is a pretty sight; but the horrors of night and wet days, more than compensate for all the advantages these vehicles can boast." The sprightly Fanny Kemble, on the other hand, though somewhat tormented by the bridges, liked traveling by canal very much. The country was delightful and she found gliding through the water at the rate of four and a half miles an hour, infinitely preferable to the noise of wheels, the rumble of a coach, and the jerking of bad roads, merely for the sake of gaining a mile an hour.

HAMILTON COLLEGE, CLINTON, N. Y.

A. S. Hopkins

(To be continued.)

THE FALLACY OF 1860

For reasons, valid beyond dispute, a monarchy, an oligarchy, or a democracy may be the best form of government for a people; which depends, not upon the character of a government, but upon the character of a people. There is a great difference in the character of people, why, cannot be known, unless all their previous history could be, but the fact is patent, that some are more some less gregarious; in some hope, the source of imagination, is stronger than in others; where it is strongest, men feel most and reason least; where weakest, men reason most and feel least: these, perhaps too distrustful of the new, because it is not old, and those, perhaps too careless of the old, and too eager for the new. When, therefore, in the middle of the last century, a cant phrase—The Rights of man—came into vogue, to please the fancy, and confuse the judgment, it met with a different reception from the French, and the English mind. The English mind analyzed it, and found, that unless it meant a return to the primitive state, it was void of meaning, and if a paraphrase, to assert that every individual was entitled to all the freedom of thought, of speech, of publicity and of action, compatible with the welfare of society, that claim was already known, and expressed by the older and more familiar word, Liberty. When the colonists, among their arguments, urged the Rights of man, the "Taxation no Tyranny" pertinently answered: As the naked sons of nature, you are behind ramparts which can neither be mined by sophistry, nor battered by declamation; but what becomes of your charters? You cannot claim in opposite characters. Of course, when the colonists sat in conventions, and organized governments, the Rights of man were forgotten. The assertion of them had answered its purpose, enlisting the sympathy of the French mind, then delighting in pictures of philosophic savages, practicing all the virtues, and none of the vices of civilization, and rejoicing in all the freedom, without any of the trammels of barbarism. Half a century before, Swift had put in the mouth of a frail wife, as a justification of frailty, the claim of the right of women to the *vagus concubitus*: "Congruous to the laws of nature and therefore supe-

rior to all human laws." He little thought, when he penned the exquisite absurdity, that a political school would make Mrs. John Bull's claim of natural rights a panacea for the ills of life, and the object of governments; for all experience showed, and all reasoning proved, that no social organization can do more than give to each a chance to run; place in the race, depending on himself. It can make many small, or a few large prizes in the lottery of life, and insure fairness in the drawing, but the distribution must depend upon the turn of the wheel. All that any form of government can do is, not by its action to promote inequality; equality is beyond its reach; and none have ever yet done so much. "The right divine to govern wrong" may shift from a king to an oligarchy, from an oligarchy to a plutocracy, from a plutocracy to a democracy, without any abatement of its capacity for evil in its mutations; for the axiom, that "power corrupts," is as true of a voter as of a monarch, and the instinct of supremacy is as strong in a ditcher as in a duke. His Majesty, a majority, is assured of as much servility as any other majesty, and can repudiate "good fences make good neighbors" with unmeasured praise. For more than a century, nations have craved written constitutions, which men might consult, as a carpenter his foot-rule, to learn the limits of rights and duties; for, whatever the origin of a constitution, its function is plain; to divide authority from liberty. Authority is the right of some to control, upon subjects, more or fewer, the will and action of others. Liberty, the right of will, and action upon all other subjects than those. A constitution must therefore be a fence, or a fraud. It either limits or adds to strength, protects or oppresses weakness, bars the greedy from more than an equal share or helps them to more than an equal share. Is it not clear that Liberty and Authority ought to have equal arms, and an equal right to use them against aggression; or that, in the absence of such equality, the system, whatever it be, must vibrate between injustice and war? * The recognition of the right of Liberty to resist would almost preclude the necessity of its exercise, but without that recognition by those over whom a constitution is the supreme law, neither liberty nor honesty can long be possible. The Constitution of the United States seems upon its face a very plain document, not easily misunderstood. If submitted, with the history of its formation, to ten men of average intelligence in England, or France, or Germany, their several interpretations would probably be almost identical. It was framed by men of great ability and high character; it was discussed in the conventions of the states to which it was sent for ratification, by strong men before strong

* A religious, or a political plan, without a Nemesis has not yet been conceivable.

ment—he authors, debaters and listeners, brought up in self-governing communities in the daily practice of political life. It must be assumed that there was then a general understanding of its import, yet it has proved in practice so obscure, or so capable of obscurity, that men have constantly wrangled over it; that one question under it has been shelved by the expenditure of ten thousand millions, the sacrifice of half a million of lives, and miseries inexpressible in figures; and another by the creation of a tribunal unknown to it—conviction of justice, in neither case, following compulsion. Is the human intellect, then, incapable of formulating a distinct idea, or is language insufficient to express one? Neither; our Constitution puts very distinct ideas into very clear language, but the most careful and lucid expression of intention is not sufficient, unless words have a fixed meaning. If the ideas and sense of words accepted by all at the ratification of the Constitution cease to be accepted by all, the rights and duties of the citizen cease to be unmistakable. The system provides for its amendment within certain limits, and upon certain conditions. The amendment has to be made by states, whence a dissatisfied individual must strive to influence his state. How he may do so, as a state has general legislative power upon all subjects not excluded by agreement with other states, or delegated to the federal government, is a question for the state exclusively. If a majority is dissatisfied, of course the State is, and has a constitutional means of making its dissatisfaction effective. But if it has a constitutional power, it has constitutional limits, and if it oversteps those limits, what other states shall do is a question each must determine for itself. The federal authority was not given any right of judgment nor power of action in such a case. As a matter of policy it should not have; and if any think that it should, the Convention, after careful deliberation, decided otherwise. If some of the states quarreled, it saw in the exclusion of the federal power from participation, and in the interposition of other states less heated than the opponents, one chance of a peaceful solution, and that chance it took. Soon after the Constitution went into action, Madison, who as much, if not more than any other man, had made the Convention possible, and its work a government, exclaimed: "Had a prophet risen in Virginia, her ratification would have been withheld." That cry of despairing hope was echoed from other states, and was justified by facts. The Constitution was being altered, and not through its self-contained power of amendment. The process was very simple. When the rulers of the middle ages wanted to steal, they debased the coin; the image, superscription and name remained, the value fell. The fraud, so successful with money, was discovered to be applicable to words—the spelling and

sound kept, the meaning might be altered. By such jugglery, the Constitution could become, not what the Convention made, but what it refused to make; and those few of its members whose opinions could not command the assent of a single state, be enabled to impose them upon all the states. By whom this ingenious contrivance was invented, and utilized is of no moment; what it did, is: it dissociated the idea of a union from the idea of a Constitution, pretexting two objects of allegiance—distracting duty, and dividing loyalty. It associated the idea of an end, not a means—a principal, not an agent—with the Federal Government; pointed out how the intrenchments of liberty might be turned; taught the commercial value of chicane, and assumed the natural party lines to be between those who want to obey the Constitution, and those who want it to obey them. Consequently, most of our party controversies have turned not upon expediency, the proper subject of politics, but upon jurisdiction, each side seeing usurpation, either Federal, or State, and one side certain to feel itself cheated. The mental characteristic which prompted such action for such results is as old as the world. It is a sense of superiority, from assumed worth or wisdom, entitling the possessors to make their own feelings, or conclusions, the standard of right and wrong—an assertion of the inherent inequality of their fellow-citizens, and the right of rule, in the exorbitant. The Greek mind, which had large experience of this passion, coined a word to express “wanting more than a share”—and incarnated it in the fable of Procrustes, who lopped the long, and stretched the short, to his stature. Our language is less flexible, self-will is too general, self-conceit carries with it something of the ridiculous, and selfishness something of the mean, whereas the feeling, a compound of the three, may co-exist with every private virtue, and with one-sided benevolence. The motive of those men was not bad, in the common acceptance of that word, they meant good, not harm. But motives are not like rain and sunshine, independent of man; he makes them, and in a government based on consent, they are good or bad, as they conform to, or depart from, the consent. Good intentions, undoubtedly, bar rancor, even exact generosity, but, in the estimate of an act, they do not weigh a feather. Men of that type, in earlier ages, if successful, were great, if unsuccessful, they lost their heads; and we retain enough of the habits of the past to punish one who, in the interest of what he believes the right, stuffs a ballot-box. It is much less difficult to understand than to misunderstand our system. There is no complexity to be mastered, unless the difference between one and two is a complexity, and of so much, a crow is capable. A citizen of the United States must be a citizen of some

state.* As the citizen of a state, he has rights against, and duties to, the citizens of that state; those are under the social compact. As a citizen of the United States, he has rights against, and duties to, the citizens of the United States; those are under the political compact. The two differ as widely as air and water, which none confound because oxygen is present in both. A man does not need schools or journals to teach him what duties are. They are what he feels due to him. He carries the rule of right and wrong about him. Of course "there is in every Constitution a stronger power, one which would gain the victory, if the compromises by which the Constitution habitually works were suspended, and there came a trial of strength." There was a stronger power in the Union from the first, there always must be, shift as the strength may. The Convention was not ignorant of that fact, nor of the fact that the rule of numbers is one form of physical force, ballots being as capable of overbearing law as bayonets. Nor had it not profited by the experience of history; it knew that a majority will oppress a minority, whenever its interest or passions urge. That truth was expressed by several, and assented to by all. 'Between Force and Rights, the Convention therefore interposed a judiciary.' Even those members most outspoken in contempt of human nature, seemed assured that the judges of such an Areopagus must be lifted by the honor of the office, and the sacredness of the trust, above the passions and prejudices of ordinary men, to absolute honesty, and pure reason. That the Convention did not embody the conclusion of the Declaration of Independence was because, then, all believed in that doctrine, which its own existence and work exemplified. The necessity for, and the function of, the Supreme Court have been so well stated by Mill as to forbid more than quotation. "Under the more perfect form of federation, where every citizen owes obedience to two governments, that of his own state and that of the federation, it is evidently necessary, not only that the constitutional limits of the authority of each should be precisely and clearly defined, but that the power to decide between them in any case of dispute, should not reside in either of the governments, or in any functionary subject to it, but in an umpire independent of both. This involves the remarkable consequence, actually realized in the United States, that a Court of Justice, the highest federal tribunal, is supreme over the various governments, both state and federal, and is the first great example of what is

* The citizen of a state at the adoption of the Constitution, those admitted since under the federal law as citizens of a state, and their descendants are citizens of the United States, and no others. A man may be a citizen of a state and not of the United States.

now one of the most prominent wants of civilized society, a real International Tribunal."

De Tocqueville dilated upon a crowning excellence, "that its decision, after much previous popular discussion, and after hearing argument by the ablest lawyers, is drawn from it, by the duty it cannot refuse to fulfill, of dispensing justice impartially between adverse litigants." Later wisdom decided—"That if the policy of the government upon vital questions affecting the whole people, is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, instantly they are made, in ordinary litigation, between parties in personal actions; the People will have ceased to be their own rulers, having, to that extent, practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal." In 1860 a political organization existed under that Latter Day doctrine, for one single object. That object was either inside or outside of the Constitution. If inside, it was laudable; if outside, it proposed a pronouncement by voters, a *coup d'état* by the ballot-box. It would seem incredible, if such had not been the terrible fallacy of 1860, that many citizens of the United States, in spite of their admitted general and political intelligence, should have failed to see the imperative necessity of taking a side, when opposing ideas ran upon parallel lines, and could therefore never meet. The claim as stated by the one was: "One section of our country believes that slavery is right and ought to be extended, while the other believes it wrong and ought not to be extended." The claim by the other, was, that question was originally and has been lately constitutionally settled, and is not a lawful subject of federal politics. The point raised touched the very pith and marrow of a limited government, and a federal system; yet nearly two millions of voters, more by many thousands than the number of votes cast for the successful party, practically disclaimed the duty, and abnegated the power of decision. That immense mass, the strongest physical power, capable, even after the election, of commanding peace and compelling right, was, up to active hostilities, of no more account in shaping events, than a rag-baby. Its units were neutral, where neutrality could do infinite harm, ceasing to be neutral, when neutrality could do infinite good.

It is curious, at least, that the ultra antislavery men held the same view of the constitutional status of slavery as South Carolina, that the leader of the moderate antislavery men found a law higher than a supreme law, and that Mr. Lincoln was forced, by the inexorable pressure of reason, step by step, out of the federal idea, and was soon asserting for the "people" a revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow the government. The difference between the victor and the vanquished lay in their differ-

ent construction of the word "People," in a preamble, whether it should have the distributive sense attributed to it when the Constitution was discussed, and without which distributive sense admitted it would have been rejected; or the aggregate sense since found so convenient, and of which the convenience is far from being exhausted. If the War of Independence was fought, as Mr. Webster said, upon a preamble, and the War of the Secession, was fought upon a word in a preamble, it is reasonable to expect that the next war may be waged upon the potency of a semicolon, or the capabilities of a comma.

A. W. Blason

IRWIN, VA.

CHURCH-GOING IN NEW YORK CITY, 1787

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF REV. MANASSEH CUTLER *

"Friday, July 6, 1787. This morning delivered most of my introductory letters to the members of Congress. Prepared my papers for making application to Congress for the purchase of lands in the western country for the Ohio Company. At 11 o'clock I was introduced to a number of members on the floor of Congress Chamber, in the City Hall, by Colonel Carrington, member from Virginia. Delivered my petition for purchasing lands for the Ohio Company, and proposed terms and conditions of purchase. . . .

Saturday, July 7. Paid my respects this morning to Dr Holton and several other gentlemen. Was introduced by Dr. Ewing and Mr Rittenhouse to Mr Hutchins, Geographer to the United States. Consulted him, where to make our location. Dined with General Knox. Introduced to his lady, and a French nobleman, the Marquis Lotbiniere—at dinner, to several other gentlemen who dined with us. Our dinner was served in high style—much in the French taste. Mrs Knox is very gross, but her manners easy and graceful. She is sociable and would be very agreeable, were it not for her affected singularity in dressing her hair. She seems to mimic a military style, which to me is disgusting in a female. Her hair in front is craped at least a foot high, much in the form of a churn bottom upward, and topped off with a wire skeleton in the same form covered with black gauze, which hangs in streamers down her back. Her hair behind is in a large braid, turned up, and confined with a monstrous large crooked comb. She reminded me of the monstrous cap worn by the Marquis La Fayette's valet—commonly called, on this account, the Marquis' *Devil*. No person at table attracted my attention so much as the Marquis Lotbiniere—not on account of his good sense, for if it had not been for his title I should have thought him two-thirds a fool. . . .

Sunday, July 8. Attended public worship this morning at the new brick Presbyterian Church.† The house is large and elegant. The carvings within are rather plain, but very neat, and produce a fine effect upon the eye. The form of the house is long, and the pulpit near one end,

* Life of the Rev. Manasseh Cutler. 2 vols. 8vo. Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, Ohio.

† It stood on the site of the present building of *The New York Times*.

but not adjoining to the wall. It is supported by a single post, which passes up at the back part of the pulpit, and is crowned with the sounding board, not more than two feet above the minister's head. At the end of the house, opposite to the pulpit, are two doors, which open into two long aisles that extend the whole length of the house. The pews are built on each side the aisles, one tier of wall pews and two tiers in the centre of the house. The pews are long and narrow, having only one long seat, except that there are two square wall pews placed opposite to each other near the centre of the side walls, with a handsome canopy over them supported by pillars. The floors of these pews are considerably elevated above the others, which renders them very pleasant. They are called the Governor's pews, and are occupied by strangers.

Dr Ewing, Provost of the college at Philadelphia, preached a very pretty sermon on the advantages and excellency of the Christian religion. The congregation appeared remarkably neat and rich in their dress, but not gay. The house was very full and exceedingly attentive. I was particularly pleased with the singing. Around the large pillar which supports the pulpit is a very large circular pew, appropriated to the wardens of the church and the chorister. In the front of this pew is a little desk, considerably elevated. When the Psalm is read, the chorister steps up into this desk and sings the first line. He is then joined in the second line by the whole congregation—men, women, and children seemed all to sing, almost without exception. The airs of the tunes were sprightly, though not very quick; the singing, notwithstanding it was performed by such a mixed multitude, was soft, musical, and solemn, and the time well-preserved. There is an Orchestra, but no Organ. The public service was introduced by a short prayer, reading the Scriptures, and then singing; but instead of singing before sermon, they sing in the morning, as well as afternoon, before prayer. As soon as the last singing is ended, the wardens go out from the large round pew, with each taking a tier of pews, and walk down the aisles. Every person, great and small, puts into the platter one copper, and no more. This contribution is made through the whole congregation in less than three minutes.

I was struck, this morning, with a custom in this city which I had never before heard of in any part of the world. I observed, as I was going to church, six men, walking two and two toward the church, with very large white sashes, which appeared to be made of fine Holland, the whole width and two or three yards in length. They were placed over their right shoulders, and tied under their left arms in a very large bow, with several yards of white ribbon on the top of their shoulders; a large

rose, formed of white ribbon, was placed on the sash. As I came up to the yard of the church, Dr Rodgers and Dr Ewing were just before me, going into the church, both in their black gowns, but Dr Rodgers with a large white sash, like those of the six men, only that the bow and rose of ribbons were black. These sashes, I was informed, were given the last week at a funeral. These were worn by the minister and bearers to the grave, and are always worn by them the next Sunday, and the bearers always walk to and from the church together. To give these sashes, is a general custom at the funeral of persons of any note.

I dined at Sir John Temple's. . . . He dines at two on Sundays. Our dinner was in the English style, plain but plentiful; the wines excellent, which is a greater object with Sir John than his roast beef or poultry. . . . At half-past three Mr Dawes and I withdrew, and attended church at St George's Chapel. This is a magnificent edifice. The tower and steeple are larger and higher, I believe, than any other in America. The inside of the Church is very large. Some paintings and carvings. We sat in the Governor's pew, which is the same here as in the Presbyterian Church, being one on each side of the meeting-house. Dr Beach read prayers, and Dr Moore preached an elegant sermon on benevolence. The church was exceedingly crowded, and the congregation was richly, but not splendidly dressed. In the time of the first singing the Wardens visited every pew with their Pewter plates, into which every person small and great, put in a copper. This seemed to be 'killing two birds with one stone,' for while they were engaged in singing their Psalm (for everybody sings) they were as busy in fumbling their pockets for the coppers, and rattling them into the platters. . . . Attended a lecture (in the evening) at Dr Rogers' new brick Presbyterian Church. Full congregation. Dr Witherspoon, President of New Jersey College, preached. He is an intolerably homely old Scotchman, and speaks the true dialect of his country, except that his brogue borders on the Irish. He is a bad speaker, has no oratory, and had no notes before him. His subject was 'Hypocrisy.' But, notwithstanding the dryness of the subject, the badness of the delivery, which required the closest attention to understand him, yet the correctness of his style, the arrangement of his matter, and the many new ideas that he suggested, rendered his sermon very entertaining. The attention of the Congregation strongly marked their regard for good sense and clear reasoning, rather than mere show of oratory and declamation. Dr Rogers is certainly the most accomplished gentleman for a clergyman, not to except even Dr Cooper, that I have ever been acquainted with. He lives in elegant style, and entertains company as genteelly as the first Gentleman in the city."

THE CONQUEST OF THE MAYAS

MONTEJO ON THE COAST

I

Concerning the history of Yucatan previous to the arrival of the Spaniards, but little is known, only enough to form an outline of a few events. It is believed that in the early part of the Christian era Tutul Xiu, one of a dynasty bearing that name, came, at the head of the Nahuatl,* to Yucatan, from the south. It is said that when these Nahuatls arrived the people dwelling there were absolutely peaceable, only becoming warlike under tuition of the new-comers, but that they soon excelled in the management of weapons, far surpassing their teachers.

The monarch of the peninsula was Cocom, one of a long line of kings of that name, renowned for their great benevolence and goodness. When the Nahuatls had been for some generations established in the country, governed by their own ruler, who, in turn, recognized the superior authority of Cocom, one of that dynasty manifested traits very unlike those which had made his ancestors beloved. He was avaricious, cruel, tyrannical, and wanted to enslave his subjects. Prince Tutul Xiu opposed him, and war was declared. Cocom called to his aid mercenaries from Mexico. They behaved very badly, persisting in evil customs and habitually practicing cannibalism, that had been introduced by the Nahuatls as part of their religious rites.

The civil war between the Cocom and the Tutul Xius lasted through several generations, each Cocom showing more odious traits than his predecessors, and continually hiring low people from Mexico. Tutul Xiu was in the end vanquished and compelled to abandon the city of Uxmal, where his forefathers had established themselves. He retired to a place that he called Mani.†

A third strong party was that of the *Chels*, the sacerdotal class and their followers, residing at Izamal, subject to Cocom. Farther east were the Itzas. These came in all their strength and destroyed Izamal, the holy city of temples. Chichen, the city of the Itzas, was in turn devastated by

* The origin of the Nahuatl is unknown. The learned Dr. Gumeindo Mendoça, a Mexican of Nahuatl descent, was of opinion that they came to America from India.

† Mani, *it is passed* (my epoch is passed).

he people of Cocom, and some of the Itzas then went away to Peten. But there came a time, early in the 15th century, when the power of the Cocombs was greatly diminished. He who was then reigning realized it, and sent one of his sons to Mexico to negotiate for more soldiers. Before any help could arrive all the people came together to crush out the objectionable monarch, Tutul Xiu being the leader. Cocom, his family, and the greater number of his adherents were put to death, Mayapan, his city and stronghold, being laid waste and burned (in 1446, according to Landa). The young Cocom, who was fortunate enough to be absent, on his return established himself, with the few of his father's people who had escaped, in the province of Zaci or Kupul, in the east part of the peninsula; his party afterward became very strong, and was known as that of the Kupuls. Battles occurred every now and then between the three powers—Kupuls, Chels, and Tutul Xius—not to mention many smaller parties that warred against each other. On the north coast were the Pechs,* descendants of those Mexicans introduced by the Cocombs; they seem to have been disliked by all, the other inhabitants not mingling with them. These people befriended the Spaniards on their arrival, and helped them to make their way into the country, having a personal motive in so doing.

The various historians, principally Spanish friars, who have written about the conquest of Yucatan, differ in their way of telling the story, some showing marked partiality for their countrymen, others evidently sympathizing with the natives. Upon one point they agree, that the invaders were a handful of men compared with those who resisted them. In every battle, according to said writers, the odds against the Spaniards were so great that one can hardly comprehend why they were not crushed out of existence. It is well, however, to remember a few important facts: the armor of the Europeans made them almost invulnerable to arrows; while the natives, when they did not dispense with all clothing save a loin cloth, were scantily clothed in garments of cotton. Although when the country was discovered some warriors on the coast had shields and padded tunics—described in a former article—in the accounts of the conquest no mention is made of such things, while the nudity of the natives is more than alluded to. Even admitting that a few wore tunics padded with cotton and salt, this would be a poor protection against firearms. Again, the superiority of weapons made one Spaniard equal to several aborigines. The horses, too, also partly covered with armor, trampled many of the natives under their feet. Then there was always some traitor ready to cau-

* Pech is the Maya word for tick. Possibly this name was given to the cannibal Mexicans because, like ticks, they were addicted to human as well as other blood.

tion the white men against any unexpected danger or surprise. Over and over again the strangers were saved by one of the people whose liberty they were menacing.

Those of Mexican descent, dwelling on the coast, hated and despised by the other inhabitants, regarded the foreigners as possible allies against their enemies, so made friendly advances to the white men as soon as they landed, offering presents to propitiate them. This statement is made by one of themselves.

At the beginning of the 16th century Yucatan was by no means a terrestrial paradise, for though there were many happy homes, civilization was then in an advanced state of decadency, the country divided into many principalities, the inhabitants continually at war with each other. All prisoners of war were held as serfs, whereas in earlier times that lot fell only to foreign captives and those convicted of theft. When the conquest was ultimately effected, it was owing to the want of union—a majority having voluntarily rendered obedience and joined the new foe, the other portion was finally overcome by force.

Before examining the Spanish records of events that occurred in Yucatan between the years 1527 and 1560, it will be well to glance at a manuscript written on the same subject by one of the Pechs. The Spanish statements are probably exaggerated, to make the unquestionably brave Spaniards appear as marvels of valor and strength, for a very different light is thrown on the matter by Pech's manuscript, now in possession of Don Pedro Regil, of Merida. It is in the Maya language. Its author, Nakuk Pech, was son of a batab (a nobleman, a chief), ruling on the north coast when the Spaniards arrived. This makes the document particularly interesting and trustworthy.

According to Nakuk, the Adelantado and his people landed in 1527, twenty-five miles east of what is now Progreso, and remained some time on that part of the coast, going as far as Oilan, thirty miles farther east. Then they went to Ekab, on the Atlantic coast of the peninsula, to Kaua, Tinun, and Chichen, to Champoton and Campeche, thence to Tihò (Merida).

Pech speaks of the Spaniards as being "terrible to the country." That they were kindly received the following lines show: "On the arrival of the Spanish gentlemen . . . all the nobility (among the Pechs), hastened to welcome them with manifestations of pleasure, serving them abundantly with choicest viands, and offering tributes . . . They met them with presents even before they entered the city."

Nevertheless they were meanwhile, according to the Spanish writers,

sending runners to neighboring settlements to make known the coming of the strangers, and warn them to be armed and ready to assemble. So it is evident that if they preferred peace, they were also prepared for war. The white men soon made themselves obnoxious. Pech calls them, in derision, the *kul uinicob* (holymen). *Kul* is holy, *cul* is the Maya word for goblet, and this name may have been given to the Spaniards because they drank very freely, for in the same sentence Nakuk states that they abandoned themselves to drunkenness and other excesses.

Notwithstanding the friendship shown them by the Pechs, the soldiers sacked Maxtunil, their city, the granaries as well as the habitations, seized the domestic animals, and robbed even the nobles who had received them with unbounded hospitality, giving tributes freely and unasked. "Having, in their weakness, because unwilling to go to war, given tributes to the Spaniards, they afterwards loved them," writes Nakuk, showing that some became foolishly infatuated with the blue-eyed men in spite of their misdeeds. Was Pech himself among the number, or is it in irony that he says, "these adorable Spanish men?" The people in Yucatan were remarkable for their wit and sarcasm, and considering the behavior of the invaders the word "adorable" was probably used as suggested.

A second document by another member of the Pech family begins thus: "I, Don Pablo* Pech, last Governor of Chicxulub (near Maxtunil), here record the wanderings of my fathers and all the suffering they endured during the conquest of the place by those strangers."

This writer likewise tells of the generous way in which the Spaniards were received and presented with the best of everything in the land. He says they remained near Oilan, on a sandbank forming an island, during three years, products of the land being always taken to them. The Kupuls then came to attack the intruders, who, seeking safety, at once set out to establish themselves at Ekab. When in the vicinity of that place several were taken ill with yellow fever, and at about the same time the people of Ekab declared war against them. So they fled inland to Kaua, Cuncuul, Tinun, at last reaching Chichen, high land, where they could regain health and strength.

While there Montejo made known his wish to have an interview with Cocom, king of the Kupuls, and was told that he was not there, but on the frontier. Thither the Adelantado and his men determined to go. They were quite near to Onot-Akè when Princess Ixcuet Cocom sent a trusty messenger to say to them, "Come not hither, for you will perish!" Whereupon they made their way back to Kaua, and thence to Oilan. They

* Don Pablo was a name given by the priests when they baptized Pech.

embarked in their ships and went to Tzelebna, at which place they constructed fortifications for their greater safety, and "there they indulged in drunkenness and gluttony." After some time they went to a place adjoining Champoton, remained there seven years, then settled in Campeche. There the Adelantado, with a fresh lot of men, exacted tributes of all who were friendly to him, and after a while went to Tihò. "Then came the men of quality, *Encomendadores*. All the population, even comprising the inheritance of my father, were given to Julian Doncel, he being the first to exercise control over the city of Chicxulub. He was married in presence of Don Francisco de Montejo. Then he began to exact tributes from my father."

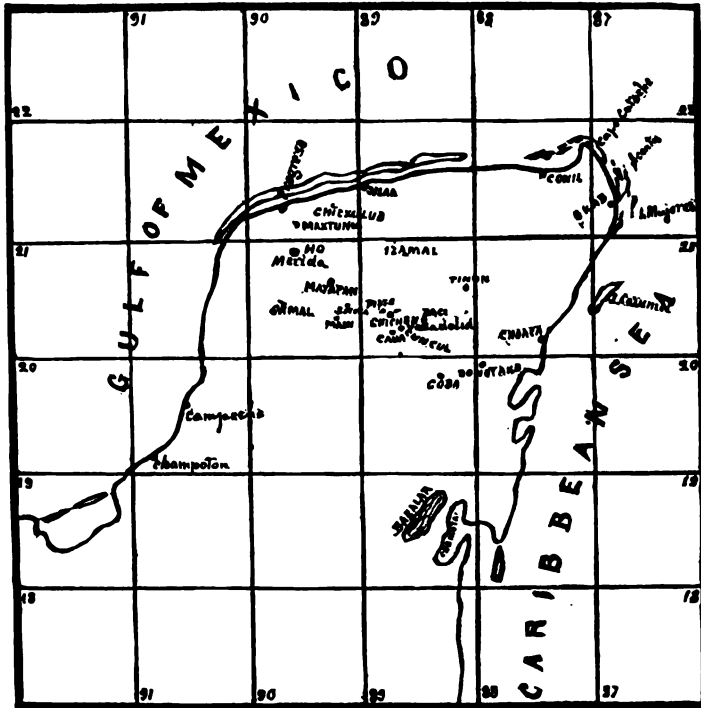
This little information is from the first part of the Pech manuscript, which, unhappily, is not now within our reach. Here we find no account of desperate battles fought by a handful of Spaniards against thousands of natives. On the contrary, it is plain that those on the coast received the Spaniards in friendship, and that, in the early part of the conquest, Montejo and his followers shifted from place to place, to avoid meeting hostile multitudes. Later, they had native allies, as well as others sent from Mexico by the Spanish authorities there. In telling of their own exploits the Spanish soldiers were sure to exaggerate, and each time the story or adventure was retold, something would be added to it. We cannot help coming to this conclusion when we read of the conquest as given by the priests, who wrote on the subject several years after the events had transpired.

From these historians we learn that when, in 1527, the Adelantado landed, taking formal possession of the country in the name of God and for His Majesty, Carlos V., he was accompanied by four hundred soldiers, foot and horse, supplied with weapons, ammunition, and provisions. The ships remained at anchor in care of the seamen. It is stated that Montejo and his men did not advance into the country for some time for want of an interpreter, and because many of them were made ill by the heat, which was greater than they had been accustomed to. But on the north coast of Yucatan the heat is not excessive, less so than in Cuba, and little more than in southern Spain. It is, therefore, likely that they tarried on the coast, not in consequence of ill health, but to acquire the language, and in order that the people in general might gradually become reconciled to their presence. The Pechs, meanwhile, provided them with the products of the land.

After some time had elapsed the lord of Choaca* sent some of his

* Said to have been a city of 10,000 houses.

principal people to visit the Adelantado, who received them with all due courtesy. But it would seem that one of their number was charged with a difficult undertaking—nothing less than to kill the chief of the white men, for having cautiously approached a black slave, who was in attendance on Montejo, he wrested from his waist a dagger and with it tried to stab the Adelantado, who defended himself with a similar weapon. Soldiers rushed to the rescue, and the man was immediately put to death. This was but the first of several attempts on the life of Montejo, the people believing that if he perished his followers would depart.



MAP OF YUCATAN

The Spaniards now resolved to go to Choaca.

On the way they rested a day or two at a place called Coba, and there so gorged themselves with the delicious sweet fruit called anona that the villagers always afterwards spoke of them as the *Ahmak opob* or anona eaters. The journey inland was slow and painful, over very rough paths, through dense forests. The adventurers also suffered greatly for want of water. Now and again they passed through deserted villages, the inhabitants having gone to unite themselves with the larger populations of other

places. Their guide led the invaders to Onot Akè where a multitude of Indians lay in ambush. When the Spaniards stopped to rest all suddenly appeared armed with arrows, clubs charred at the end, lances with sharp flint points, two-handed swords of very hard wood, rattles, whistles, and other rude musical instruments such as turtle shells struck with deer horns and great conch shells that served as trumpets. The warriors wore nothing but loin cloths, and were daubed with earth of various colors. They had rings in their ears and noses. The Spaniards faced the shouting multitude and a fierce battle ensued, the natives fighting "like savage demons." The few white men who were on horseback had great advantage, their height enabling them to slay many natives with their lances. All day the struggle went on, native warriors continually coming forward to take the place of those who fell. The Spaniards lost some men, horses, and dogs. Darkness put a stop to the battle, and all night the natives remained quiet, giving the white men a chance to attend to their wounded comrades. At peep of day, however, they were on the spot and recommenced the attack, but at noon they retreated, pursued by the Spaniards, who kept up the chase till they had made themselves complete masters of the neighborhood. More than one thousand two hundred natives are said to have perished in this fray.

Was this a fabulous account invented by the Spaniards? We cannot lose sight of the fact that Nakuk Pech mentions no battle at Akè, but, on the contrary, affirms that by advice of Ixcuet Cocom the invaders retreated from that place before they had fully arrived. Even the Spanish writers give us to understand that, not wishing to lose his men, the Adelantado did his best not arouse the animosity of the natives, because they were very warlike and numerous.

Reaching Chichen Itza the conquerors decided to remain there, because the great edifices could serve as fortresses when the natives attacked them.

We have seen a fortification made at that place by the Spaniards. It was a square enclosure measuring about a hundred feet on each side. The southwest end of it was formed by the mausoleum of Prince Chaacmol,* the summit of which served them as a lookout.

Alfred D. Le Plongeon :-



* A statue of that prince, unearched from the mausoleum is now in the National Museum of Mexico City. There is a plaster cast of the same in the museum at Washington, and another in Paris, at the Trocadero Museum.

AN ENGLISHMAN'S POCKET NOTE-BOOK IN 1828

WHAT HE SAW IN AMERICA

A very quaint and racy little manuscript note-book, sixty years old, has crossed the Atlantic Ocean by a late steamer, with apparently no other point and purpose than the diversion and entertainment of American readers. It is an English production, although written under the sunny skies of the Western Continent. The volume is unique in style and binding, and contains one hundred and thirty-four closely-filled manuscript pages, six by three and one-half inches in size, without margins, and is in the clear, bold hand-writing of Colonel Baillie, a well-known member of Parliament in his day, from whose library it has wandered, like its author. Colonel Baillie made in 1828 a tour in America, and this note-book, which he carried in his vest pocket, contains the record of his varied experiences. The daily entries commence at Washington, November 1, 1828, and cease at Vera Cruz, March 7, 1829. It should be remembered that the railroad of modern America was then unknown, and that the facilities for travel, particularly in the West, were of the most primitive kind. The extracts from the note-book will explain themselves. The first paragraph reads:

Nov 1. Having paid farewell visits this morning to our numerous friends, we left Washington in the evening at 7 o'clock.

We passed 10 days here, and made acquaintances with all the principal people, including Foreign ministers &c. Mr Vaughan, our Envoy paid us every possible attention. We dined with him or at the secretary's whenever we were not otherwise engaged. Yesterday we had the honor of dining with the President, where we met a large party. Mr Adams is a plain looking little man, resembling in manner and appearance a worthy shopkeeper in Somerton of the name of Baldwin. Our dinner was good, and as I was surrounded at the table by Foreigners I was obliged to converse in French. We retired at 8 o'clock, and adjourned to Mrs Rush's: (the wife of the Secretary of the Treasury:) where we met all the beauty of Washington. Mr Rush is a pleasing gentlemanly person, considerably benefited by his long residence in England.

The Town of Washington is situated on a noble piece of table land 70 or 80 feet above the Potomac, a fine looking river a mile wide below the city. It was laid out by Gen^l Washington with the view of competing with the largest capitals of Europe. At present there is nothing to recom-

mend it unless you number among its beauties streets 2 miles in length with scattered miserable looking houses. The view however from the President's house is by no means uninteresting, standing on the ascent of the hill. You look down the principal avenue with a line of Trees in the centre, the capitol standing on its elevated heights being seen at or rather closing the view in the distance. It is a large noble building with a Portico supported by Corinthian Columns. Eden and myself both condemned the Taste, which I believe is not strictly classical. The Octagon Hall in entering has a fine aspect, lighted by the Dome above; and in the different divisions are placed large pictures representing the most memorable events of American History.

We witnessed to-day the ceremony of introducing some Indian Deputies of the Winnepeg Tribe sent by their nation on some State affairs. The whole business was a complete Humbug. The American Government keep up the farce of Treating with the different nations; but are at the same time driving them out of the country as fast as possible. They were fine looking men above 6 feet high; with the blankets worn thrown over the shoulder, leaving the right arm free; they wore a head dress of feathers: all painted red: and excessively dirty. They walked very upright with a free and unembarrassed deportment: and on the whole gave a favorable idea of the wild savage Inhabitants of the forests. Reached Rockville this evening.

November 2. Started this morning at daylight: raining hard. The first annoyance on getting up was the discovery of the loss of my carpet-bag, entrusted with the rest of my baggage to the care of the servant: mem—learn in future to look after my own affairs. After a long tiresome voyage reached Frederic, a small town with a beastly Inn; after remaining an hour in the passage which was full of the raff of the place, we continued our journey in a vehicle containing 18 persons inside. Nothing could exceed the misery and wretchedness of our situation: we arrived at 9 o'clock at the small village of Hagers Town, where we determined to remain a day. . . .

The Inns on this road are in true republican style; receptacles fit only for the animals that frequent them. In most respects they are inferior to those in the North. . . . We were 15 hours in travelling 60 miles, the whole of this day's journey. The country is uniformly flat, with forests on both sides, precluding any view beyond the road we were passing over. It rained also the whole time.

Nov 3. Late for breakfast. I found only one gentleman at Table. . . . Hagers Town is a small place; but like every location in this

country has a printing Press and supports a weekly Paper. Spent the whole day here wretched enough.

I remark every American of whatever condition in life is a Politician, and indeed generally understands the relations and resources of this country better than even the educated classes in other countries. Just now the universal subject of conversation is the election of President. We hear nothing but Jackson and Adams (as L. Byron says, Phebus what a name). These Candidates are freely talked over and their merits discussed by every man in the country. The subject is now so worn out that I am quite tired of their names and pretensions. A common address in a stage coach, which has been often put to me, is "I says Mister, are you for Jackson or Adams"? My answer is generally "for which you like sir."

Nov 4. Set off from Hagers Town at 7 this evening, and after an unpleasant night reached the Town of Cumberland, and shortly after began to ascend the Allegany Mountains. They run through the whole of this country, in nearly parallel ridges. The Road has been constructed by the government and is excessively rough and bad. It winds along the sides of the hills, from the heights of which you have occasional and extensive views of the country, though seldom presenting a pretty landscape. One interminable forest is the whole prospect before you without relief or backgrounds.

Our travelling companions are generally taciturn and morose: far from having that curiosity about strangers which is usually attributed to Americans. . . . Our carriage was built after the manner of an English Market Cart; the sides protected by a partial covering of leather, admitting both wind and rain. Sleeping with my head and neck exposed to the draft of wind and rain during the whole night, I was so stiff in the morning as to be unable to look in any direction but strait before me. The road was bad; one wheel gave way. Fortunately, we found a waggon by the road's side, from which we borrowed a wheel that fitted our carriage exactly.

Nov 5. At 6 this morning we arrived at Brownsville, prettily situated on one of the branches of the Ohio, which we passed in a boat, carriage and all. I began to cheer up at the prospect of the termination of our journey by land. Tired, stiff-necked, and crammed into a waggon with our former friends, I was by no means in the best of humor. Our whole journey of to-day was employed in ascending and descending the different ridges of the Alleganys. They are seldom above 200 or 300 feet in height, and composed generally of lime-stone Rock, lying in uniform stratas and ridges above the land. The land appears much richer to-day

in the valleys: in descending the Mountains I observed a country almost resembling some parts of England in its fine pastures. Coal, which is found in many parts of Virginia and Philadelphia in great abundance, may be also seen here on the very surface of the soil. The wealth and inexhaustible resources of this country have not yet been ascertained; though even now there are few things they have not within themselves. Coal is everywhere in this district abundant. Iron, copper, and lead mines are also worked to a considerable extent. . . . Continued our journey about 6 o'clock in the evening. We had now only 30 Miles to Wheeling, which place however we did not reach until this morning about 3 o'clock 6th November.

Got up much refreshed by 5 hours sleep. We had travelled 3 nights and 2 days successively, which in these bad roads and worse carriage is no bad journey. Went on board the steamboat, which is very small and dirty. We had however no choice; the low state of the water in the Ohio not allowing large steamboats to ply at this season of the year. The river is small at Wheeling; the banks are beautiful and the prospect on all sides bounded by the Alleghany Mountains. They find here a great abundance of Black Bear and Deer: I have tasted them, though I cannot say I much approve of the food. The Captain after many Excuses and shufflings determined not to get off until to-morrow. Eden and myself dined at the Table d'hote, and in the evening ascended the heights near the Town. We had a fine view of the valley of the Ohio on one side, bounded by the lofty Alleganys: on the other side of the height where we were standing, not 50 feet wide, we observed another small semicircular valley formed by a stream falling into the Ohio a mile or two below. It was a beautiful and retired spot, and reminded us of some of the rivers in Wales. Wheeling has a considerable trade, being one of the enterports for merchandise ascending and descending the great southern and western rivers. Cincinnati in the State of Ohio is however the most important Town in the Western States.

Nov 7. Started this morning at 8 o'clock, one small Boat crammed with passengers, all equally disagreeable. We enjoyed the beautiful views, although rather confined to the Mountains, which rise abruptly from the river 200 or 300 feet, and covered with interminable forests. The river is singular for its uniform Bends or Meanders. They are as regular and equal as the half circle thrown off by the compass. . . . The forest trees, principally the plain maple sugar tree, hickory, and oak, are much finer here than anywhere we have lately seen. . . . The settlers are few, and cultivation along the banks scarcely seen. They are subject here as on

other rivers to the ague and bilious fever. The few inhabitants I saw were sickly, emaciated beings. No doubt the climate will improve when the land is cleared, and cultivation takes the place of the old original forests. Our engine is high pressure—the most commonly used on the boats in this river, being simpler in construction though more dangerous—accidents frequently happen. . . . The larger boats do not run before December when the river generally begins to rise.

Nov 8. Continued our voyage at 7 this morning, having anchored last night to avoid the difficulties of navigation and shoals in this part of the river. Passed Marietta, a small town at the junction of the Muskingum with the Ohio, which still continues winding through the mountains. Several beautiful little islands in the middle of the channel of a conical shape, and covered with noble forest trees. Some of the reaches or curves are highly picturesque ; their great fault is their uniformity. . . . In our small cabin our party consists of 15 or 16 Americans, all sleeping in a room not 6 feet by four. Their toilette of a morning is simple and soon accomplished. They are something like the Albanians, who I believe never take off their capotes, until worn out. Passed the great and little Kanawha rivers which fall into the Ohio—names quite unknown in England, and here little thought of where rivers are so abundant. They are however, as well as most of the tributary waters of the Ohio and Mississippi, navigable to a considerable distance—a few hundred miles is considered here of little importance ; they are little inferior to the first rivers in Europe, the cause I have no doubt, amongst others, of the wonderfully quick and improving condition of the United States.

Nov 9. Proceeded on our voyage at 8 o'clock, having anchored some hours on account of the Fog. Obligated to lay to at 12 o'clock to mend one of our paddle-wheels. Sir William and myself took a long walk in the woods where we saw some trees of immense size and growth. One elm we measured was 3 feet round the trunk. The beech, sycamore, and other trees equally fine. Our dinners on board the Packet are most abundant and better dressed than in most of the Inns. The boats which navigate these rivers are nothing more or less than floating hotels. Passed an improving town called Portsmouth in the Ohio state, and further on the junction of the Scioto. The Ohio has considerably increased in breadth, the mountains retiring further from the shores, and leaving a wide valley for its course. The broken trees lying on both sides of its banks, bear testimony to the impetuous force of its current during the seasons of its inundations.

We observe also more signs of cultivation during this day's passage.

The settlers from the North are beginning to make their way toward this fertile country; we met on the road from Washington whole parties—called here movers—in wagons who were directing their course West, towards the country of the Mississippi. Provisions of all kinds are already so abundant wherever there is an appearance of cultivation, and consequently so cheap that they scarcely repay the farmer, unless employed for domestic consumption.

Nov 10. Arrived at Cincinnati this morning, the capital of the state of Ohio. We landed on a paved bank of the river, with the buildings around forming a kind of Piazza. We saw here 20 large and small steamboats, and on the quay an immense number of drays and wagons, all indicating great trade and activity. This Town has risen within 2 years and in the very midst of forests, to be a place of considerable importance and trade. They have also the advantage of being free from the CURSE of slavery, which is not allowed by the laws of the State. The consequence is there is none of that slovenly appearance in the people and their houses, which I have observed uniformly exists in all parts of the country where the black slave forms the agricultural and laboring part of the community.

I have heard many intelligent men in Maryland and Virginia regret that those states have not followed the example of Ohio, New York, and others. They all agree that slavery there is a curse to the country, and an injury and loss to the proprietors. I have seen myself enough both here and in the west Indies to be quite convinced of the fact, and it is the best argument that can be urged against the continuance of slavery in our own colonies. Continued our voyage at 12. The river is no longer pent in by the Mountains, the land on both sides being flat, and apparently rich alluvial soil. Passed at night the Kentucky river, and at 7 this morning arrived at the town of Louisville, situated on the left bank of the river just above the Falls. This place is the 2nd. large depot for the produce of the western and southern countries. The Falls are little more than a gradual descent, covering 2 miles, not navigable except when the river is full and even then dangerous. The government are constructing a large and substantial canal to avoid the impediments, which is not yet compleated. We were unable to get any accommodation at the Inn except in the public room with all the black-guards of the place. We therefore set off with our baggage to the steamboat below the falls, where we took up our quarters. We had nothing to do the whole day, but wander about in the neighborhood which is rather interesting. . . .

The number of steamboats here is almost incredible. I understand there were upwards of 500 on the Mississippi and Ohio alone. Article

all kinds of consumption are cheap in Kentucky and Ohio. Inquired the price of fowls which are one dollar per dozen. . . . The climate through the whole country is fine and healthy in winter, subject however to the ague and billious fevers during the summer. . . .

Nov 12. We were compelled to remain another day, one steamboat not having compleated her loading. Went on board several that were lying below us. The largest called the *Washington* is built like a three storied house, and with every accommodation that could be found in a good hotel. In the principal cabin there were 20 or 30 state rooms fitted up, and the whole arrangement was most excellent. The common boats used on these rivers are built something like an immense coffin, and impelled entirely by the current of the river. . . .

Nov 13. Commenced our journey at 8 this morning. The boat was heavily laden, and having two large barges also full lashed to her sides. Notwithstanding this immense weight we proceeded down the river at the rate of 6 or 7 miles an hour. . . . We began to grow deadly tired of the Ohio, where after the first day or two the same constant uniform scenery offers little to amuse the mind or relieve the *ennui* of long confinement on board a steamboat. Our company was equally disagreeable as those we travelled with from Wheeling. At 7 this Evening our united fleet struck on a sand bank, and although the whole power of the engine was employed to force her off we made so little progress, that it was determined to wait patiently until morning. This delay was doubly annoying as we were too far from the shore even to take a stroll in the woods. Amongst our party was a French jugglar who attempted to amuse the company with his slight of hand. We were all however in such bad humor that we gave him little encouragement.

Nov 14. The vessel still fast aground, and no alternative but to take out her cargo. This occupied us till 12 when we were once more afloat; from some stupidity however of the pilot, we were again ashore and remained so until 3. The river is much wider here than above the falls; but the water so low at this season of the year, that we were constantly sounding in 5 or 6 feet water. . . .

Nov 15. Began our journey this morning favorably at 6 o'clock. A frost last night & quite cold. Established an excellent quarter-deck on one of the Barges, where Eden and myself walked for 2 hours before breakfast. . . . The river here is nearly a mile in width. We passed several small islands well wooded which give considerable relief to the view. There is however so little of the picturesque; or rather the scenery is on so large a scale, that Eden (who is a tolerably good sketcher) has not at-

tempted a picture. I employ my leisure hours, which comprise my whole time when I am not in bed, in getting up my Spanish for my Mexican trip. . . . This is not the country where you can either see or fancy anything to make up an interesting journal.

Nov 16. Started this morning at six with another hard frost. . . . I observed scarcely any signs of population along the banks of the river, which has now become a wide and noble basin of water, with the exception of a few log huts where the settlers find sufficient employment in cutting wood for the steamboats. We anchored at 6 o'clock, and as it was a beautiful moonlight evening all our party went ashore to hunt the Raccoon & Opossum. . . . We had no sport; the whole scene was new and interesting. They drive the Raccoon with dogs into a tree which is cut down and the animal destroyed. Matthews has a song in his caricature on the Americans, beginning with:

"Possum up the gum tree,
Raccoon in the hollow—"

which I did not fully understand until I saw this evening's amusement. . . .

Nov 17. Excessively cold this morning at 6 o'clock when we continued our voyage. Passed the Wabash river, which divides Indiana from the Illinois State. . . . Sailed by some perpendicular lime stone rocks, rising abruptly from the river to the height of 60 feet. They are called here Bluffs. There is a wild fowl peculiar to this country, but more commonly met with at Washington and Baltimore, known by the name of *canoeas back duck*. Their flavor is peculiar, but certainly superior to anything of this description of game in England.

(To be continued.)

MINOR TOPICS

A WASHINGTON RELIC

The recent number of "The Magazine of American History" devoted to Washington, serves to bring up another incident in his career which, though known in a general way, has a detail which is new to most students of history.

On the occasion of his visit to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1789, he called among other places at the residence of Madam Lear, the mother of his private secretary. Before his call he sent Madam Lear a note requesting that he might see all the children.* The occasion was a gala one in every sense of the word, and every attention due the honored Father of our Country was shown to him. The good Madam Lear, after the return of Washington, received from Martha Washington three china ornaments "for the children." They were taken from Washington's own mantel, and represented respectively a bird on a branch of a tree, a peasant with a bouquet of flowers, and a girl with flowers. For many years these remained in the possession of Madam Lear and her family. They were destined to be separated, however. The bird on the branch of a tree was presented by Madam Lear to Mrs. Edward Cutts, of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, who was one of her intimate friends and between whom visits were regularly and often exchanged. The bird was then in excellent condition, without a crack in any part. The gift was duly appreciated by the recipient and carefully guarded. Threescore years and ten have elapsed since it went into the hands of its third owner. During that time it remained thirty years or more in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, an object of curiosity and delight to both young and old. In 1833 when Mrs. Edward Cutts removed to the central part of the state of Vermont, with her children and grandchildren, the bird was still cherished and followed the family. But forty-five years have since passed, and the china is sadly nicked and marred since the removal to Vermont. The spreading branch is gone, and only the bird on a tree stump remains to show its former glory. From Mrs. Edward Cutts it descended to the family of that lady's only son, the late Hon. Hampden Cutts, and at present is in the home of the writer, the grandson of Hon. Hampden Cutts.

As a specimen of work in china of an early day it is unique, and even in its present condition reveals considerable of the original shape and figure. Trifling in its intrinsic value, it has from association an unusual interest, especially as it is difficult to tell its exact age and earliest associations. The mere fact of its having been in Washington's possession gives it great interest, but, when we double or treble that, as one may by the men and things clustering about it in succeeding generations, it has no common value that man may estimate.

CECIL HAMPDEN CUTTS HOWARD

* Brewster's "Rambles about Portsmouth," 1st Series, p. 266.

THE MILITIA OF NEW JERSEY IN THE REVOLUTION

In his interesting sketch of "Washington as an Angler," Dr. George H. Moore mentions General Philemon Dickinson as of the "New Jersey Line." On the contrary, this distinguished officer's command was confined throughout the Revolutionary struggle to that of the yeomen of New Jersey, and in them he had a force unique in the history of warfare. Far be it from me to decry the inestimable services of the men of the "Continental Line"—their bones lie under the sods of too many well-fought battle-fields. But the New Jersey militiamen stand as distinct figures on the Revolutionary canvas, and their praises cannot be too often or too loudly sung. The remembrance of the self-sacrifice with which they exerted themselves in behalf of freedom and independence is a heritage dearly prized by their descendants, who now enjoy all the blessings that flow from their valuable services. It must be acknowledged that for a short sixty days, or may be forty, at the close of the year 1776, they faltered in their faith, and, discouraged by the fearful adversities of the hour, many were inclined to abandon the cause and seek protection for their homes and families from a victorious enemy. But it was a temporary disaffection. They soon learned to detest the promises of the invader, and angered by the outrageous injuries visited on them by the British, and stung perhaps with remorse at having even for a short time lost confidence in the cause of the colonies, they again resumed their arms. Henceforth the militia of the Jerseys stood pre-eminent among the defenders of the liberties of the people. As was written at the time by one who, though not a resident of the state, was a witness of and a participant in their glorious achievements, "they hovered around the enemy and harassed him beyond his stationary guards; the aged watched, explored, designed—the youth, alert, courageous, and ever ready for the onset, planted a hedge of pickets in General Washington's front to abate his painful solitudes, to conceal his nakedness, and support the Revolution, during a period in which a second army was totally disbanded, and a third levied under the eyes of a British commander." On this head we also have the testimony of Washington. In a letter written to the Pennsylvania legislature in October, 1777, he writes that the exertions of the New Jersey militia "had kept the enemy out of her limits, except now and then a hasty descent, without a Continental regiment. Besides doing this she has sent, and is now sending reinforcements to this and the Northern army."

Tolstoi claims that the real problem of the science of war is to ascertain and formulate the value of the spirit of the men, and their willingness and eagerness to fight. The Russian author is right. Could this always be done, it would often be found that large armies, thorough equipment, and perfection of discipline do not invariably carry with them assurances of successful campaigns. Greater than these—greater than the genius of generals—is that element of personal spirit pervading contending forces. Our own Revolutionary contest is an excellent exemplification of this fact. The English soldiers had but little enthusiasm for the work they were =

called upon to do—the subsidiary troops, none at all. The Americans, on the contrary—and this was especially true of the Jersey militia—animated by a spirit that had the force of a religion, were ever ready and willing to meet the enemy,—ever ready to dog their heels, harass their flanks, and fall upon their outposts. For liberty and their native land they were ever eager to fight in battalions or in small parties, as guerillas or as individuals. British soldiers, however well disciplined, were no match for American citizens who were fighting to avenge burned homes, ravaged families, and an invaded soil.

ANDREW D. MELICK, JR.

HARMONY OF HISTORY, DIESKAU

Every department of literature has its "variorum notæ," and the memorials of Baron Dieskau furnish a case in point. In May, 1755, a new administration for Canada was sent out from France, M. de Vaudreuil governor, M. Dieskau commander of the French troops, and M. Rostaing second in command, who was killed on the Alcide when captured June 8, by the English.*

Dieskau in August made a campaign against the English forts near Lake George, and was defeated in battle September 8, wounded four times, and made a prisoner by Sir Wm. Johnson. The consequences to him were very serious, as presented in the following records :

"Dieskau was defeated & killed." †

"The Baron Dieskau was severely wounded & afterwards a soldier shot him." ‡

"Johnson & Lyman repelled the French & mortally wounded Dieskau." §

"Dieskau was taken prisoner and died in England of his wounds." ||

"Dieskau was carried a prisoner to the American camp, but ultimately died of his wounds," ¶ and the writer adds, p. 270, "the campaign in which Dieskau was defeated & slain."

And another distinguished author writes "he was mortally wounded." **

Per contra one of his military companions gives a very different and perhaps not friendly version of the affair. He says: "Dieskau was taken to New York where he was healed of his two wounds by a good English surgeon. He was long under treatment & they sent him in the winter to France." "The Court to reward this man sent him to Canada in the following campaign as Commissary of War. On his return to France his accusations gained him more favors from the Court," ††—all of which, except his going to New York and that *two of his* wounds

* Pouchot, "Mission," II., p. 29.

† "A History of the American People," A. Gilman, p. 188.

‡ "A Brief History of the Un. States," p. 36.

§ Parsons' "Life of Sir Wm. Pepperrell," p. 280.

¶ Ellis H. Roberts' "New York," p. 233.

¶ W. Irving, "Life of Washington," II., p. 243.

** Bancroft, "Hist. Un. States," V. 2, p. 435.

†† Pouchot, II., pp. 50, 51.

were healed, is according to Dieskau's own relation incorrect and not noticed by Hough, the translator of Pouchot's "Memoir." According to his letters he was to go from the English camp to Orange (Albany) September 16,* and to New York October 13,† which he left March 1756 and after a three weeks' voyage arrived at Falmouth, England, April 7. Being advised to drink the Bath waters he must go by sea to London as he cannot bear a carriage.‡ He wrote from Bath August 5, to Marshal de Belle Isle, the new minister of war, a mournful letter depicting his sad condition. Sick and without resources except 100 guineas received from Lord Barrington, his draft for the payment of which on the Secretary of the Marine was sent back protested, abandoned by the court . . ., with repeated offers to return to France on his parole but cannot return without the Minister's permission.§ "He was not exchanged till the Peace of 1763."||

In the "Paris Documents" succeeding I find no farther account of his exile in England or of his life after his return to France. Diderot makes frequent mention in his letters in 1760 of visits and conversations with Dieskau, recites various incidents in his military service under Marshal Saxe and in Canada, and his painful wounds and disabilities "under which he *lives, if you call that living.*"¶

The following epitaph closes the career of suffering of this unfortunate officer. "Baron Dieskau died from the effects of his wounds received at Lake George (September 8, 1755) on the 8th of September, 1767, at Turenne in France" **— just twelve years after the battle, and this explains the idea of authors of "a mortal wound."

Confused statements are made as to his successor. One says, "the French command fell to *Montcalm* after the death of Dieskau."†† Another that "after the death of Baron Dieskau the preceding year *Montcalm* took command of the Canadian forces."‡‡

Instead "M. de *Montreuil* (not *calm*) aid major general with the brevet of lieutenant-general was left in command."§§ He received orders at once from Dieskau on the field to take the command, and his service and dispatches home and all contemporaneous authorities agree in this.

Montcalm was appointed chief in command *the next year* and arrived at Quebec May 13, 1756,||| having Chevalier de Levis 1st and Chevalier Bourlamaque 2d in rank. Montreuil served under De Levis with credit to the end of the war.

OLIVER P. HUBBARD

NEW YORK, FEB. 28.

* Doc. Col. Hist., N. Y., V. X., 318.

† Ib. 535. ‡ Ib. 537. § Ib. 806. || Ib. 340.

¶ Diderot, Vol. 19, "Letters," Paris, 1760.

** Stone's "Life of Sir Wm. Johnson," 2, p. 290.

†† Gilman's History, p. 188.

‡‡ Life of Pepperrell, p. 290.

§§ Pouchot, V. 1, p. 51.

||| His letter to Count Argenson, Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y., V. X., p. 399.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON'S NEW COAT

Unpublished letter of Governor George Clinton, in possession of W. E. Benjamin

Pokeepsie, 6th 1783.

Dear Taylor

I send you by the Bearer 2½ yds. superfine Fashionable Cloath, Lining, Silk, & Twist, Buttons. I am not certain I can get to suit, if I can they shall be sent. Yours would not answer and I have disposed of them to the troops. Buttons of the cloath will be best if you can have them made and a little embroidered. The colour I beg leave to inform you is not my fancy but on council called upon the occasion consisting of Ducky, and Ducky's Husband, Mrs Clinton, Colonel and Barron Benson, who taking all Circumstances into due consideration, it was determined (Mrs Clinton only dissenting and she not so positive as to insist on her protest being entered) that the present was the most genteel and fashionable, and therefore the most proper for Colonel Taylor. This cloath is certainly of good quality, and I should add a half yard which makes it sufficient for a coat and vest, which I hope will be agreeable. I begg you will not mention a word of the difference in the quantity. What you spend perfectly suits me. My best respects to Mrs Taylor, &c.

Report this morning says that Colonel Scammel has flogged De Lancey and captured 200 or 300 persons ; his loss 40 or 50 killed and wounded.

Yours sincerely

Geo Clinton

Mrs Clinton since writing the within insists on my purchasing a coat of the same—not that she has changed her opinion of the colour but that she might have the honor of seeing her Husband dressed in the same cloath with the Colonel, and she shall be gratified.

Unpublished Letter from Lieutenant-Governor Pierre Van Cortlandt

From the Van Cortlandt Papers, through the courtesy of Mrs. Pierre Van Cortlandt

May 27th 1776

My Philip

I have Rec^d 2 Letters, one of the 10th the other of the 16th of May, have sent r Keys by M^{rs} Van Vleck Kipp to be left at Coll. Renselaer's. The *Petiager* gone up again, suppose the last trip with stores, &c. We are here all well, to hear from you as opportunity offers. D^r Franklin Lodged here Saturday

Night last. Well satisfied. Lent him a horse to go the next stage. Must refer you for news to the Papers, Saw Doc^r Haviland at John Mandevills to meet you, agreeable to your letter, I could then tell him nothing more than that I expected you. It's likely I shall go to Congress this week, if I should have any Particulars to Request, John Morin Scott is a proper person, he is constantly There. We all join in Love.

Your Loving Father
Pierre Van Cortlandt

GEN'L JEFFRY AMHERST'S ORDERS

Written by Ensign Levi Taylor of Norwalk, Connecticut, in 1759

[Contributed by James E. Coley]

Crown Point,
Nov. 9th 1759.

A "feu d' joi" to be fired to-morrow, for the king's birth-day, and for ye very good success that has pleased God to grant to his Majesty's arms and fleets during ye course of this present year.

As ye season is so far advanced that it admits of no delay in regaining the fortress for ye garrison that ye army may go into winter quarters, ye men are to work to-morrow as usual, but are to leave off at three o'clock :

Ye grenadiers of ye army are to be under arms at 10 o'clock. Col. Haviland will receive his orders from ye General. When ye enemy gives fire, the line is to turn out instantly under arms upon the left of Gage's—Whiting on the left of Wooster's, & Ruggles 21 Battalion—their right to Whiting's left, & ye grenadiers will close in towards ye right or ye left of ye Light Infantry, to make room for ye back corps. Begin soon after gun is fired. Gage's Light Infantry is to fire 7 guns, followed by ye same number of ye Light Infantries' Regiment and their fort ; & then ye Grenadier's fort. In ye like manner ye corps then fire a volley, each beginning By ye Royals & following Late, Brideaux, Innis, Skillings. Regulars by Montgomery's, Late, Forbes, Schyler, Fitch, Babcock, Gage's, Wooster's, Whiting's, Ruggles' 21 Battalion grenadiers.

Right fortress then to fire 21 guns at ye left gun, all of ye Reg'ts to make ready and fire a running fire from right to left, beginning on ye right hand of ye Regulars, and ending on ye left of Light Regiments. Ye pack is then to fire 21 guns, after which a signal gun will be fired from ye fortress which is for ye whole line to make ready and to present ; and on ye second gun from ye fortress, ye whole will fire a general fire in a volley, then give three hussas. Ye regiments then to return into their camp, and rum, with two barrels of beer to each corps before mentioned (ye Artillery & Rangers,) that each man in the army may drink the King's health, ye only after Rangers & Guards are not to fire.

NOTES

THE FEDERAL CHEESE OF 1802—In the *Life of Rev. Manasseh Cutler*, recently published, the following extract from his diary appears: "Jan. 1, 1802, Friday. Although the President has no levees, a number of Federalists agreed to go from the Capitol in coaches to the President's house, and wait upon him, with the compliments of the season. We were received with politeness, entertained with cake and wine. The mammoth cheese having been presented this morning, the President invited us to go, as he expressed it, 'To the Mammoth room, and see the Mammoth cheese.' There we viewed this monument of human weakness as long as we pleased, then returned." In a foot note is the following explanation: "When Jefferson was chosen President, Elder John Leland [a Baptist clergyman from Cheshire, Massachusetts,] proposed that his flock should celebrate the victory by making for the new chief magistrate the biggest cheese the world had ever seen. Every man and woman who owned a cow was to give for this cheese all the milk yielded on a certain day—only no *Federal cow* must contribute a drop. A huge cider press was fitted up to make it in, and on the appointed day the whole country turned out with pails and tubs of curd, the girls and women in their best gowns and ribbons, and the men in their Sunday coats and clean shirt collars. The cheese was put to press with prayer, and hymn-singing and great solemnity. When it was well dried it weighed 1600 pounds. It was placed on a sleigh, and Elder John Leland drove with it all the way to Washington.

It was a journey of three weeks. All the country had heard of the big cheese, and came out to look at it as the Elder drove along."

CENTENNIAL WORK IN OHIO—The Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, at Columbus, has prepared a "Program of Exercises for Centennial Day, April 7, 1888," for "Use in All the Schools of Ohio." It contains appropriate selections of prose and poetry to be committed by pupils for recitation, concert exercises of readings, subjects for essays, lists of books for reading, consultation, etc., musical selections, etc., arranged so that any ordinary school can, by using it, hold a pleasant, entertaining and instructive exercise, commemorative of the day when the Northwest Territory, as well as Ohio, was settled by Americans. It is expected to make April 7th of each year, to the people of Ohio and the Northwest, what Plymouth Day is to Massachusetts and to New England. The question is pertinently asked, "What can be more appropriate and instructive than an exercise in all the schools—county, village, town and city—than a Centennial Day in which all the children can participate and be not only entertained but instructed?"

ENCOURAGEMENTS TO HIGH CULTURE—In his inaugural address a few months since, as president of Lake Forest University, the Rev. Dr. William C. Roberts, in speaking of the proper encouragement of high scholarship in the American University, called attention to the fact that "it had been found neces-

sary in every age and country, to offer something in the way of inducement to study." He said, "The most complete system of prizes is that in vogue in Germany. Some may object to them on the ground that the first scholars, according to popular belief, do not turn out in the end as well as those who did not distinguish themselves in college. Whilst this may be true of an individual here and there, it cannot be laid down as an established fact. A large number of well-known names of our own countrymen might be mentioned who distinguished themselves first in the class-room. It is safe to say that the majority of our scholars, ministers, statesmen, physicians and authors who have become famous in their respective spheres, were men of marked and acknowledged ability in college. This is equally true of our cousins across the sea. Lord Macaulay tells us that there never was a fact proved by a larger mass of evidence or a more unvaried experience than this: that men who distinguish themselves in their youth above their contemporaries almost always keep to the end of their lives the start which they have gained. Take the Oxford calendar and compare the list of first-class men with an equal number in the third class. 'Is not our history,' he

asks, 'full of instances which prove this fact? Look at the Church or the Bar. Look at Parliament from the time that parliamentary government began in this country—from the days of Montague and St. John to those of Canning and Robert Peel. Look to India. The ablest man who ever governed India was Warren Hastings; was he not in the front rank at Westminster? The general rule is, beyond all doubt, that the men who were first in the competition of the schools, have been first in the competition of the world.' "

BLINDLY WRITTEN SIGNATURES—It may be the proper thing for bank presidents, cashiers and congressmen to scrawl their names in the hen-track fashion, but men who write for a living read enough writing to know better than to puzzle correspondents with blindly written signatures. If a man is constitutionally unable to write his name and address plainly, he should use letter paper with a printed heading containing the desirable information. Bad writers often forget that while a dubious word in the middle of a sentence may be deciphered with the help of its neighbors, nothing goes with the signature on which to base even so much as a surmise.—*The Writer*.

QUERIES

VIRGINIA STATE NAVY—Where can records or works be found which relate to the "Virginia State Navy" in the War of the Revolution, and of the troops of that state at the same period?

W. H.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

CHURCH WORSHIP—Editor *Magazine of American History*: Will you or some of your readers inform me in what church in Europe Roman Catholic and Protestant services are held at the same time?

M. B. C.

RICHMOND, VA.

REPLIES

THE MOUND BUILDERS [xix, 260]—To definitely answer the inquiry, Who were they? would be to settle a heretofore undetermined question. The most enlightened information we have on the subject tends toward the conclusion that they were a horticultural people. They excelled in the working of metals, the making of pottery, and in the finish of their stone implements. Under this title are grouped the unknown tribes who raised the great embankments and earth-structures from which they derived the name Mound Builders. They had entirely disappeared at the time the first European landed on this Continent.

The mystery of their origin, their habits, manners and customs are left entirely to such deductions as can justly be made from the remains of their earth-structures, their graves, fabrics, implements and pottery. Imperfect as these are, they have enabled the archæologist to weave a consistent and logical fabric concerning the origin of the people. They can safely be classed among the Village Indians, and in the migration of the Village Indians from the valley of the Rio Grande or the San Juan they spread as far northward as the valley of the Ohio. In the Scioto Valley, in Ohio, the remains of seven villages of the Mound Builders were found within an area of twelve miles; and Professor O. C. Marsh, in the comparison of Indian skulls made by him, was greatly impressed with the similarity between those of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and of the Mound Builders. The coincidence was particularly striking, as the skulls of the Mound Builders are very peculiar. The

now generally accepted theory is that their immediate anterior home was New Mexico. The embankments were undoubtedly the site of their dwellings; but for what purpose they built such vast earth-structures is a question yet unanswered by any positive evidence, although many conjectural explanations have been satisfactorily given.

Lewis H. Morgan in a most valuable monograph on the subject, advanced a conjectural explanation of the objects and uses of the embankments, placing its acceptance on the ground of inherent probability. "It will be founded," he says, "on the assumption that the Mound Builders were horticultural village Indians, who had emigrated from beyond the Mississippi; that as such they had been accustomed to live in houses of adobe bricks, like those found in New Mexico; that they had become habituated to living upon their roof terraces or elevated platforms, and in large households; and that their houses were in the nature of fortresses, in consequence of the insecurity in which they lived. Further than this, that before they emigrated to the valley of the Ohio they were accustomed to snow, and to a moderate degree of winter cold; wore skin garments, and possibly woven mantles of cotton, as the Cibolans of New Mexico did at the time of the Coronado's expedition. The food of the New Mexicans, at this early time consisted of maize, beans, and squashes, and a limited amount of game, which was doubtless the food of the Mound Builders."

CLIFFORD A. H. BARTLETT

THE MOUND-BUILDERS [xix, 260]—These people seem to have been a very different race of people from the North American Indians. It is thought by some that the Aztecs, found in Mexico by Cortez, and the ancient Peruvians, whose empire was destroyed by Pizarro, may have been remnants of the Mound-Builders, who were driven south by invading hordes from the other continent across Behring's Strait. Of the mounds, or tumuli, it is said that ten thousand are found in the State of Ohio alone. Some of these have evidently been built as mausoleums, others for defense, still others as altars on which to offer sacrifice.

There is one mound near Newark, Ohio, that is a mile in circumference—a perfect circle—and some twenty feet high. It is large enough to accommodate the county fair of the Agricultural Society; and trees of such magnitude have grown upon it as to lead to the belief that it was built before the time of Columbus.

A. B. C.

LANGUAGE—[xviii, 539; xix, 85]—"What king could not speak the language of the people over whom he ruled?" is a query that may find an answer in Prescott's *Philip the Second*.

The historian says that Philip, a Spaniard, addressed the States-General through the mouth of the Bishop of Arras, being unacquainted with the language of the people of the Netherlands.

J. F. TOWELL

LOS ANGELES, CAL.

MATCHCOAT—*Editor of Magazine of American History*: Some time ago a discussion was started concerning the meaning of the word "matchcoat," frequently used in colonial days.

The following paragraph from the New York Council Minutes of November 12, 1700 (Vol. VIII., p. 183), will help to settle the question:

"Ordered that six Watchcoats with Capouches be provided by Coll^o Cortlandt for the Souldiers to keep them warm in the winter when they are on the Centry."

It seems evident, that Matchcoat is only a misspelling of Watchcoat.

FERNOW

STATE LIBRARY, ALBANY, N. Y.

SIR HENRY WOTTON—[xix, 261]—In reference to the lines by Sir Henry Wotton, printed in the March issue, the name of the poet was unhappily misprinted *Walton*. It should have been as above.

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At a stated meeting of the society held on the evening of the 6th inst., the president, Hon. John A. King occupied the chair. Mr. Edward F. De Lancey, on behalf of the Executive Committee, reported in answer to a communication from the committee charged with the erection of a national monument to Lafayette, that the statues of Rochambeau, Du Portail, d'Estaing and De Grasse be recommended to surround the principal figure. It was announced that since the last meeting, 171 books, 37 pamphlets, 17 maps, and 2 manuscripts had been added to the collection. Mr. Nicholas Fish was elected to represent the society at the centennial celebration of Marietta, Ohio. The paper of the evening by Mr. R. S. Guernsey, entitled, "The History of the City of New York in the War of 1812," was read by the librarian, Mr. Isham. The essay abounded in graphic descriptions of scenes in the city receptions, public dinners, parades, and the obsequies of Lawrence and Ludlow, concluding with the system of fortification and picturing the universal joy on the reception of the news of peace. Major Gardiner, on moving a vote of thanks, added some interesting anecdotes. Dr. Moore, in behalf of the Executive Committee, called the attention of the society to the establishment by Joseph F. Loubat, LL.D., of a triennial prize of 3,000 francs to be awarded by the French Institute for the best work on American History, Geography, Archæology, Ethnology, Languages or Numismatics, on condition that copies of the work be sent to the

society and to Columbia College. A suitable resolution was adopted expressing the society's appreciation of this timely benevolence on the part of a member in the promotion of American history and literature. The society then adjourned.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—On the evening of March 6, President William Gammell in the chair, Mr. James Phinney Baxter, of Portland, Maine, read an exhaustive and interesting paper before this society on the early voyages made to the continent of America. Mr. Baxter is very well-known through his valuable contributions to history, and also through his late generous gift of \$100,000 to the Maine Historical Society, to be used in conjunction with the Portland Public Library, for a new building. He said the history of this country previous to its discovery by Europeans was veiled in mystery. Athanasius Kircher has given the Egyptians the credit of colonizing it; Edward Breevewood contends that the Tartars are entitled to that credit; Marc Les-carbot strives to show that the Canaanites, driven out by Joshua, emigrated hither; that Noah was a native of this country, and was borne back to his ancestral home by the flood. The first serious attempt to trace a discoverer of America is made by De Guignes, who, thinks the Chinese discovered the continent in the seventh century. Mr. Baxter described the wonderful mounds at Marietta, Ohio, in the Muskingum valley, where St. Louis now stands, at Isle Royal, and on the northern shores of

Lake Superior. A writer says the mound-builders are among the most wonderful people who ever lived in America. Their works are compared with those of the Pelasgi in Greece and Italy. Not only are vessels, implements and utensils but textile fabrics also found in these ancient mounds. He took note also of another claim, viz., that of the Scandinavian occupation of America, and gave an account of the writings of the Sagas. The Sagamen were the literati of their time. It was so difficult, however, to obtain dried skins, etc., upon which to write that not much in this way was effected before the thirteenth century. The Scandinavians were not in the habit of building mounds, and it is hardly to be supposed that Scandinavian earthworks would survive the inroads of the centuries. But while there was not much doubt that the Scandinavian claim to the pre-occupation of the American continent was a valid one, Mr. Baxter thought the credit practically of the discovery of America belonged to Columbus, and there was no desire to rob Columbus of the honor; previous discoveries of America were not made at a time when the world was ready to receive and benefit by them.

NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At its annual meeting, the president, Rev. Dr. Hamill, made some very interesting statements concerning the origin and work of this society. It was the result, he said, of the meeting of a company of gentlemen at Newark in January, 1845. Of the seventeen original officers, the only surviving one is Justice Bradley, of the United States Supreme Court. The

society has done much to develop and preserve in a permanent form the history of New Jersey, which may be called with especial propriety the battle-ground of the American Revolution. Every acre of the central belt from the Delaware to the Hudson is sacred to the cause of freedom. At the afternoon session Judge Ricord read a paper by Andrew D. Mellick, Jr., of Plainfield, on "The Hessians in New Jersey—Just a Little in Their Favor." The object of the paper was to show that great injustice was done the Hessians by the current traditions concerning their cruelties. Attention was called to the fact that their sympathies were often with the Americans, whom they were forced against their will to fight, and numerous instances were given of kind treatment and gentlemanly behavior on the part of both officers and men.

Dr. Pennington related an incident which corroborated the tenor of the paper, to the effect that the Hessians were a much-abused people. General Rusling argued that the verdict of their contemporaries was more probably correct, and said that in his judgment the "Hessians remained Hessians still."

THE TENNESSEE HISTORICAL SOCIETY met on the 13th December at their handsome apartments in the Watkins Institute, at Nashville, Hon. John M. Lea presiding, to listen to a very able and interesting paper by General G. P. Thuston, a gentleman of great culture and general reading, who has given the subject of the early inhabitants of Tennessee careful and discriminating study for many years. Nothing that has been written

subject has escaped his attention. He says that no city in America is more favored centre for anti-research than Nashville, which is surrounded by monuments and remains of ancient life.

NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its regular monthly meeting at 64 Madison Street on Friday evening, March 9, 1884. President, Gen. James Grant Wilson, occupied the chair, and a large number of members and invited guests were present to listen to an address by Mr. Boudinot Servoss on "The Life and Times of John Pintard." Mr. Pintard, a descendant of Antoine Pintard, a Huguenot who was driven from France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, came to New York City in 1759, bringing large wealth which he lost through his endeavors to assist in restoring the financial credit of the country after the close of the Revolution. He set himself resolutely at work to retrieve his fallen fortunes, and by his judgment and force of character became one of the prominent men of his day. He was an intimate friend of Witt Clinton, and the copious extracts from his diary which Mr. Servoss drew much light upon Clinton's personal and social characteristics. Mr.

Pintard had dealings with many famous men, and was concerned more or less directly in affairs of importance, such as the acquisition of Louisiana, and the opening of the great West. Mr. Pintard said of President Jefferson's inaugural address: "I have little doubt in my mind that this speech will conciliate all parties and allay the general fermentation which attended the election. It was a matter of infinite regret to me to observe the trifling conduct, to say no worse, of the House of Representatives in deciding its choice of a President. Our national dignity was lowered in the eyes of foreigners. Those of my countrymen who are less attached to men than principles must recognize that the contest is decided. The Federalists may finally be satisfied with the election of Mr. Jefferson, as the opposition of their antagonists to the measures of government must now subside. The citizens of the United States will be convinced that under whatever administration, government must be supported, taxes must exist, and discontent will prevail."

Mr. Pintard was much interested in literary and historical studies, and was one of the founders of the New York Historical Society. He died in 1845, at the age of 86.

Mr. Servoss' paper was received with attentive interest, and at its conclusion he was tendered the thanks of the society.

HISTORIC AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

The truthful record of New York's great blizzard of March 12, 1888, will read like a magnificent fable in the years to come. Nothing could be more picturesque, thrilling, and seemingly improbable than the actual experience which has befallen the chief city on this continent. A snowstorm, coming without preamble or note of warning, took possession of every street and avenue, sweeping them clear of traffic, stopping the horse cars, blockading the elevated roads, crippling every means of transportation from one part of Manhattan Island to the other, closing the post-office, the exchanges, the banks, and the great business houses; breaking the telegraph and telephone wires, piling into drifts mountain high in all manner of inconvenient places, and pelting and blinding and choking courageous pedestrians with its sharp-edged particles of powdered ice.

The broad prairies of the far West may no longer boast of their superiority over the Atlantic coast in the way of a genuine, overwhelming winter blizzard. Even Chicago cannot excel the metropolis in the magnitude of her combination of adverse elements on special occasions—always excepting fires; nor in the success of a tempest of wind, snow and ice to cut off all communication with an outside world. The trains on all the railroads, from the north, south, east and west, failed to reach New York City. There were no mails, no produce, no meat, no milk, no money, no people pouring into the great channels of distribution and thoroughfares. The blizzard captured all the cars within thirty miles of New York City.

The railroad president Chauncey M. Depew was reported to have said that "the New York blizzard was even tougher than an after-dinner speech." The Grand Central station was completely isolated; there were no incoming or outgoing trains, and the telegraph wires were of no avail. The storm had everything its own way. President Depew and Superintendent Toucey made various efforts during the first memorable day of the storm to reach and relieve the forty or fifty trains held captive by the enemy; they sent one engine after another to the north, but the track was so successfully barricaded with "beautiful snow" that no headway could be made and each returned with wilted colors. The general surrender of the city of New York to the merciless attack of an unheralded foe was complete. Business in all branches stood still, totally suspended, and the consequent losses will amount to many millions.

"Those who are not acquainted with the past have a very shallow knowledge of the present," was the trite remark of a distinguished lecturer on a recent occasion. "History affords, without artificial preparation, an insight into human affairs, characters, aspirations, and destinies, particularly in their combinations, as they appear in the affairs of the state. It gives knowledge of man, creates ethical judgment, promotes political education. A study of history fits our children for a place in the world better than any 'bread-and-butter study' will," are the wise words of L. R. Klemm, Ph.D., in his "Educational Topics of the Day."

The history of our country seems to be coming to the front on every side. If the importance of its study could be properly appreciated by teachers, not only in our colleges and high schools, but in every institution great and small throughout the length and breadth of the land, there would be a greatly improved outlook for the rising generation. History is by no means something which any amateur may read up to-day, and teach to-morrow. The teacher must first be taught. "The study of history should begin early," says Professor Klemm: "The rising generation must get historical knowledge, if not for other reasons, certainly for the purpose of preserving the Republic, and perpetuating its free institutions. The future can be read between the lines of the record of the past. History unfolds before our eyes a picture of what past generations thought, aspired to, and accomplished. History shows us our own errors: and these are all the more readily seen, since it offers us a standard of measurement in the errors of other nations. . . . People who learn no other history than that of their own country, lose the best and most significant part of history. . . . The boy who claimed that Washington was the first man, upon being reminded of Adam, said, 'Oh, well, if you count foreigners in.'—That boy is not an imaginary creation; we may find him in all classes of society, and in every part of the Union."

When the late Joseph R. Bodwell was elected governor of Maine, he had resided in the state nearly forty years, and was more familiar than almost any other man with her great material interests. He was, furthermore, acquainted with the responsible duties attached to his new and important office. Maine never had a more able, conscientious and painstaking chief magistrate. The calls upon his time and his energies were incessant. He gave himself scarcely any vacations or periods of rest. He was well born, well bred, eminently well disciplined for public life, a man of taste, broad intelligence, excellent judgment, great executive ability, and abounding with the best qualities of head and heart. His business sagacity had formed the strong foundation for the immense granite works of Hallowell. Agriculture, manufactures, railroads—every enterprise of public importance—had received substantial aid from his hand. His death is deeply mourned by all classes in every part of the great state of Maine, over which he ruled so wisely and so well.

Rev. S. M. Hamill, D.D., President of the New Jersey Historical Society, said in his eloquent address on the occasion of the centennial celebration of the ratification of the Constitution, at New Brunswick: "History is simply a record of facts, men make history and history records the doings of man. 'Tis true that rocks and rills and rivers, lakes and seas, mountains and valleys, town and country, surging ocean and bursting volcanoes, grand cañons and lofty, snow-capped peaks, the wild beasts of the forest, the fowls of the air and the fish of the sea, with all their thrilling incidents, silent though they be, have their part in making up the grand aggregate of history. Yet it is man, active, thinking, reflective and intelligent, that makes history and gives it tone and vitality and character. He finds the raw material and furnishes the warp and woof, and weaves the web of history. Sometimes it may be with axe and pick and shovel, or with plow and sickle and reaper, or by ships that sweep the sea, or trains that rush over the land with lightning speed, by inventive genius or mighty intellect, by bayonet, sword and musketry, and all the dreadful engineering of war, by laying hold of the electric current and with giant hand bringing it under control, and making it tributary to the purposes and enterprises of men, illuminating the great centres of trade, and sending its brilliant rays along the pathway

of commerce, and making near neighbors of men who are separated by half the circuit of the globe. By the peaceful pen man makes his record of what man has done, and sends it down through the rapidly flying course of time from century to century, and from generation to generation, to make its impression on those who follow.

From what man has done successive generations learn what man should do, and what he should leave undone. The centuries past come down to us as great teachers. They spread out their massive tomes for our inspection and benefit, with lessons of wisdom on every page. They abound with valuable instruction. We do well to study and study thoroughly the lessons they give us. History teaches by example. The historian masses his facts, and sometimes to our amazement hurls them into our midst with overwhelming force. Deeds of the past plunging into the present come down upon us like an avalanche, covering all that lies beneath it, or like a tornado tearing up root and branch all that lies before it, or like a huge train on a down grade, smashing to fury what stands in its way, thus breaking up theories and speculations and fanciful schemes, and changing entirely the current of human thought and action.

Men are profoundly interested in history. They feel an honest pride in their own and in that of their ancestors, especially if it be of the right sort.

One incident of New York's great blizzard week will be remembered with pleasure by a host of its citizens of intellectual and social prominence, long after the discomforts of the snow and New York's three days' isolation from the outside world have been forgotten. On March 15, a reception was given at the Madison Square Theatre in honor of Henry Irving, the eminent English actor, by the Goethe Society, whose object as is well known is to study the works of the great German poet. This compliment to Irving was an expression not only of the society's appreciation of his genius, but a graceful acknowledgment of his admirable presentation upon the stage of the most famous of Goethe's poems—the tragedy of "Faust." It is rarely that so intelligent and brilliant an audience grace any public occasion in the metropolis. Every person present was the specially invited guest of the society, a seat having been assigned to each with as much precision as at a stately dinner-party. The pretty theatre was decorated with evergreens and flowers, and on the centre of the first balcony were tastefully draped the entwined flags of the United States and Great Britain. The stage, set as a library, presented a very handsome appearance.

Parke Godwin, the president of the Goethe Society, opened the exercises with an eloquent address. He described the life and works of Goethe and, in referring to the dramatic art, explained the various modes in which it acquires its hold of the general mind by its appropriations of the riches and charms of other arts, and superadding to them riches and charms of its own, and by its appeal to the whole nature of man, his intellect, his emotions, and his senses. "Nothing is more interesting to man than man, and the drama reveals him to himself, in all the varieties of his social conditions." Mr. Godwin further said: "Dramatic art is, like all the other arts, susceptible of perversion and abuse. This gem of purest ray serene may be worked into offensive shapes, as the meaning of a statue sometimes stains the white purity of its material, as brilliant and gorgeous coloring may be used for purposes which provoke and justify the rude remedies of Mr. Comstock—as music, which, if it were not born in heaven, breathes the celestial air, may voice the ribald hilarity of the bacchanal or the dissolute egoism of the voluptuary. All the more important is it, because of this liability to fall, to hold it up to its highest levels. That is

the significance of our meeting here to-day. It is the motive of my interest in the occasion. It seems to me, as it has seemed to our society, that diversions which are irresistible in attractions ought to be made irreproachable in character. Every night, in all our great cities and in nearly all our larger towns, hundreds and thousands of persons, of all classes and of nearly all ages, are drawn to the theatres. Let us hold up the hands of those who are endeavoring to keep the dramatic art to its loftiest standard. We have here to-day a gentleman who has spent the greater part of his life largely in that effort. Gifted with extraordinary abilities which have raised him to the topmost round of his profession as an interpreter of Shakespeare and other plays, and as a manager, he has brought to his aid the good taste of a student. He has brought to the stage the best he could command and none whom he ought not to bring there. For this he has received in his own country the praise and friendship of the most scrupulous minds, and his success in this country is a testimony to the same effect. Goldsmith, in his poem of 'Retaliation,' when he said of Garrick that it was only when off the stage he was acting, he paid a compliment to the actor and gave a fling at the man. Mr. Irving deserved the compliment, but not the fling. For off the stage he is the plain and modest scholar, the frank and unaffected gentleman, and the genial and generous friend, and the qualities which endear him to his private acquaintances add to his professional triumphs." Mr. Godwin closed with an eloquent tribute to the honored guest of the day; and to his great helper, the ever charming, graceful and talented Miss Ellen Terry.

Mr. Irving in his thoughtful, scholarly, and entertaining response before the Goethe Society on this memorable afternoon said: "It is not just to assume either that the public taste is degraded because it does not touch an ideal standard at every point, or that one fixed canon of taste can be applied to the drama, even in cultivated society. The theatre must always be the playground of a variety of sympathies and the arena of all manner of conflicting judgments. Even amongst educated people the standard of taste in theatrical matters is extremely variable. Some are interested in Shakespeare, but only in his comedy: 'Hamlet' bores them, but they are delighted by 'Much Ado About Nothing.' Others care little for what is called the legitimate drama, but prefer lighter forms of entertainment, which to play-goers of a serious cast are purely frivolous. Others, again, have a strong partiality for a certain kind of melodrama: they like to be harrowed by tremendous situations and amused by spectacular effects. Indeed, you may take a man of cultivated mind and discover that his taste for the theatre is extremely primitive. Even genius is sometimes erratic in its appreciation of the stage. Goethe himself had astonishing ideas about Shakespeare. If there was one thing which Shakespeare understood better than any other, it was the law of dramatic effect; yet Goethe thought it necessary to reconstruct 'Romeo and Juliet,' and in 'Wilhelm Meister' the players find it impossible to perform 'Hamlet' without making Horatio son of the King of Norway. When I refreshed my memory of this episode, it occurred to me that a manager who should ever be accused of taking liberties with 'Faust' might console himself with the reflection that they were rather overshadowed by the liberties which Goethe took with Shakespeare. We must consider that the theatre gives a rare stimulus to every sort of mind. Its pictorial effects alone make an artistic education and afford a world of delight to a multitude whose imagination finds little food in their daily lives; it rouses dormant sympathies and makes war on idle prejudices; it presents with vivid force the simplest elements of life to all, and makes real to many some of the highest poetry. It is nothing to the purpose that some phases of the stage which do not correspond exactly to this description should be pointed

out. Broadly speaking what I say is true, and is an estimate of the functions of the theatre which is borne out by the best experience. You will see, therefore, how important it is that an institution which exercises such wide and varied influences should have all its agencies developed to the highest utility.

What is necessary on the stage is a harmony of all its features—a unison of all its refinements. It is not enough to give an individual performance of consummate interest, for, in a double sense, the whole is greater than the part. Let everything have its due proportion; let thoroughness and completeness be the manager's aim; let him never forget that a perfect illusion is his highest achievement."

The closing remarks were by the eminent scholar and orator, George William Curtis, and were gracefully conceived and charmingly uttered. He said: "It is very easy to rise from my chair, but it is not easy to rise to a fitting and adequate expression of our appreciation and admiration of the great services rendered by the great artist of the theatre to the public taste, the public education, the public morals, and the public pleasure. When I recall the various characters and figures that his power affects, and which for an enchanted moment left before our eyes the king, the vicar, the dual man, the haunted man, Shakespeare's immortal bachelor, Shakespeare's melancholy prince, the gay, rollicking, jingling vagabond, and the devil himself, and all these in their proper station, the perfumed palace, the bustling street, the rural home, and even lurid glimpses of the unmentionable place, I recall the spell which has been laid upon us all, and recall that felicitous skill which seizes the poet's fancies and gives them shapes, and gives to airy nothing a local habitation and a name. In every one of your minds his triumphs are renewed. And yet, Mr. President, there is one triumph which we hardly thought could be achieved by any man in this city—the city of Wouter van Twiller, William the Testy, and Diederich Knickerbocker their veracious historian—upon the shores of the Hudson, where still, in the long summer afternoon, we can hear far away the thunder of the games that Rip Van Winkle saw. Here, almost within the very valley where Ichabod Crane fled from the headless horseman and abandoned the fair Katrina to his embrace, our friend has wrought a miracle to us New-Yorkers incredible, investing with a fresh interest and a new thrill the name of Irving.

Ladies and gentlemen, a great artist in a foreign country is an ambassador of peace and good will. I remember a very distinguished gentleman who said of an English minister accredited to this country that he was a very excellent and admirable man, but that he did not represent the England that he knew. Our artist ambassador, happier than his political prototype, does represent the England that we know and those interests of the intellect and of the imagination which bind nations more closely, and about which nations never quarrel as they quarrel about fisheries and territorial boundaries. He comes to us accredited from the England of letters and art, of Shakespeare and the romantic drama, from that in which by a delightful and undisputed home rule and right of genius divine Garrick and Kemble and Kean are kings, and Oldfield, Peg Woffington, and Mrs. Siddons are kings and queens, and I think we have recognized, not by the strawberry mark upon his arm, but by the laurel upon his brow, that he is of the same lineage; while I am sure that he has discovered that to the sparkling sceptre he carries American citizens may be quite as loyal as British subjects, and if during his sojourn among us he has discovered that we Yankees have sometimes a jealousy of England, I doubt not that he has also learned that it is because we are 'so English, you know.'"

BOOK NOTICES

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. By **GEORGE PARK FISHER**, D.D., LL.D., Titus Street Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale College. 8vo, pp. 701. With maps. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1887. New York.

This book is not designed for technical students alone, but for intelligent readers generally. Professor Fisher has brought the most important facts of church history during the past eighteen centuries into the compass of a moderate sized and very readable volume, skillfully avoiding the cataloguing treatment to which condensation on such a broad scale often leads. The flow of the author's narrative is free and easy, as if he had mastered all his facts and marshaled them into their perfect places in a grand system of movement. He has not written from a denominational standpoint, although he writes as a Protestant, nor does he enter into discussions of perplexed and mooted points—where scholars, bigots and sectarians have never ceased disputing with each other.

The scope and division of the vast stretch of time covered by this church history is admirable. "It is not definite quantities of time, but turning points in the course of events, that should determine the dividing lines," says the author; and his pen falls naturally into three principal eras—ancient, mediæval, and modern. The proportion of part to part, of which there is no severer test of the historian's peculiar power and critical judgment, has been achieved with the most satisfactory results. Considerable space is given to the religious denominations of the United States, and to the progress of Christian philanthropy. Professor Fisher says: "It is remarkable that in connection with an increased activity in building up the separate denominations, there has been developed in them, severally, a disposition to enter into closer relations of fraternal sympathy and intercourse with other Christian bodies. Great doctrinal conflicts which raged at a former day, like those of Arminianism and Calvinism, have subsided. Even the standing controversy of Protestantism and the Church of Rome is waged with a better appreciation on either side of that which is deserving of respect in the adverse party, and a juster estimate of the weight to be attached to the points held in common." Professor Fisher's volume reproduces all the essential features of the many church histories of more elaborate design and greater magnitude of detail, and is fully abreast in scholarship. It will be read by multitudes who, because of the shortness of life and its crowded duties, could never find time for the larger works. Its literary merit, its breadth of information, and its historical accuracy, will in-

sure for it a wide and appreciative circulation. A feature of the volume worthy of special note is an Appendix giving a list of the General Councils, and also of all the popes from Gregory I. to Leo XIII. It has also a good Index.

THE UNITED STATES OF YESTERDAY AND OF TO-MORROW. By **WILLIAM BARROWS**, D.D. 12mo, pp. 432. Boston, 1888. Roberts Brothers.

This book, we are told by its author, has been written to answer a variety of questions in relation to the territory between the Alleghanies and the Pacific. Dr. Barrows having spent much of his life in the far West, and carefully studied all the phases of its development, has been frequently solicited for authentic information. He takes a serious view of our national growth, and writes his best passages from the Christian outlook. His chapters on "Pioneering in Education," and "Lynch Law," are among the most informing in the work. As to the "Railway System of the West," he says: "California and Oregon and Washington would have been an impossibility without our Pacific railways. The new West, to thrive, must have the footsteps and voices of the old homestead as next-door neighbors. The social and moral and religious benefits of our flowing together are already happily obvious in a thousand modern ways of union where theology gives place to religion, and living is more than believing. A railroad between Jerusalem and Samaria would be a wonderful aid for the passengers and freight in the great business and commerce of godliness. If there were to be no railroads, it was, on the whole, rather an impertinence in Columbus to discover America."

VOCAL AND ACTION LANGUAGE, CULTURE AND EXPRESSION. By **E. N. KIRBY**, Instructor in Elocution in Harvard University. 12mo, pp. 234. Boston. Lee & Shepard.

Harvard has turned out numerous elocutionists in the course of her prosperous career, not least among whom is the present incumbent of her executive chair, as is evinced each winter by a dozen or more of telling addresses before the alumni associations of her graduates. No doubt the present volume is the outgrowth of the requirements of the University. It is, in fact, the result of a ripe experience in the art of instructing those who knew practically nothing of reading or speaking in public. Oratory as an art is said to be dying out, yet if the volume of speeches be considered, the statement can hardly



THE FORUM,

The New Review.

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These two handsomely printed volumes furnish important data concerning the true history of the early settlement of the Ohio Valley and the Northwest. Dr. Cutler kept a daily record of his personal affairs, beginning in the year 1765, and ending the year of his death, 1823, extracts from which constitute in this work one of the most interesting and useful autobiographies ever given to the public. Dr. Cutler's public services in connection with the great organic law passed by Congress, July 13, 1787, are clearly shown in these stirring pages, together with the reasons why some of its most valuable provisions were inserted, and its main features suddenly and favorably changed. The reader will also discover why and how a system of surveys was organized, after "long and painful deliberation," and systematic and permanent occupation of the Ohio country undertaken in direct connection with the application of the institutions of civil government. The idea of making wild lands a basis of revenue and of public credit was novel. Neither the colonies nor the British government had ever devoted vacant territory to that purpose. Dr. Cutler had to deal with the diverse elements of a new line of landed and territorial policy, bringing into practical use systems that had never been tried. The character of his negotiations with the Congress of 1787 has not hitherto been well understood. Fresh light is thrown upon every phase of it as one turns the leaf and passes from chapter to chapter. "It may be claimed for the Ordinance itself that it is the only instance in human history (with a single exception) where the laws and constitutions have been prepared beforehand, pre-arranged, and projected into a territory prior to its occupation by its future inhabitants. . . . All comers had notice that the organic law of the Northwest was intended to be the basis of a Christian civilization." The twelfth chapter of the first volume is devoted to "the Scioto Purchase," projected by Colonel Wm. Duer, of New York, the history of which reads, in our present prosaic generation, like a veritable romance. Dr. Cutler was a man of varied and scholarly accomplishments, with a keen sense of humor, and he was a racy and charming

writer. In his travels from state to state, in his social relations, as a member of Congress, and in all his experiences as a pioneer in the wilderness, he relates what he did, saw, and thought, in clear-cut, terse and straightforward language; and we are thereby introduced to nearly all the prominent people of the country during the period of his active career. To the student of American history these volumes are invaluable. No work has ever appeared so prolific in information to those who would correctly understand the beginnings of Ohio and her near western neighbors. Aside from this, the journals and descriptions are delightfully readable, and as a source of simple entertainment the general public will find the work more attractive than a romance. It has been very ably edited, and is presented by its publishers in clear, handsome type, on fine paper, and well bound. It is a work no library should miss, and every household in the country would be the better for giving it a warm welcome.

CANADIAN LEAVES. History, Art, Science, Literature, Commerce. A series of new papers read before the Canadian Club of New York. Square 8vo, pp. 289. Pamphlet. New York, 1887. Napoleon Thompson & Co.

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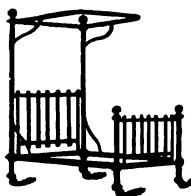
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Insurance and Annuity Account.

	No.	Amount.		No.	Amount.
Policies and Annuities in force, Jan. 1st, 1887	129,937	\$393,800,302 89	Policies and Annuities in force, Jan. 1st, 1888....	140,943	\$427,628,938 51
Risks Assumed.....	22,805	69,457,468 37	Risks Terminated.....	11,289	35,687,758 74
	152,232	\$463,257,771 25		152,232	\$463,257,771 25

Dr.	Revenue Account.	Cr.	
To Balance from last account ...	\$104,719,734 81	By Endowments, Purchased Insurance, Dividends, Annuities and Death Claims	14,128,423 60
" Premiums.....	17,110,301 62	" Commissions, Commutations, Taxes and all other Expenses	3,649,514 49
" Interest, Rents and Premium on Securities Sold.....	6,070,030 84	" Balance to new account.	110,061,718 68
	\$127,839,556 77		\$127,839,556 77

Dr.	Balance Sheet.	Cr.
To Reserve for Policies in force and for risks terminated . \$112,430,006 00		By Bonds Secured by Mortgages on Real Estate \$49,615,269 06
" Premiums received in advance 82,314 38		" United States and other Bonds. 42,489,577 81
" Surplus at four per cent 6,294,441 58		" Real Estate and Loans on Col- laterals 20,150,173 37
		" Cash in Banks and Trust Com- panies at interest 2,619,369 66
		" Interest accrued, Premiums de- ferred and in transit and Sun- dries 2,973,169 98
	\$118,806,851 88	\$118,806,851 88

I have carefully examined the foregoing statement and find the same to be correct.

A. N. WATERHOUSE, Auditor.

From the Surplus above stated a dividend will be apportioned as usual.

Year.	Risks Assumed.	Risks Outstanding.	Surplus.
1884	\$34,681,420	\$351,789,285	\$4,743,771
1885	46,507,139	368,981,441	5,012,634
1886	56,932,719	393,909,303	5,043,508
1887.....	69,457,468.....	427,628,938.....	6,294,449

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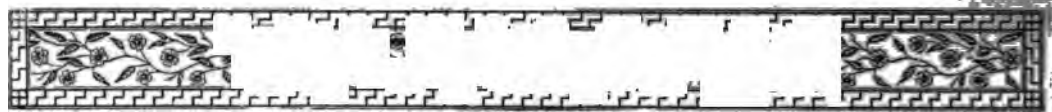
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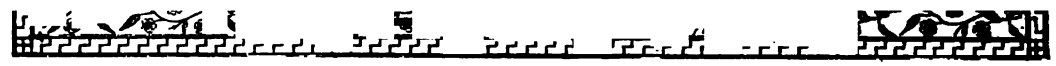
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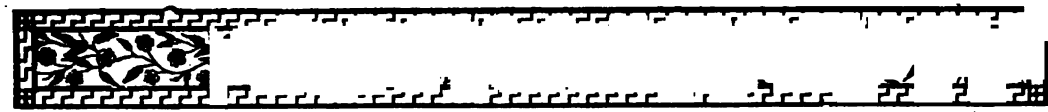
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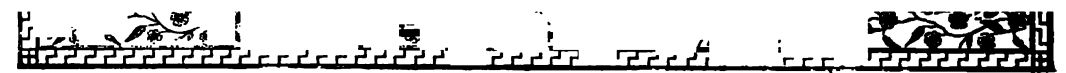
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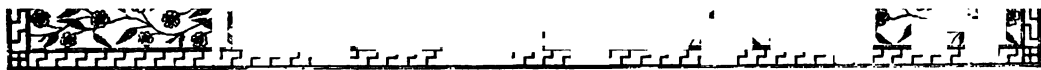
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No. 5

ALFRED SMITH BARNES

HALF A CENTURY AS A SCHOOL-BOOK PUBLISHER

NO period in American history has ever been characterized by greater intellectual restlessness or fruitage than the two decades subsequent to 1825. A mere catalogue of the various books, libraries, clubs, charities, churches, educational institutions, newspapers, inventions, industries and business enterprises which sprang into existence within those years would furnish an instructive lesson. We are all familiar with the story of the long-baffled efforts and final success of Professor Morse in devising mechanical contrivances for conveying messages from point to point by means of electricity. We know how depressing were the original endeavors to bring steam into harness for propelling land-carriages. We recall with something akin to wonder the wholesale terror inspired by the first introduction of gas for lighting houses and streets; and the persistent vigor which, in spite of bitter opposition and in a time of great scarcity of money, brought pure water into the city of New York through a conduit of solid masonry forty-five miles in length, at a cost of upwards of nine millions of dollars. We look backward also to this same remarkable period for the foundation of the great newspaper system of the country, which has become such an engine of thought as well as power.

It was an era of important beginnings. Authorship took a fresh start, art received higher recognition than ever before, exhibitions of pictures and statuary became both lucrative and creditable, while the drama struggled for elevation in keeping with the advance of public taste. "The age is itself dramatic," wrote a prominent critic in 1837. There was an endless amount of groping experimentally in the dark, but the air was exhilarant with material progress and exciting possibilities. Among the most popular themes discussed in all quarters were the value of books as a means of culture, and the cause of common-school education. Far-sighted practical men were acting on the principle that no good citizen could afford to dwell in this world without the privileges of a public library;

and as the population multiplied, the American brain was actively trying to solve the problem of how to provide improved opportunities for the instruction of children.

In New England, more than in any other part of the country, education was the absorbing social topic. Money-making was an after-consideration. Birthright was by no means ignored, but it counted for little unless divested of all suspicion of ignorance. The standard by which men and women were measured was intelligence; and intellectual effort and achievement were the fashion.

The year 1837 will ever be memorable in the annals of America for its great financial perils and disasters sweeping the entire land. Banks closed their doors, enterprises of all descriptions came to a standstill, industries were paralyzed, and the working classes were plunged into a condition of extreme destitution. Partial relief only came with the following year. Yet it was in 1838 that the late Alfred Smith Barnes, at the age of twenty-one, founded the great school-book publishing house that bears his name, and of which he was the head and soul for just half a century. The train of circumstances connected with this event, in view of the condition of the times that gave it birth, will be found singularly interesting. Alfred S. Barnes was a native New Englander, born in New Haven in 1817, and breathed through all his early and maturing years the health-giving, brain-stirring atmosphere that has influenced the subsequent fortunes of so many of our countrymen. His father was of the old Puritan stock, with a back-ground of religious culture extending through many generations; his mother was of French Huguenot descent, her ancestor, who took refuge in America, having been the eminent divine Rev. M. De Luce. Losing his father when ten years of age, the future publisher went to live with an uncle in Hartford. His education was well cared for, and at sixteen he was employed by D. F. Robinson & Co., a Hartford publishing-house, with a salary of thirty dollars a year. In this field he grew rapidly in knowledge, for it furnished opportunities that he was in no sense inclined to waste for learning the business he afterwards followed with such marked success.

A few years rolled on; the bright boy-clerk was on the verge of manhood, when it so happened that he made the acquaintance of Charles Davies, then a professor in Trinity College, Hartford, who being an enthusiast in mathematics was devoting his spare moments to the preparation of a series of arithmetics, algebras, geometries, and kindred works for the use of schools. Young Barnes was at once interested, and presently in animated sympathy with the learned professor in his vigorous determination



THE BROOKLYN HOME OF ALFRED S. BARNES IN CLINTON AVENUE.

tion to produce the best text-books of the kind the world had yet seen. His wonderful clear-sightedness and natural taste for mathematical investigations did more than this, it induced him to offer himself as publisher of the series. The result was the formation of a partnership with Professor Davies for the issue and sale of these as yet unfinished school-books, an experiment almost without precedent in that decade, and one at which many an older if not wiser head would have shaken in such a crisis of affairs. A little office twelve by twenty feet in size was secured in Hartford, where, without cash capital, the business was opened. Book canvassers, like railroads, had not yet appeared to disturb the even tenor of American life, and as the first and most important feature of the venture was to create a market, young Barnes started out in person to introduce Professor Davies' mathematical text-books into the schools. Mrs. Emma Willard then resided in Hartford, and her histories were included for variety in the earliest publications of the new firm, and were canvassed for at the same time. For two years Alfred S. Barnes traveled from town to town and village to village, visiting all the schools and academies within a wide range of surrounding territory. He journeyed by country stages, on horseback, and in private conveyances, as chances offered, and he explained in the most courteous and convincing manner the superior merits of the new method of teaching and learning mathematics over the old. He was a mere stripling, but graceful, refined, unpretentious, and well-informed on every phase of mathematical science, and ready at all times to converse on general topics or play ball with the sons of the taciturn masters, as the case might be. He managed the enterprise so ingeniously that he had no disappointments nor ill luck to chronicle. The productions of Professor Davies were found to be all that he had represented; they were adopted by one institution of learning after another, soon becoming much talked about, then famous wherever the English language was spoken.

In his intercourse with the educators of the day, the youthful publisher naturally became conversant with existing defects in the primitive school-books then in use, and learned the general sentiment as to what ought to be provided for a starving generation. He made educational text-books a practical study. His plans for the future were formed on this basis. In 1840 he removed his business to Philadelphia, adding a wholesale department, in which he commenced handling the publications of other houses. The following spring, as he was returning from a long Western trip, he became quite unexpectedly one of the principal parties in a charming little romance. He had made the journey from Albany to Springfield by stage,



PARLOR IN THE CLINTON AVENUE HOME OF ALFRED S. BARNES.

over that hilly region with its varied scenery—a singular mixture of the wild and the tame, the austere and beautiful—and with a sigh of relief from his excessive weariness found it possible at Springfield to secure passage for Hartford on the little stern-wheeled steamboat *Agawam*. Disposing of his modest baggage he went upon deck for a seat. His eyes almost immediately fell upon a remarkably beautiful young lady, whom he recognized as the daughter of General Timothy Burr of Rochester, formerly a resident of Hartford. He had seen her on a former occasion, and been much disturbed in consequence about the region of his heart ; but the actual acquaintance of the young people dated from this lovely June afternoon as they were borne along over the placid waters of the Connecticut. Miss Harriet E. Burr was on her way to visit an uncle in Hartford, accompanied by her sister. The young publisher found it convenient to tarry in that ancient city of Hartford considerably beyond the limits of his leave of absence from Philadelphia, and when he departed it was with the prospect of meeting the lady again within a brief period. The summer came and went, but ere autumn dressed its forests and fields in their bright-colored robes words of love had been spoken, and a wedding day appointed. The happy pair were married in November, 1841, and their domestic life continuing for two score of years was one of great beauty and symmetry.

Mr. Barnes remained in Philadelphia until 1845, and then removed his publishing house to New York city, where it has ever since been firmly planted, growing and prospering until it has become familiarly known in every part of the civilized world. Soon after establishing himself in New York, Mr. Barnes originated the scheme of publishing a full and complete series of school-books, embracing every department of elementary and advanced education, styled "The National Series of Standard School-Books." Mr. Barnes did not go into this enterprise haphazard, but gave every manuscript submitted for the series a critical personal examination, for which he was admirably qualified through his experiences and acquirements. His industry at this period of his career was untiring, and his sound judgment and vigorous energy were never more conspicuous. He justly prided himself on the fact that no book ever bore his imprint that was not pre-eminently a "good book."

In this lay the grand secret of his extraordinary financial success ; it is said that his personal accumulations at the time of his death were hardly less than four millions of dollars. Many of the school-books prepared and issued with such discriminating care had each the phenomenal sale of more than a million copies. These books were in numerous instances revised and improved to meet the fresh wants of advanced scholarship and taste in the



RECEPTION AND DINING-ROOM IN THE CLINTON AVENUE HOME OF ALFRED S. BARNES.

schools, while others of sterling value were added to the list from year to year. The publications of A. S. Barnes & Co., as a rule, have been confined to school-books through the entire half-century of the firm's existence. A few works only of a miscellaneous character have been issued by the house, "among which," says a writer in the *Publishers' Weekly*, "Mrs. Martha J. Lamb's *History of the City of New York* and the music books used in many churches have added considerably to its financial prosperity."

Mr. Barnes made Brooklyn his residence after his first year in New York, his home being in Garden Street. He purchased later an acre or more of land in Clinton Avenue, then on the very outskirts of Brooklyn, and built the roomy mansion to which he removed his family in the spring of 1854. In this attractive and hospitable home he resided for thirty successive years. Here his four younger children were born, and here his whole army of ten were trained and equipped for the varied experiences of life. Here in 1866 Mr. and Mrs. Barnes celebrated their silver wedding, which was an occasion of more than ordinary interest. A brilliant assemblage of invited guests were crowding the parlors, in animated conversation, when suddenly the doors were thrown open, and the host and hostess entered followed by their ten children, the five sons ranged on the side with their father, the five daughters on the side with their mother, and one pretty little grandchild like a budding flower just plucked from the garden. One of the memorable incidents of this unique silver wedding was the presentation of a brooch emblematical of the occasion to the bride of a quarter of a century, Rev. Dr. R. S. Storrs performing the ceremony with graceful language and sentiment. This brooch had for its centre a single diamond, representing the wife and mother; around the diamond were studded ten pearls, representing the ten children; around the ten pearls were placed twenty-five garnets, representing their years of married life; and outside of the garnets were inserted a circle of fifty brilliants, representing the age of the husband—by whom the brooch was designed and given.

Mr. Barnes identified himself from the first with the advancement of Brooklyn in everything that goes to make up the characteristics of a refined and intelligent community. His influence was always strenuously exerted for what he esteemed the city's highest welfare. As his income increased through the growth of his business, he disbursed money liberally. He was prominent in charities; he helped to build churches; he was an enthusiastic supporter of the Young Men's Christian Association, and of city and other missions; he was one of the Executive Committee of the Long Island Historical Society, contributing generously to its library fund, and

to the new building itself ; he lent material aid in erecting the Academy of Music and the Mercantile Library, and in perfecting many other enterprises of an educational character. When he settled in Garden Street the Church of the Pilgrims had just been completed, and Rev. Dr. Storrs was installed in its pulpit within a very short period. He joined this church by letter, as did also Mrs. Barnes, and their second son was the first child baptized in the new church edifice. For a year or more after they removed to their home in Clinton Avenue they continued to attend Dr. Storrs' Sunday services, but owing to the distance, finally transferred their church



SUMMER COTTAGE OF ALFRED S. BARNES, COTTAGE CITY, MARTHA'S VINEYARD.

relations to the Clinton Avenue Congregational Church, to which Rev. Dr. Budington was called in 1855. In his varied schemes of Christian and practical philanthropy Mr. Barnes always found in his wife a judicious and sympathetic counselor. She was herself an active worker in many charities, notably the "Old Ladies' Home," of which she was treasurer, and the "Home for the Friendless," on Concord Street, of which she was president for several years prior to her death in 1881. Dr. Storrs, in a glowing tribute to the memory of her noble and well-rounded life, said : "Empires go down, dynasties disappear ; but the asylum, the hospital, the home for the sick, the institutions in which the blind are made to see and the dumb to

peak—these continue. So she has linked her life with those which are to testify of her in the future time. All good things last longer than we anticipate. Our analysis of the progress of households and of persons and of communities is always imperfect and uncertain, because we do not detect and cannot trace back to their sources those hidden influences that work for good. They are like the imperceptible threads of gold in some ancient tapestry. She did not start a good influence and leave it to circulate by its own gravitation merely, but she put ardor of spirit, energy, constancy, and concentration of resolution into that which she had to do. We often look upon buildings, and admire them for the perfect symmetry of their proportions. A poem sometimes impresses our thought by its absolute completeness of thought and expression. The picture on the canvas allures and holds our eye by the same charm of symmetrical harmony. Here is a life nobler than building or poem or picture, which seems attended by the same singular symmetry and finish of proportion."

Mr. Barnes had a delightful country home at Martha's Vineyard, which was filled every successive summer for many years with a merry throng of children and children's children, and was the seat of the most captivating hospitalities. He at different times traveled extensively in Europe, and across our own continent, making himself familiar with the world in all its magnificent proportions, and revealing his æsthetic tastes in the purchase of paintings, statuary, and other artistic treasures, with which to beautify his homes. He saw each of his ten children well married, with their families growing up around him. His five sons and one nephew were all associated with him in his great publishing business. His varied outside interests were so numerous that he was always exceptionally busy. He was one of the prime movers in the erection of the elevated roads, was connected with the Central Branch of the Union Pacific Railroad, was a director in the American Exchange Bank, the Hanover Bank, and the Home Insurance Company of New York, and the Dime Savings Bank of Brooklyn, and was specially identified with Cornell University—one of his last acts was to present \$45,000 to the Association of Cornell University; also with the Fisk University of Nashville, Tennessee, and the Adelphi and Polytechnic Academies of Brooklyn; the Faith-Home in Brooklyn received \$25,000 for its work. And he was an active member of thirty or more important and useful societies. During the later years of his life he gave to benevolent purposes not less than two-thirds of his princely income.

Some years after the death of his first wife, he married Mrs. Mary Matthews Smith, a lady of rare mental culture and great force of character—whose pen from time to time reveals the literary faculty, and whose hymns



THE HOME OF ALFRED S. BARNES IN ST. MARK'S AVENUE, BROOKLYN.

and sacred poems have appeared in some of our leading periodicals, and in recent hymn-books. They went abroad for a year or two, and after their return Mr. Barnes purchased the elegant and spacious home in St. Mark's Avenue, in which he resided until his death.

This home was the scene of a Christmas festival in December, 1887, of a most novel and impressive character. The richly and heavily laden Christmas tree was in an upper room. The dinner table was spread in the drawing-rooms on the west side of the house, with covers for forty-nine guests. It was strictly a family party. On the left of Mr. Barnes sat his five daughters, each with husband and children in a family group; on the right of the master of the mansion sat his five sons, each with wife and children in a family group. It so happened in one instance that a daughter with five children sat exactly opposite a son with five children. There were sixteen grandsons at the table, and sixteen granddaughters.

It was a joyful occasion; but it proved to be the last Christmas of Mr. Barnes upon this earth. His work was finished. After a distressing illness he died on the 17th of February, 1888, lamented by all who knew him. Said Rev. Dr. Talmage: "In business circles for many a long day his name will be quoted for everything honorable; but my thought of him is chiefly of being the highest type of a Christian gentleman. He was one of the few successful men who maintained complete simplicity of character. After gaining the highest position, where he could afford to decline the mayoralty and congressional honors and all political preferment, as he did again and again, he was as artless in his manner as on the day when he earned his first dollar."

The school-book publishers held a commemorative meeting on Saturday, February 18, and one of the resolutions adopted reads as follows:

"Resolved, That it is a source of gratification to us to point to Mr. Barnes as, in its truest sense, a representative man in his business career. He began life, as so many other successful American publishers have, with little to depend on except his own resources, and by integrity, industry, and a wide range of intelligence he succeeded in establishing a house whose name and character are known with respect throughout the United States. The public-school system of the country is especially indebted to his foresight and liberality for many of the most popular text-books that have ever been published. We commend the record of his life and character to the young men of America as one that can be studied and followed to their lasting advantage."

Mr. Barnes left many legacies of value, notably \$50,000 to be divided among the thirty societies of which he was an active member. Among

these was the City Mission and Tract Society. Dr. Storrs, in an eloquent tribute to his spotless character and constant usefulness in various channels, educational, social, commercial, and religious, said: "Perhaps no other institution has deeper reason to regret the departure of Alfred S. Barnes from the circles in which he was honored and useful than the City Mission and Tract Society, of which he has been a director for forty years, and its beloved president for ten years past, continuing in that office until the day of his death. We recall his faithful attendance at our meetings, his earnest love for the society, his readiness to listen to the counsel of others as well as to present his own views, his unfailing enthusiasm for the work to which the society is devoted, his general leadership in expanding its means of usefulness, and we feel that our loss can hardly be estimated, and hardly be supplied; that the time will not come to those who survive him, when they will cease to miss the counsel, the encouragement, and the gladness which his presence at our meetings always afforded."

The words recorded in the appreciative minute of the Long Island Historical Society should have a place here: "It is a rich and beautiful inheritance which any recent and sympathetic community, rapidly increasing in numbers and power, receives from the character and life as well as from the gifts of those who take part with continuing enthusiasm in establishing its institutions of culture, of charity, or of Christian worship. Their gifts of moral impulse and guidance are of even higher value than their pecuniary offerings. Unconsciously, perhaps, they set the standard toward which others are lifted; and the city itself, as well as the immediate household of one so intent on the public welfare, becomes to him a constant debtor. Its obligations to him continue while its history goes on. On the list of those who have thus made themselves permanent benefactors of the city in which we are glad to live, they who have known it during the forty years of Mr. Barnes' residence in it, will heartily join in giving to his name its place of honor."

It was under the auspices of the publishing-house of Alfred S. Barnes that the *Magazine of American History* was founded in 1877, and no one was more deeply interested than he in the educational work which this new and only periodical of its kind in the land was expected to perform. The well-known imprint of his house graced its title-page for six successive years; and when the change came in its management he still remained in active sympathy with its grand purposes, and one of its best friends.

Martha J Lamb

ANCIENT SOCIETY IN TENNESSEE

THE MOUND BUILDERS WERE INDIANS

The ancient stone-grave cemeteries of Middle Tennessee are most interesting memorials of aboriginal life in America. They are peculiar to this section. The dead were placed in rude tombs or cists made of flat stones carefully laid. Sometimes they were laid in three or four tiers, forming burial mounds that contain more than a hundred graves. The remains and memorials placed within them were thus sealed up and preserved.

One of these aboriginal cemeteries, about five miles from Nashville, upon the waters of Brown's Creek, has recently been explored, in fact pillaged, and devastated by relic hunters and collectors. Notwithstanding its rough usage, it has yielded many rare and valuable specimens—some four or five hundred perfect pieces of ancient pottery, a number of them unique in form, and of such fine finish that they may be said to be almost glazed, cooking vessels, water jars, hanging vessels, drinking cups, ornamented and plain sets of ware, apparently for rich and poor and for the little children, basins, plates, and indeed an ample store for a well-supplied aboriginal cuisine; also pipes, implements, and an infinite variety of articles illustrating the domestic life of the ancient inhabitants of Tennessee.

Among the treasures found are a number of articles indicating some commercial development, a pipe made of "red pipestone," or catlinite, found only in Dakota Territory, more than a thousand miles distant, native copper from the shores of Lake Superior, ornamented sea shells from the Gulf and South Atlantic coasts, mica from North Carolina, exquisite polished implements of cannel coal, pearls from the southern rivers, implements of polished hematite from distant iron mines, and of steatite and quartz from the Allegheny range; also a large number of images or idols, some of them doubtless types of the very features and lineaments of the prehistoric race buried in these graves—evidently the ancient Indian aristocracy of this section.

No specimens of the kind of superior workmanship, or more distinctly outlining features and expression have been found, so far as I am informed, within the limits of the United States. In a child's grave in this ancient cemetery was also found a remarkable figure in clay nine inches long, intended to represent a little child or papoose tied to its hanging board, after the historical Indian style—a veritable little flathead.

Favorite implements of war or the chase were found beside the hunter, with vessels of provisions probably intended to supply him on his journey to the land of the Great Spirit. Toys and unique little rattles of clay were found beside the children, placed there, doubtless, by the hands of the ever-loving mother. No state in the Union has yielded rarer treasures to the archæologist or searcher among its antiquities than Tennessee.

The Smithsonian Institution at Washington, and the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, Massachusetts, our two largest depositories of American antiquities, probably contain a greater number of specimens from Tennessee than from any other section. Other private and public collections have also been greatly enriched by contributions from Tennessee. A vast ancient population occupied the fertile valley of the Cumberland, and left monuments and memorials of exceeding interest.

It is within the bounds of the truth to state that after more than a century of occupation by the whites, the burial grounds of its aboriginal inhabitants, within a radius of fifty miles from Nashville, contained the remains of a greater number of dead than the aggregate of the present cemeteries of the whites.

The ancient cemetery on Brown's Creek referred to numbered not less than two or three thousand graves. Professor F. W. Putnam, of the Peabody Museum, and his assistants have explored more than six thousand, the majority of them in this immediate section. Dr. Joseph Jones, a most intelligent investigator, examined a large number in some fifteen different cemeteries. Dr. Troost, the learned geologist of Tennessee, stated that "the ancient burial grounds on the banks of the Cumberland River opposite Nashville extended in 1844 more than a mile along the river," and there are still remaining, scattered here and there, within the central counties of Tennessee, hundreds of acres of unexplored aboriginal stone graves and burial mounds. They may be found along almost every water course and in most of the fertile valleys. Occasionally a large artificial mound springs up from the green sward or in some cultivated field, surrounded by lines of ancient earthworks, designating the site of a fortified town or village once inhabited by the stone-grave race.

The recent explorations near Nashville have excited renewed interest in the subject of archæology in Tennessee and elsewhere, and it is my purpose to consider briefly some of the questions suggested by these discoveries.

There are a number of popular errors regarding the mounds and works of this ancient race, notions and ideas unnecessarily mysterious and exaggerated. Their characteristics and importance are often magnified,

misunderstood, and wrongly interpreted. Ancient remains are generally overestimated by their discoverers—usually unlearned pioneers of investigation.

More patient and systematic research, a vast accumulation of valuable material, and a thorough analysis of facts and theories by competent authority, have finally unraveled nearly all the secrets of these works and graves, until their origin and the mysteries of their construction and of ancient domestic life in Tennessee—and indeed elsewhere in the Mississippi valley—represented by them, are nearly as well known as the life and history of the modern Indians.

The conclusions reached (often unwillingly) as the result of these investigations in all departments of research, historic, ethnologic, and traditional, may be briefly stated as follows :

1st.—The progress made by these ancient tribes in the direction of civilization or semi-civilization has been overestimated. The stone-grave race and the builders of the ancient mounds and earthworks in Tennessee and probably in the Mississippi valley were Indians, North American Indians, probably the ancestors of the southern red or copper-colored Indians found by the whites in this general section, a race formerly living under conditions of life somewhat different from that of the more nomadic hunting tribes of Indians, but not differing from them in the essential characteristics of the Indian race.

2d.—The interesting collections of mounds, earthworks, and stone graves found in Tennessee and Southern Kentucky are simply the remains of ancient fortified towns, villages, and settlements, once inhabited by tribes of Indians more devoted to agriculture and more stationary in their habits than the hunting tribes generally known to the whites.

3d.—No single implement or article of manufacture or earthwork or defensive work has been found among their remains indicating intelligence or advancement in civilization beyond that of other Indians having intercourse with the whites within the historic period.

4th.—The accumulation of dense population in favored localities, and progress made toward civilization, were probably the results of periods of repose and peace that enabled these tribes to collect in more permanent habitations, and to pursue for a time more peaceful modes of life than some of their neighbors and successors.

5th.—These periods of peace and advancement were probably succeeded by years of wars, invasions, migrations, or changes which arrested the limited development in the arts of peace and civilization, and left the native tribes in the status in which they were found by the whites.

These propositions I am satisfied can be successfully maintained, and will afford the most reasonable solution of archæological problems long in controversy.

If we could have been given a glimpse of the fair valley of the Cumberland in 1492, the date of America's discovery, there can scarcely be a doubt but that we would have found many of these ancient settlements full of busy life, and we could have learned the story of the mounds and graves from some of their own builders; but nearly three centuries elapsed before the pioneers of civilization reached the confines of Tennessee. It is true that, about fifty years after Columbus came, De Soto and his army (A.D. 1540) brushed along its southern border, rudely startling the native inhabitants; but they passed on across the great river and probably never came within the actual bounds of Tennessee. A hundred and thirty-two years then elapsed. In this long interval no European stepped within our limits so far as we know. In 1673 Marquette came in his shallow bark, floating down upon the broad waters of the Mississippi, its first white explorer.

A few years later came that intrepid French discoverer La Salle, but he only looked upon the swamps and forests of the river margin. Nearly a century was yet to elapse before the hardy pioneers of Virginia and Carolina scaled the mountains and claimed a home in the valley of the Watauga, or Daniel Boone started on the "Wilderness trail" for the far West.

In all these intervening years Tennessee, infolded in her ancient forests and mountain barriers—in her insulation remote from ocean, lake and gulf—was as unknown to the outer world as Central Africa.

France claimed her territory by right of discovery as part of Louisiana and Illinois. Spain called her Florida and set up her right. England assumed sovereignty over her as part of Virginia and Carolina, but none of them took possession.

Even her Indian claimants had to fight for their title. Vincennes in Indiana, Kaskaskia in Illinois, and New Orleans were founded. Texas and Missouri were colonized. Santa Fé in New Mexico, a thousand miles and more to the west, had become an old Spanish town; yet Tennessee was still without name or description, save that it was marked on the New World maps as "the unexplored land of the Ancient Shawnees."

These facts are stated to show how little history can tell us directly of Ancient Tennessee or of the stone-grave race, yet for nearly four hundred years, Spanish, French, and English travelers have published chronicles and manuscripts relating to the natives of the South Atlantic and Mexican

Gulf coasts, neighbors and allies of the tribes of the interior country, now known as Tennessee, and presumably akin to them in race and manner of life. Ponce de Leon came to Florida in 1512. De Ayllon, another Spaniard, visited the coast of South Carolina in 1520, and again in 1524. An Italian discoverer, Verrazano, visited the coast of North Carolina in 1524. He reports that he found the natives primitive in their habits, uncivilized, and numbering a large population. Narvaez, who vainly attempted in 1528 to conquer the country then called Florida (embracing Tennessee), found there populous towns, well fortified, and surrounded by extensive fields of corn and maize. Volumes of narrative and manuscript have also been left us by the chroniclers of De Soto's expedition.

About 1540 Cartier and Roberval, French pioneers of discovery, visited Canada, then claimed by Spain as their Florida of the North. The French Huguenots came under Ribaut, and attempted to plant a colony on the Carolina coast in 1562, nearly fifty years prior to the Virginia settlement at Jamestown.

Ribaut's published Journal describes in detail the character and habits of the natives on the coast and in the interior;—describes their villages, their agricultural habits, and their cultivated fields. Champlain and others gave faithful accounts of the Native Americans of the North. La Salle describes the natives of Arkansas and Texas as he found them in 1673. Other early French and Spanish writers describe with much particularity the habits, dress, and manners of the ancient tribes living on the Gulf coast.

From these journals and manuscripts sometimes buried for centuries in the great libraries of Europe, we have reasonably faithful information as to the history, traditions, and mode of life of the ancient inhabitants of the territory adjacent to and surrounding Tennessee.

The testimony of all, added to that of the Virginia and Puritan colonists, unite in establishing the fact, that all these native Americans, called by Columbus Indians, were alike in their main characteristics, a distinct race, peculiar to itself, without any well-defined or clearly traceable Old-World affinities or connections.

The swarthy red or copper or olive complexion, the dark eyes, the coarse, straight black hair, the high cheek-bones, were common to all, from the St. Lawrence River to Texas. Their half-nakedness, their simple and primitive habits, the drudgery of the women, the generally aquiline nose, the absence or scantiness of beards, their love of smoking, of gay colors, painted faces, feathers, plumes, feasts, dances, were noted by all these writers, and clearly indicated the remarkable unity of the race—recalling

the remark of Ulloa, the early Spanish governor of Louisiana—that "if we have seen one American, we have seen all, their color and make-up are so nearly alike."

Their chiefs and principal men were found with similar characteristics—haughty, taciturn, self-willed, impatient of reproof, faithful friends, and implacable enemies.

These early records, however, show no traces of an advanced civilization or of a superior race. They indicate that the southern tribes were generally gathered in villages, and were milder and more friendly in manner, and more devoted to agriculture than the tribes of the North and Northwest. A careful reading of the interesting though often unreliable Chronicles left us by De Soto's followers will, I think, give the best key to an understanding of town and village life in ancient Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee and Arkansas. (The antiquities and earthworks of these states are of the same general character.)

The principal towns of the natives were found to be well fortified and are described as "walled towns." They were surrounded by palisades formed by the trunks of trees, plastered with clay and straw, and surmounted at intervals with towers. They had protected openings or gateways. They sometimes contained a population of several thousand inhabitants. One town is mentioned containing six hundred houses.

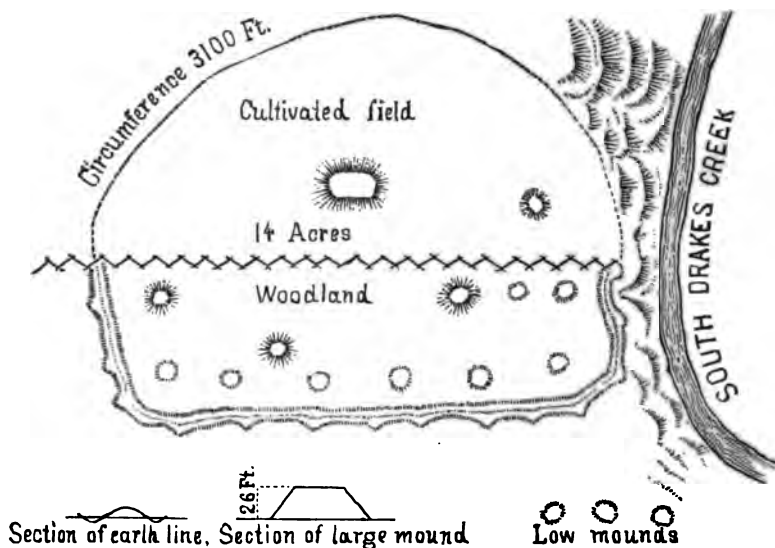
Some of the houses described were large enough to lodge a thousand or fifteen hundred people—great family or communal dwellings.

The house of the cacique, or chief of the settlement or tribe, was often built upon an artificial mound or raised foundation of earth. Sometimes the houses of his retainers or family were erected upon the same elevation. The so-called temples, or altars of worship, were also built upon raised foundations or mounds. A mound or temple is described as the place of burial of a chieftain. The common houses or huts were built of poles or rude timber, were plastered with clay and straw, and thatched with bark and cane. A number of towns were environed by artificial ditches filled with water. The three original historic accounts of De Soto's expedition unite in confirming the characteristics of ancient town and village life in the territory through which his army passed.*

* La Vega says: "The natives constructed artificial mounds of earth, the top of each being capable of containing from ten to twenty houses. Here resides the Cacique, his family and attendants. At the foot of this hill was a square according to the size of the village, around which were the houses of the leaders and most distinguished inhabitants. The rest of the people erected their wigwams as near to the dwelling of their chief as possible." "Conquest of Florida," Irving, pages 129, 317, 241. According to La Vega, these mounds were about eighteen to twenty-five feet high. "Prehistoric Times," Lubbock, page 273.

A careful consideration of these features with a map in hand, showing the present appearance and condition of any one of the many groups of ancient earthworks in Middle Tennessee—a group on the Harpeth River, or the works near Lebanon, Tennessee, or in Sumner County, Tennessee—will readily indicate the striking similarity of these remains to the ancient fortified towns described, and, indeed, will be conclusive of the fact that these earthworks are simply the remains of towns and villages, similar to those through which De Soto and his army passed in 1540-41, and then found active with busy life.

The long lines of earth that outlined the old walls with their well-se-



GROUND PLAN OF FORTIFIED VILLAGE IN SUMNER COUNTY.

lected openings and projections, the ditches, the raised foundation mound, or pyramid of the chief's house—perhaps the mound that supported the rude temple or altar of worship—the rows of graves or burial mounds of the ancient cemetery will still be found. Sometimes the outlines of the low circular platforms upon which the common houses or wigwams were placed may be seen, as in the Lebanon group.

"The cacique's house stood near the shore upon a very high mound made by hand for strength."—"Gentlemen of Elvas." Historical Col. of La., Part II. page 123; see also Idem—Biedna, page 105. For description of fortified villages and walled towns, see "Gentlemen of Elvas." Historical Col. La., Part II., pages 157, 158, 173; also La Vega, "Conquest of Florida," being pages 261, 262

A ground plan of the group of mounds on the Rutherford farm in Sumner County, near Saundersville, Tennessee, as they now appear, will give a tolerably correct idea of one of these ancient fortified villages.*

This work incloses about fourteen acres. The earth-lines and smaller mounds in the cultivated field are nearly obliterated, but in the woodland they are well preserved. The mound of the chief, or the mound of observation near the centre, nearly twenty-six feet high, has still its flat top platform, its sharp outlines and steep sides. It is about 318 feet in circumference and is entirely artificial, having been constructed of earth excavated near its base. The small elevations are burial mounds, with stone graves radiating from the centre. The next in size are probably house or wigwam mounds. They are circular in form, averaging about thirty feet in diameter, with the remains of burned clay or ancient fire hearths in the centre. At irregular intervals along the earth-lines in the woodland, angles of earth project about ten feet beyond the general line, indicating the location of towers or rude bastions in the stockade or wall line. Some of them were doubtless protected openings or gateways. In the burial mounds have been found many fine implements and vessels of pottery.

The ancient earthworks near Lebanon, Tennessee, are of the same general character.†

This is a good type of an ancient fortified or walled settlement. It contains about ten acres of land. The usual great mound is near the centre (A). A large number of the smaller elevations were found to be the remains of lodges or wigwams. When the earth was cleared away, hard, circular floors were disclosed with burned clay or ancient hearths in the centre, indicating that these habitations were similar in form to the circular lodges of many tribes of modern Indians, arranged for fires in the centre, and doubtless they had openings in the roof to let out the smoke.

The fact that these houses or wigwams were irregularly scattered within the inclosures also establishes the primitive character of the settlement; yet beneath the floors of these rude structures, and within the adjacent burial mounds, were found some of the finest specimens of pottery and ancient art yet discovered among the mounds, indicating that these villagers of the stone-grave race had reached a stage of development probably equal to that of any of the aboriginal inhabitants of the Mississippi valley.

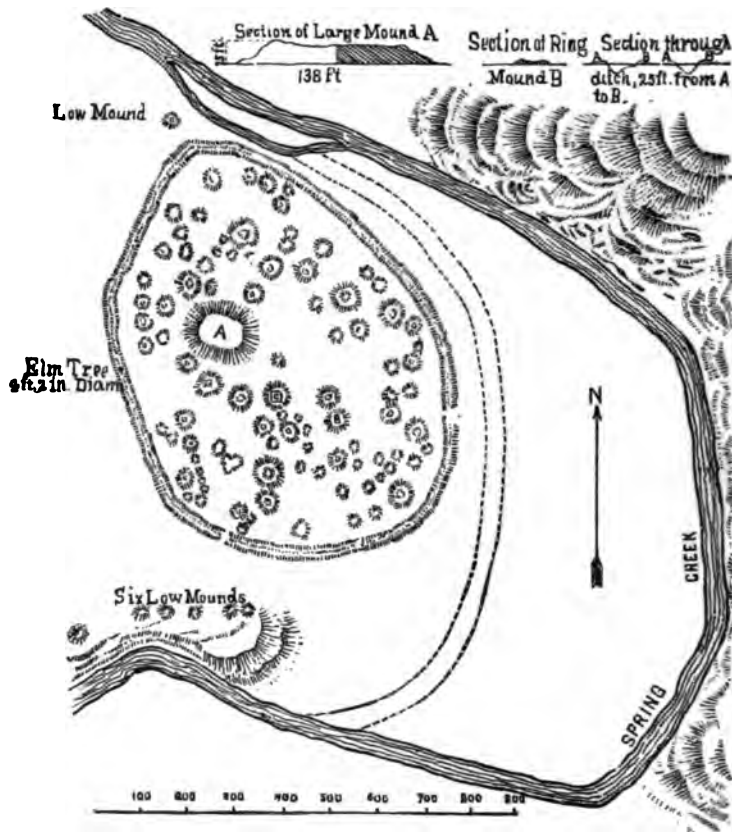
No pottery or pipes or implements have been found, within the more elaborate earthworks of the Ohio valley, in finish or workmanship superior

* Surveyed by W. H. Edwards, Esq., and drawn by the writer.

† Map reduced from Prof. F. W. Putnam's plan in the 11th Annual Report Peabody Museum, page 338.

to those taken from the graves and tumuli in Tennessee. The pottery found in Ohio is usually of ruder character than Southern pottery.

It requires little effort of the imagination to picture Ancient Society in one of these settlements in Tennessee, to crown the long, low lines of earth again with their strong palisades, to place the rude house of the chief upon its high pyramid overlooking the village and the far country,



THE LEBANON GROUP.

to repopulate the council house, the family dwellings, humble and spacious hives of busy life, to replace the altar of the sun worshipers in its rude temple, to see the near-by burial mounds consecrated by the bones of their heroes, the gay colors of the warriors, the trappings of the hunters, the toiling of the women, the basket and cloth makers, the yelping throng of half-naked children and dogs, the medicine man with his herbs and kettles, the dealer in implements and vessels of stone, clay and shell, the

trader, perhaps from a far country, with his wares and strings of shell money, the pipe maker, the flint chipper, the fisherman, all necessary features of ancient town and village life in the South as described by early writers in their account of the Southern Indians.

Now, picture this town swept by the desolation of war or rudely pillaged by the marauding soldiery of De Soto—picture it after the lapse of three centuries!

Fire and decay have consumed its strong palisades, its great houses, and all that was left of wood. The raised foundations and pyramids of earth with their steep sides may have become commonplace hillocks.

The dense forest has again spread over the scene. Giant trees are covering its graves and ditches. Time and probably the plowshare of the pioneer have almost obliterated the lines of the crumbled wall.

You thus have the true story of ancient society in Tennessee and of the monuments and remains of the stone-grave race.

The young oaks that sprung up on the mounds that De Soto left desolate and unoccupied in 1541 would now be three hundred and forty-seven years old—old enough indeed to be lords of the forest. Most of the earthworks in Tennessee and the Mississippi valley doubtless date from a period anterior to the time of De Soto—probably centuries anterior. The testimony of his followers is given, however, to show their objects and uses, and to solve at least some of the apparent mysteries of their construction.

The accounts left us by the historian of the Narvaez expedition into Florida in 1564 confirm these views.

We learn from Dumont's memoirs also, that near the mouth of the Yazoo River in Mississippi were the villages of the Offogoulas and other Southern Indians built upon mounds artificially made.*

Dumont also says the cabin of the chief of the Natchez Indians "was on an elevated mound." La Petit, a missionary among the Natchez Indians, mentions that "the residence of the great chief or 'brother of the Sun,' as he was called, was erected upon a mound of earth carried for that purpose." Du Pratz, the early historian of Louisiana, states that the house of the Great Sun of the Natchez stood upon a mound "about eight feet high, and twenty feet over on the surface," and that the temple of the priest was on a mound about the same height.†

It is a matter of comparatively recent history that when the French and Choctaws defeated the Natchez Indians in Mississippi in 1730, the latter established themselves upon the Black River, where they erected

* Hist. Collection La., Part 5, page 43. † Quoted by Dr. D. G. Brinton.

mounds and embankments for defense. These defenses covered an area of four hundred acres, and could still be seen as late as 1851.*

The pyramids of earth raised by the Choctaws over their dead when collected together, as described by Bertram, who traveled among these Indians in 1777, are in the form of some of our Southern burial mounds. †

James Adair, who lived among the Southern Indians forty years, and published his history of them in 1775, generally confirms these views.

A large mound of earth was erected by the Osage Indians on the Osage River, in Missouri, during the present century, in honor of one of their dead chiefs. ‡

The earthworks of Western New York, long regarded as the unquestioned remains of an ancient race of mound builders, were, after careful exploration, declared to be the remains of the stockade forts of the Iroquois Indians, or their western neighbors, and of no great antiquity. §

They are often exact counterparts of our fortified works in Tennessee. One of these stockade forts of the Iroquois is minutely described by Champlain, who attacked it in 1610. A familiar old print of this remarkable structure is given in the Documentary History of New York. ¶

The lines of stockades, the ditches, the great houses inside, all recall some of the descriptions in the chronicles of De Soto, and show a marked similarity to our Tennessee remains.

The Iroquois nearly three centuries ago had acquired a knowledge of military defense that the armies of the North and South had to learn during the late war by costly experience. La Salle tells us they built a rude fort of earth and timbers every night they encamped near the enemy.

Cartier found the site of modern Montreal occupied by a strongly fortified Indian town in 1535. On approaching it, nothing could be seen but its high palisades. They were made of the trunks of trees set in triple rows. Transverse braces formed galleries between them to assist the defenders. Lewis and Clark describe the forts built by the Mandans and other Indians of the Northwest in 1805, with raised stockades, ditches and fortified gateways. Captain John Smith, the founder and historian of the first Virginia colony, writes that the Indians of Virginia had "paliza-dood towns."

Bienville of Louisiana in 1735 attacked a Chickasaw village protected by a strong fort. He was repulsed, with heavy loss. The palisade wall was six feet thick, arranged with loopholes, covered with heavy timbers. ¶

* Pickett's Alabama, Vol. I., page 166.

† Bertram's Travels, pages 514, 515.

‡ Ab. Mon. N. Y., Squire, page 107.

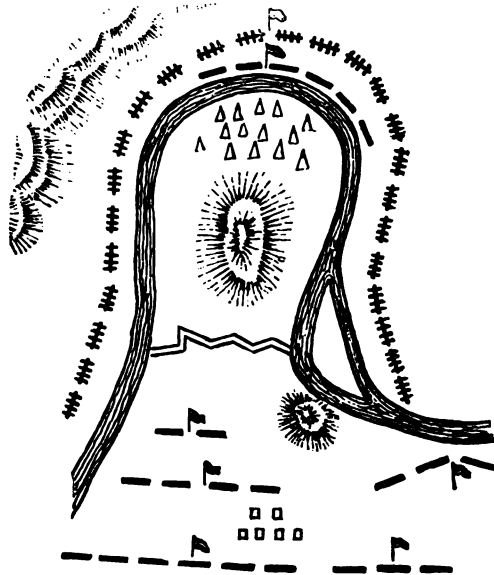
§ *Ibid.*, page 83.

¶ Vol. 3, page 15.

¶ Hist. Memoirs La., Part 5, page 110.

The plan of the "Battle of the Horse Shoe," where the Creeks, protected by breastworks, fought General Andrew Jackson in 1814, indicates that these Indians possessed considerable knowledge of military defensive works. The original sketch drawn by the General is appended to his interesting report of the battle, made to Governor Blount of Tennessee.*

General Jackson states in his Report that "Nature furnishes few situations so eligible for defense, and barbarians never rendered one more secure by art. Across the neck of land which leads into it from the north, they had erected a breastwork of great compactness and strength,



THE BATTLE OF HORSESHOE.

from five to eight feet high, and prepared with double rows of portholes very artfully arranged. The figure of this wall manifested no less skill in the projectors of it than its construction. An army could not approach it without being exposed to a double and cross fire from the enemy who lay in security behind it." Surely no prehistoric defensive work could receive a higher compliment from higher military authority!

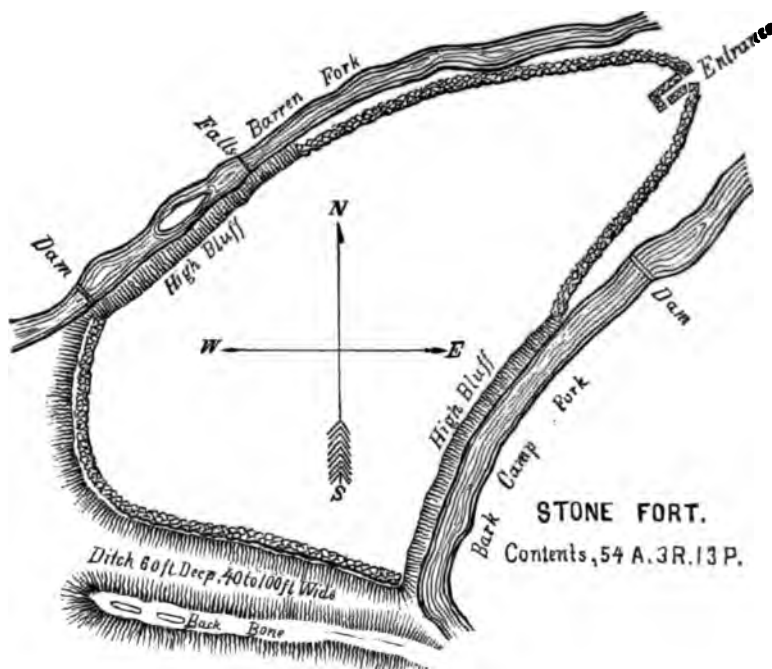
These instances have been selected to show the knowledge of military defensive works possessed by the modern Indians. This knowledge was not inferior to that of the so-called mound builders. That the works of the

* Traced by the writer from the original report in the possession of the Tennessee Historical Society at Nashville.

latter surpassed in magnitude all modern native earthworks does not necessarily indicate a higher order of intelligence, nor is there any deep mystery in their larger proportions.

There is, indeed, a striking similarity in all these native works of defense, whether ancient or modern. I have visited a number of the great mounds of the Ohio valley. They are remarkable structures—monuments of labor and patience.

Imagine a thousand Indians—women and children—men, also—with



baskets of willow and skins, bearing on heads and shoulders the alluvial soil from the river side, to raise a mighty memorial to some great warrior, or to build a strong defensive work as a protection against a dreaded enemy, or a towering home for an honored chief, and it will not be difficult to account for most of these large earthworks.

I have seen the busy throng of a hundred or more Italian women and boys with baskets removing the earth that covered ancient Pompeii. The ashes of Vesuvius, nearly nineteen centuries old, buried the city twenty feet deep; yet about one-half of the entire city has been uncovered and laid bare to the eyes of the travelers. Less than a tithe of this vast labor

of removal would have erected the largest purely artificial mound in the Mississippi Valley.

The highest of the great mounds of America, at Cahokia, Illinois, is but one-fifth of the height of the solid stone pyramid of Gizeh on the banks of the Nile; and how insignificant does the largest system of native American earthworks appear, when compared with a work of antiquity like the Chinese Wall, built long prior to the Christian era!

There is an interesting ancient work near Manchester, Tennessee, called the "Stone Fort." It differs from the other aboriginal defensive works in Tennessee, in its partial construction of stone, yet upon examination we find there is no masonry in it, no wall of stone. Large stones from the adjacent river were used with the earth in building in. Its position is well selected for defense, but it shows no greater skill in engineering than other Indian earthworks. It is similar in construction to a number of works in the Ohio valley.*

INDIAN AGRICULTURE

The large population necessary to have enabled the ancient tribes of our great river valleys to construct these works, has been given as a reason why they should not be attributed to the ancestors of the red Indians. It is argued that such population could only have been supported by a race devoted mainly to agriculture. It seems to have been presumed that the modern Indians knew little or nothing of the cultivation of land as a means of living, yet we find upon investigation that all the historic tribes were more or less devoted to agricultural pursuits. The Southern Indians, the Iroquois, the Ohio and Illinois tribes cultivated immense fields of maize or corn, especially during periods of repose and freedom from wars. The Choctaws, in their ancient home east of the Mississippi River, were called "a nation of farmers."

Adair mentions a maize field of the Catawbas of South Carolina "seven leagues long," a field that would do credit to the prairie-farms of the West. Think of cultivating such a field with the rude wood and stone implements of the Indians!

The Plymouth Fathers were taught the art of planting and raising corn by the Indians. Drake tells us that King Philip, the great chief of the Pequots, "had a thousand acres of corn at Mount Hope."

Henry Hudson, who sailed up the Hudson River in 1609, writes that he "found dried corn and beans enough in and about one house on the bank of the river to load three ships, besides what was growing in the field."

* Slightly changed from plan in "Antiquities of Tennessee," Jones, p. 100.

ANCIENT SOCIETY IN TENNESSEE

General Anthony Wayne reported that he never saw such large maize fields as the Miami Indians cultivated.

The granaries and caches of the natives furnished the soldiers and horses of De Soto their main supplies.*

In his expedition against the Cherokees in 1779 General Shelby is said to have destroyed more than 20,000 bushels of corn. Hawkins tells us that to constitute a legal marriage among the Muskogees [Creeks] the man "must build a house, make his crop, and gather it in; then make his hunt and bring home the meat; that when all was put in possession of the wife, the ceremony was ended and the woman bound, and not till then."

What better proof do we need of the ability of the Southern Indian to support himself by agriculture than the progress made by the tribes removed to the Indian Territory?

The Creeks, the Cherokees, the Choctaws, the Chickasaws, have not only become "a nation of farmers," but are far advanced on the march toward civilization.

Hominy, succotash and mush were evidently included in the regular aboriginal menu.

Those instances of Indian success in agriculture might be multiplied indefinitely.†

They clearly establish the fact that the advanced tribes of historic Indians had the ability to support the population necessary to the erection of even the greatest mounds.

MOUNDS OF RECENT DATE

We have, however, direct testimony that some of these mounds, long regarded as the exclusive work of an ancient and more civilized race, have been built by modern Indians since the period of European discovery.

There are a number of instances, well authenticated, where articles certainly of modern European manufacture and origin, have been found in mounds, undistinguishable in general character from more ancient mounds.

Col. C. C. Jones, in his "Antiquities of the Southern Indians," ‡ reports at least one absolutely certain instance where "a portion of a rusty old fashioned sword," evidently of European manufacture, was found in

* Hist. Col. La., Part 5, page 203.

† This subject is considered at length and with much force by Mr. Lucius Carr in "Mounds of Mississippi Valley," page 7.

‡ "Antiquities of the Southern Indians," page 131.

mound with decayed bones of a skeleton alongside of pottery, and a stone cell. Atwater, a well-known archæologist, tells us of his discovery in an Ohio mound of articles of silver and iron of modern European origin.

Prof. F. W. Putnam, in the 14th annual publication of the Peabody Museum, reports the discovery by Dr. Mack, in Florida, of glass beads and ornaments of silver, brass and iron, deeply imbedded and associated with pottery and stone implements of native manufacture, all found in a burial mound, and furnishing conclusive evidence that the Indians of Florida continued to build mounds over their dead after contact with the Europeans.

The National Bureau of Ethnology also reports in detail similar discoveries in a number of mound explorations in Wisconsin, North Carolina, Illinois and Arkansas.*

It has thus become a well-settled fact in American archæology, that modern tribes of Indians have to some extent been builders of mounds within the historic period, and that it is not necessary to attribute our ancient remains in Tennessee to any other or more civilized race than the ancestors of our Southern Indians.

ART IN ANCIENT TENNESSEE

Passing from the mounds and earthworks to a consideration of the manufactured articles or antiquities, images, implements, pottery, pipes, tablets and pictographs of the ancient inhabitants of Tennessee or the Mississippi valley as a test of their civilization or development, we find an interesting field of inquiry.

The result may be summed up under two heads:

First. Nothing has been found in mound or grave or elsewhere in Tennessee or the Mississippi valley, showing an advanced state of civilization or semi-civilization. No article has been found requiring in its manufacture skill or intelligence beyond the capacity of the best representative tribes of modern Indians.

Second. No antiquarian or archæologist can distinguish the implements, pottery, pipes or inscriptions of the mound-building people from the same general character of articles manufactured by the more advanced tribes of modern Indians within the historic period.

It seems strange that among the vast stores of material discovered in these mounds, graves and ancient habitations, no single article has been

* Report Bureau Ethnology, 1882-83, page xxxii.

found indicating an advanced state of society. Rare and unique forms of stone, clay, bone, shell and copper; mysterious objects whose exact uses we cannot always discover, beautiful implements, wrought with infinite labor and no little skill have been found in abundance; yet all indicate, or are consistent with, the theory of a comparatively rude and primitive state of society.

No prehistoric implement, or article of iron, or evidence of manufactured iron, has been found, excepting objects made from the unmelted ores. Rude articles of native copper hammered into form and an occasional ornament of hammered silver have been discovered, but none of melted copper or bronze or silver.

No writing or intelligible inscription indicating a written language or decipherable symbol language, no pictograph or tablet or inscription approaching the higher grades of hieroglyphic writing, no cloth or fabric except of coarse or rude manufacture, no piece of masonry or stone wall, or of architecture worthy of the name, or trace of burned brick wall, has been found.

Utensils and objects of well-burned clay are found in Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas and elsewhere, of varied, original and even artistic form, interesting mementos of ancient life, but they indicate no knowledge of the potter's wheel. They are without glaze, and are but comparatively rude conceptions, fashioned by the hand.

The images or idols of stone found are rude, and belong to a low grade of sculpture.

Indeed all the infinite variety of articles and antiquities found within the widely extended limits of the Mississippi valley, once occupied by a widely spread native population, after centuries of exploration, tell only the same story of primitive barbaric life, the life of the town, village, and hunting Indian.

Obsidian from Mexico has been found in our ancient graves and mounds. Doubtless some other articles, images or tablets in clay or stone are of the same origin. The mound builders have been thus credited with the more skilled workmanship of the Mexican or Aztec; still, none of these articles indicate an advanced state of society.

Again, when we come to draw the line separating the implements, images or hand-work of these prehistoric peoples from those of the modern Indians, we find no certain test by which to classify or distinguish them. Neither skill in workmanship nor beauty of form can be relied upon as a test. I have in my collection a shelf of ancient pipes from the mounds and graves, and one of pipes made by modern Indians. No one

can tell with entire certainty the antique from the modern, or whether one came from an ancient mound or from a modern Indian camp.

The most exquisite piece of work of the whole number is a pipe of red pipestone I purchased in Dakota years ago from a chief of the Sioux tribe.

The large gray stone pipe, once used by the great chief Tecumseh and owned by Col. Sam Morgan, of Nashville, does not differ from a number of specimens found in the mounds of Tennessee and Georgia.

Captain John Smith, in his quaint history of Virginia, describes the stone pipes, in which Powhatan and his "wild courtiers" smoked their tobacco—pipes like our antique western specimens, carved in the form of birds and animals, and as Smith says, "heavy enough to beat out one's brains."

Hennepin and Marquette carried large stone pipes or calumets as symbols of peace and friendship in their voyages of discovery. Adair mentions that the Cherokees made beautiful stone pipes in imitation of birds and animals. Lieutenant Timberlake, who traveled among the Cherokees in 1761, reports the same fact. We may thus be assured that it is not necessary to ascribe the large or quaint stone pipes found in Tennessee to any more ancient or civilized race than the modern Shawnee or Cherokee Indians.

Flint implements and arrow-heads similar to our old field and mound flints have been made in quantities by the Indians up to a recent period. The highly polished discoidal stones, among the most beautiful and symmetrical of the implements, Adair tells us, were used by the modern Southern Indians as gaming stones.

No one who has seen the hand-work of even the degenerate Indians of to-day in Canada or the Northwest, has failed to observe that as a race they are naturally gifted with taste and dexterity in making useful and ornamental articles.

The ancient people of the Mississippi valley left behind them no implements superior to the work of the Iroquois or the Cherokee.

The finding of terra-cotta and earthenware of good quality in the graves and mounds of the Mississippi valley has been regarded as an indication of a superior race and of a higher civilization. Yet we find many tribes making and using the same general class of pottery within the historic period. The historian of De Soto's campaign declares that the pottery found in use by the natives of Arkansas and elsewhere equaled standard Spanish ware.*

Le Moyne in 1564 contributes a number of illustrations of the forms of

*Hist. Col. La. Part 2, p. 201.

pottery in use among the Southern Indians. Captain John Smith says, "the Indians of Virginia used pottery of clay made by the women." Lewis and Clark in 1805 found the Mandans and other natives of the Northwest using vessels of clay and stone.

Marquette, the discoverer of the Mississippi, in his account of his visit to the Indians in Arkansas and Mississippi in 1673, writes that "they used in cooking large earthen pots, very curiously made, also large baked earthen plates, which they used for different purposes." *

Adair and Lieutenant Timberlake both mention the use and manufacture of pottery by the Cherokees. The former states that when he visited them—as late as 1774—they made "earthen pots containing from two to ten gallons, large pitchers to carry water, bowls, dishes, platters, basins, and a prodigious number of other vessels of such antiquated forms, as would be tedious to describe and impossible to name;" a statement that certainly accurately describes the motley assortment of pottery found in our Tennessee mounds and graves. †

The Natchez Indians were so skillful in making their "red-stained pottery," that Du Pratz, the historian of Louisiana, states that he had them make for him a set of plates for his table use. ‡

Bertram states that the Indians of Alabama made and used utensils of earthenware when he visited them in 1777. §

The ability of the mound-building tribes to make finely finished stone implements and vessels of hand-made earthenware cannot be regarded as indicating an advanced state of culture, although there is a wide-spread popular impression to the contrary. The most savage races have been able to make finely wrought weapons of war and of the chase. This resulted from a natural mechanical instinct, rather than from culture.

Sir John Lubbock, in writing of the skill of certain savage tribes in making ornaments and weapons, says, "their appreciation of art is to be regarded rather as an ethnological characteristic, than as an indication of any particular stage of civilization." ||

The same learned author refers to the art of making pottery as "one

* Hist. Col. La., Part 2, p. 295.

† The writer has a large number of these forms in his collection varying in size from delicate little vessels an inch in diameter to pots holding twelve gallons.

‡ The women make pots of an extraordinary size, jars with a medium-sized opening, bowls, two-pint bottles with long necks, pots or jugs for containing bear's oil, which hold as much as forty pints, and finally plates and dishes in the French fashion."—Du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*. Vol. II., p. 279.

§ "Bertram's Travels," ed. 1792, p. 511.

|| "Prehistoric Times," Lubbock, p. 549.

of the rude arts easily acquired by savages." He says the Hottentots and Fuegians, races grading very low in the scale of civilization, made and used pottery.* And Birch, in his work on "Ancient Pottery," states that "clay is a material so generally diffused, and its plastic nature so easily discovered, that the art of working it does not exceed the intelligence of the rudest savage."† Schoolcraft says the arts of planting corn and making pottery came together.‡

These authorities make it clear that art had made but an humble start among the mound-building tribes, and had not advanced beyond the status of other savage races, or beyond that of the red Indian of America.

It may also be stated that, in view of the manufacture and general use of pottery among the historic Southern Indians, there is no certain evidence that our Tennessee grave and mound pottery is of very great antiquity, or that it all antedates the visit of Marquette in 1673.

It cannot be of much later date, however, for that is about the latest period of permanent Indian occupation. Leather thongs or strings not yet decayed were found in a stone grave near Nashville by Dr. Joseph Jones.§ Professor F. W. Putnam found the fragment of a string in a stone grave on Fort Zollicoffer.|| In both cases they were attached to copper ornaments, and thus probably preserved.

The writer found in a stone grave in the same ancient cemetery on the bank of the Cumberland, a small, well-preserved, carved wooden wheel. A thin film of copper covering it had probably partly preserved it. In an adjoining stone grave was found a small but perfect specimen of pottery, indicating a contemporaneous burial.

Fragments of wood not entirely decayed are also frequently found in the burial mounds of Tennessee. These indications point to the comparatively recent origin of at least some of the graves and tumuli of the Cumberland valley. Haywood, in his "Aboriginal History of Tennessee," states that in 1819 a white oak tree growing on the top of the "Stone Fort" near Manchester, Tennessee, was cut down, and contained 357 "annulars" or rings.¶

This ancient landmark was therefore but 78 years old when De Soto landed on the coast of Florida. An elm tree about four feet in diameter is still standing on the earthwork near Lebanon. These trees indicate a very considerable age, yet there are familiar old elms at Salem and in the suburbs of Boston and elsewhere in New England—elms planted since the

* "Prehistoric Times," pp. 551, 555.

§ "Antiquities in Tennessee," p. 45.

† Introduction, p. 1.

|| 11th An. Report Peabody Museum, p. 307.

‡ Schoolcraft, Part I., p. 61.

¶ Ab. Hist. Tenn., p. 170.

advent of the Europeans—that fully equal in size the Lebanon elm, or the largest trees I have observed growing upon the ancient works.

THE CRANIA OF THE STONE-GRAVE RACE.

In the effort to discover the race or tribal affinities of our stone-grave builders ethnologists have made a careful study of physical structure, and especially of the crania found in the graves, but without any very definite or satisfactory results. They have not been able to trace radical or definite characteristics separating them from the modern Indians, or, indeed, any well-defined forms to distinguish them from the ancient Mexicans, or Pueblo builders of the far West.

The Smithsonian Institution has published the results of Dr. Joseph Jones' faithful explorations and studies in this department.*

The Peabody Museum has also published the very intelligent observations of its assistant curator, Mr. Lucian Carr, upon some sixty-seven crania carefully taken from the stone graves and mounds of Middle Tennessee. Careful measurements are given, comparisons made, results classified, but they do not indicate a distinct race or an advanced development.

Long skulls and short (the high and low grades) have been found side by side in the same mound. Skulls, in their types and capacity almost as widely apart as the Negro and Caucasian, have been found in adjoining graves, indicating a very ancient admixture of tribes or races—an admixture so remote, in fact, that the science of craniology has not been able to dispel the confusion, or trace its origin, or the lines of descent that have united in forming the sharply defined Indian race of the Mississippi valley.

Mr. Carr states that the crania from the stone graves of Tennessee, as a rule, indicate a higher order of intelligence than the ancient Peruvian, the native Australian, or the Hottentot; but he concludes with the observation that it would be a vain effort to try to conjure up the vision of an extinct civilization by the study of these crania.

A large number of clay images found in our stone graves and idols of stone from the mounds and ancient village sites have been examined with a desire to trace race characteristics in their faces or features, but they afford very unsatisfactory results. The types are so varied, and the native art so crude, that they must be generally regarded as accidental forms. I have, however, in my collection, at least one excellent specimen of as pure and well-defined a modern Indian type as the face and features of Sitting Bull or Black Hawk.

* "Antiquities of Tennessee," Jones, p. 110.

A genuine red Indian was undoubtedly in the mind of the native artist or sat as the model for this unique image in clay. A few of the images also are so marked and individual in their expression that they seem to have been efforts at portraiture. The little clay papoose on its hanging board is certainly a modern red Indian type of the flat-head tribe. Thus, when the whole field is worked over, the conclusion must be reached that it has been a mistake to regard the mound builders as a distinct and advanced race. They were evidently the *ancestors of the modern Indians, nothing more*. This is the simplest solution of the problem as to their nationality. Any other theory regarding them must be mainly mere conjecture.

Col. C. C. Jones, eminent authority on this subject, writing of the earthworks of Georgia, which approximate in size the largest tumuli of the Ohio valley, states: "We do not concur in the opinion so often expressed, that the mound builders were a race distinct from, and superior in art, government, and religion to, the Southern Indians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries." *

The late Lewis H. Morgan, a most original and learned ethnologist, in an article upon the houses of the aborigines of America, states: "It will be assumed that the tribes who constructed the earthworks of the Ohio valley were Indians. No other supposition is tenable. The implements and utensils found in the mounds indicate very plainly that they had attained to the middle status of barbarism. . . . They fairly belonged to the class of sedentary village Indians, though not in all respects of an equal grade of culture and development." †

Major J. W. Powell, the Director of the National Bureau of Ethnology, has also given an opinion to the same effect. "With regard to the mounds so widely scattered between the two oceans," he states, "it may be said that mound-building tribes were known in the early history of discovery of this continent, and that vestiges of art discovered do not excel in any respect the arts of the Indian tribes known to history."

Major Powell also quotes approvingly the opinion of W. H. Holmes, of the National Museum, relative to the pottery found in the mounds, that "there is no feature in it that cannot reasonably be attributed to the more advanced historic tribes of the valley where it is found." ‡

And in an interesting article upon "Animal Carvings from the Mounds of the Mississippi Valley," Mr. H. W. Henshaw, of the National Museum,

* "Antiquities of Southern Indians," Jones, p. 135.

† Contributions to North Am. Ethnology, Vol. IV., pp. 198, 199

‡ Report Bureau of Ethnology, No. 4. p. lix.

reaches the conclusion that "No hard or fast line can be drawn between the art of the Indian and of the mound builder." *

Similar views upon this general subject are also held by Professor Putnam and Mr. Carr of the Peabody Museum,† and by Dr. Joseph Jones.

Dr. D. G. Brinton, noted authority in this department of research, not only holds the same opinion, but specially designates the ancestors of the Chatta-Muskogee tribes as probably the original mound-building stock or family. This stock embraced the Choctaws, Chickasaws, the Natchez, and other allied tribes of Southern Indians. There is considerable evidence in support of Dr. Brinton's views. Within the historic period these tribes formed a nation of mound builders. The widely spread traditions of the Northern Indians also indicated that this ancient race was driven southward from the Ohio and upper Mississippi valleys.

Many causes led the early settlers and writers to underrate the natural abilities and capacity of the Indian race. The tribes that wasted their numbers and strength in the vain effort to stay the mighty march of the western pioneers became more savage in this very frontier warfare. Revenge and despair, the occasional violation of treaties, the destruction of their towns and crops, often led them to abandon the pursuit of agriculture. Contact with the whites upon the frontier also sowed the seeds of discord and degeneration.

Thus, to the eyes and imagination of our pioneer settlers, the modern Indian appeared chiefly in his savage character—the type of a wild race of hunters and warriors. He could give to the whites only uncertain traditions as to these strangely formed earthworks. He knew little or nothing of their history. He knew nothing of the uses of many of the stone implements and antique images. He shook his head mysteriously, and claimed they belonged to a strange and unknown race.

The French trading explorers had come with their convenient wares of iron, brass and copper, and the rude pottery of the natives soon disappeared from sight and was forgotten. Arrow points and implements of iron supplanted those of flint.

Our Tennessee images and vessels of clay were fortunately preserved in the stone graves of our ancient cemeteries; the rest were generally lost and destroyed. Thus, many writers were led to draw a broad distinction between the race of mound builders and the modern Indians, and to magnify the works and intelligence of the former in contrast with the uncivil-

* Report Bureau of Ethnology, No. 2, p. 165.

† See summary of authorities cited by Lucian Carr. *Mounds of Mississippi Valley. Memoirs of Ky. Geological Survey*, Vol. 2, 1883.

ized condition of the latter. Modern investigation has broken down these theories, and greatly lessened this contrast. The deeper the subject is probed, the more closely they are found to be related, until we are forced to the conclusion that there is no other theory so simple and rational as that which assigns the mound builders a place in history as the ancestors of the advanced tribes of modern Southern Indians.

The systems of earthworks and tumuli in Tennessee and the States adjacent must be regarded as clearly presenting most of the characteristic features of the mound builder's structures. They offer a fair test of the question at issue. No higher grades or forms of pottery, or more elaborately wrought implements, or articles showing more commercial development have been found elsewhere in the Mississippi valley.*

Prof. Putnam with his archæological spade has recently penetrated the inmost recesses of elaborate mounds and ancient cemeteries in Ohio, and Wm. McAdams and A. J. Conant have explored hundreds of graves in Illinois and Missouri without discovering anything superior to the arts of the primitive tribes who built the earthworks in Tennessee.

There are features common to all the works of the mound-building tribes. The differences are not sufficiently radical to make it necessary to attribute them to different races. There are also many traces of kinship connecting these tribes with the ancient pyramid builders of Mexico and the Pueblo builders of the far West.

Doubtless some offshoot of the ancient Mongol race or races, who built up the first semblance of civilization upon the banks of the Gila and Colorado, then found their way to the valley of Mexico—doubtless some offshoot finally pushed across the wide plains to the eastward and colonized the Mississippi valley. Waves of immigration may have followed. The date was too remote for chronology. Centuries of time, migrations, changes, wars, extinctions, absorption must have succeeded.

The nomadic tribes of the plains, the more sedentary or village Indians of the South, their industrious kindred of the Ohio valley, were probably each the progeny of this ancient race, under different conditions or stages of development.

The special influences that caused certain branches of the family stock to adopt the semi-agricultural state, and others the hunter state, may readily be imagined; nor is it difficult to account for their military or defensive works, simple or elaborate, wherever they exist.

The particular development, religious or social rites, the semblance of

* Characteristic tumuli exist in all sections of Tennessee, sometimes rising to the height of 60 or 70 feet, but I have specially considered only those that have come under my observation.

culture, that led to the construction of the so-called effigy or figure mounds of Wisconsin and Ohio, and the groups of exact forms, circles, squares, the systems of terraced pyramids of the Ohio valley and of the South, offer some minor problems more difficult of solution, yet these enigmas are being unraveled. The effigy work seems a natural outgrowth of the religious rites and superstitions of the Indian race, and Mr. Lewis H. Morgan in an elaborate treatise has offered a most reasonable explanation of the peculiar features of the Ohio structures.

Consider the influence of a century of peace upon tribes of Indians like the Natchez, the Shawnees or the Iroquois. Peace and agriculture in a fertile territory would naturally have enabled them to produce all the spurs of development represented by these remains. Consider the effect of a succeeding century of wars, invasions, pestilence, famine, and we have the key to the apparent decadence of the North American Indians. These vicissitudes have marked the pathway of the most civilized nations.

Conquest and progress followed by degeneration and decay is the lesson of history. There is no mystery in the disappearance of some of the mound-building aborigines. Scores of tribes have become extinct during the last three centuries. An Indian trail is now almost unknown even on the plains of the far West.

The Mandans of the Northwest, a modern tribe, lived in dwellings very similar in character to those of our stone-grave race. Catlin describes one of their villages, in the bend of a river, protected by a solid stockade and ditch. It resembled in other respects one of our ancient fortified villages in Tennessee.

They burned in kilns an excellent variety of pottery. They played the game of "Chungke" with discoidal stones like the Southern Indians a century and more ago. They were once a strong tribe, yet under the unrelenting persecutions of the Sioux tribes they have become nearly extinct.* Here doubtless is an epitome of the life and fate of some of the mound-building tribes. There has been a great deal of sentimental rubbish written on this subject about "vanished races of high culture akin to the Aztecs and the Incas." It is better to face the simple truth even at the expense of sentiment.

I have personally assisted in exploring many mounds and stone graves. I have also carefully examined a large number of collections and Museums of American Archæology. The result is disappointing to any one searching for evidences of ancient civilization among the remains of the Missis-

*" Mound Builders." Force, p. 76.

sippi valley. He will find only the remains of ancient barbarism. There has been no exception.

I have also had the pleasure of witnessing excavations, made under official authority, in the ruins of the ancient cities of Southern Italy—indeed have been permitted to assist in them. I have seen a number of articles lifted into daylight from their original bed in the ashes and cinders of Pompeii—an Etruscan vase, a kitchen ladle of copper inlaid with silver, a lock and key and other humbler antiques, but all showing the high state of civilization that existed in ancient Italy. I could not help thinking of the contrast between the antiquities of Europe and America, a contrast scarcely less striking, though the explorer prosecutes his labors among the most noted remains of Central America or Mexico.

History and tradition tell us that the ancient tribe of Natchez Indians probably occupied the fertile valleys of the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers at the dawn of European discovery. The Creek confederacy was subsequently founded upon the ruins of the Natchez. Later the Shawnees from the far Sewanec, or Shawnee River of Florida and from the Savannah in Georgia became the conquerors of the land now called Tennessee. An ancient Shawnee village was built upon the present site of Nashville. They were a fine type of the native American—the tribe later of Logan and Tecumseh.

For a century or more they held sway. Their domain extended from the Ohio to the Tennessee River, but these fair possessions were the constant envy of their neighbors. They were never at peace. No wonder their ancient homes upon the Cumberland were fortified like the walled towns of feudal Europe! Each settlement probably had its castle of security. The Iroquois on the north pressed them, through years of unrelenting hate. The Chickasaws and Choctaws preyed upon them from the south; the Cherokees from the southeast.

The Shawnees were finally overwhelmed and scattered. They fled beyond the Ohio. Their towns and villages were desolated and left in ashes.

They occasionally stole back to their ruined homes in the land of their fathers. The Iroquois, their ancient enemies, sometimes hunted the Cherokees even to the banks of the Tennessee, yet no claimant dared to build a permanent home in all this fair territory, and for sixty years or more prior to its first settlement by the whites Tennessee was an uninhabited wilderness. The trees grew still larger upon its mounds and earthworks, and its maize fields again became a forest. President Harrison, an eminent antiquarian in his day, tells us in a paper relating to the

history of the Indians that even "the beautiful Ohio rolled its amber tide until it paid tribute to the Father of Waters, through an unbroken solitude for nearly a century."

What an Eldorado was buried in this deep wilderness! An Eldorado not of gold, but of nature's better riches! No wonder that its pioneer discoverers called it the Garden of Eden, and the Land of Promise beyond the Mountains! No wonder that the Cherokees from the mountains on the east looked down along the bright silver ribbon of the Tennessee upon the immigrants' floating barge, and tried to stay its coming, or lay in ambush along the narrow "Wilderness Trail"!

Here we take leave of "Ancient Tennessee." We have come out of prehistoric shadows into the light of history. What a mighty change has been wrought by a century of civilization!

G. P. Thurston.

BETWEEN ALBANY AND BUFFALO

EARLY METHODS OF TRANSPORTATION AND TRAVEL

PART II

We can easily imagine that in the darkness or rain, with a crowd of passengers and perhaps some drunken boatmen, the joys of traveling on the Erie Canal might be not inaptly illustrated by the experience of Horace on his journey to Brundisium. A traveler fifty years ago on a packet-boat between Rome and Syracuse, says that the mosquitoes have, at least, reaped some benefit from cutting the canal; and that if they taxed all other boats on the canal as they did his, a canal share with them, must be considerably above par and highly profitable. But at other times the number of passengers was moderate—only enough for pleasant intercourse—the weather fine, and the inconveniences few and far more than counterbalanced by the pleasures of travel. At times, either by accident, or by previous arrangement, musicians were found on board, and as almost every one could dance in those days, the passengers, young and old, enjoyed the pleasure of an old-fashioned quadrille. One of the annoyances of travel by night, was the difficulty, or the carelessness of the steersmen, in entering the locks. The locks were 90 by 15, and the boats 80 by 14; and as the packet bumped, or groaned and grated as she entered the lock, the passengers were shaken out of sleep; or if only partly aroused, the hissing and roaring of the water completed the process. Miss Martineau was evidently not in good humor when she wrote her *Retrospect of Western Travel*; or perhaps the romance of her novel experiences was dimmed a little by the interval of a year. In her *Society in America* (1837) she speaks considerably and pleasantly even of certain trying experiences in travel. But in 1838, she recalls more of the disagreeable features of her tour. The company of travelers on the packet-boat was far from agreeable, the most offensive feature of it being a company of sixteen Presbyterian clergymen, on their way to Utica, who shocked Miss Martineau's irreligious sense by their persistent and untimely scripture-reading and prayers. The berths in the ladies' cabin were offensive to her fastidious tastes, and she had meditated sitting on deck all night, when a shower came on and drove her below. To add to all her misfortunes they passed the fine scenery of Little Falls in the night. Her spirits revived, however,

the next morning, when they reached Utica, and found themselves at Baggs' Hotel, where they "knew how to value cold water, spacious rooms and retirement, after the annoyances of the boat." She is magnanimous enough to admit, on another occasion, to the credit of our hotels, that she never in any place, found difficulty in obtaining as large a supply of *water*, as she wished, by simply asking for it, in good time. One of the pleasures, to which travelers on the canal looked forward, was the scenery at Little Falls; and the slow passage of the boats through the locks gave ample time to enjoy it. It was compared by some to the *Trosachs*, with its "beetling crags, rocks hurled in ruin, the shaggy wood, and little coves, where the still water hardly stirred a leaf." Even Mrs. Trollope admits that the Little Falls have a beauty as singular as it is striking. "I never saw," she says, "so sweetly wild a spot."

Mrs. Trollope's observations upon America were cynical; and perhaps her reflections upon our methods of travel, were no more just than those on our society and manners. Her experience was, that with a delightful party of one's own choosing, fine weather, and a strong breeze to drive away the mosquitoes, traveling by canal might be very agreeable; but no motive of convenience could be powerful enough to induce her again to imprison herself in a canal-boat under ordinary circumstances. The accommodations, as seen through Mrs. Trollope's green spectacles, were inadequate—everybody was selfish and rushed for the best place. The library of a dozen books, the back-gammon board, the mean little berths, and the shady side of the cabin, were all pre-empted, without regard to a woman's, and especially an English woman's, previous claim. Mrs. Trollope reached Utica at noon on the day after leaving Albany "pretty well fagged by the sun by day and a crowded cabin by night;" and here lemonade, feather fans and *eau de cologne* kept her from surrendering at discretion to a thermometer in which the mercury stood at ninety. It is refreshing to learn that her digression to Trenton Falls was made in "a very pleasant airy carriage," and that the drive of fourteen miles was delightful. Let us here, by anticipation, confute Mrs. Trollope out of her own mouth as to some of the beauties of travel in America. "Who is it (writes Mrs. Trollope) that says America is not picturesque? I forget; but surely he never traveled from Utica to Albany. I really cannot conceive that any country can furnish a drive of ninety-six miles more beautiful, or more varied in its beauty." A traveler in 1835 calls it "the lovely valley of the Mohawk," and says that the earth hardly contains a valley more deserving of the epithet; and Fanny Kemble says: "The valley of the Mohawk, through which we crept the whole sunshiny day, is beautiful from beginning to end."

Some light is thrown upon early travel on the canal from the way-bills of the packet-boat *William C. Bouck*, which ran between Utica and Rochester in the season of 1823, with Captain William Bristol as master. The first bill is dated April 23d, and the season closed November 24th. The bills are kept with remarkable neatness and fullness of detail. The passenger's name; the number in the party; the place at which he came on board, and the place of his destination, together with the price paid, are in each case entered. As in most cases only surnames are given, it is not easy to recognize with certainty any of the passengers. The first name on way-bill No. 3, for the boat leaving Utica, May 1, 1823, is that of Wm. C. Bouck, in whose honor the packet had been named.

The Hon. Wm. C. Bouck was then one of the canal commissioners, having been appointed by the two branches of the legislature at the session of 1821. He was not disposed, however, to accept any "dead-head" courtesy, but paid \$19.50 for a party of three from Utica to Rochester. On the same bill a Mr. Lyman paid \$5 from Utica to Rochester and "found himself." Mr. Cummins, with a party of four from Weedsport to Rochester, paid \$11.50; and fifty cents was "deducted for a servant-girl." We find in one bill that General Kirkland paid \$16 for a party of four from Rochester to Manlius. On one bill we find a "Mr. Holly and Lady"—possibly the Hon. Myron Holly, so prominent in the early part of this century in engineering and canal interests. On one bill it appears that a Mr. Mosely traveled from Whitesborough to Manlius. There were two in the party, and opposite his name there appears the significant entry, "paid nothing." Whether he belonged to the noble army of "deadheads," or whether he shrewdly eluded the vigilance of Captain Bristol, we can only conjecture.

The *William C. Bouck* made seventy-four trips during the season between Utica and Rochester. The amount of travel was surprisingly great. On her third trip she carried 57 passengers, and the proceeds of the trip were \$209.17. The first trip yielded \$168.50; the second, \$187.90; and the receipts for the entire season were \$6,762.50. The fare in the early part of the season was charged at the rate of four cents per mile; but later, it seems to have been reduced to three cents. At the higher rate the fare from Utica to Rochester was \$6.36; at the lower rate, \$4.80. And yet it is not easy always to decide on what basis the charge was made. There were evidently "half-fares"; for we find them charged as such in one or two cases. But there is a singular variety of fares between Rochester and Utica. Beside the apparently regular charges of \$6.36 and \$4.80, we find passengers charged \$4.75, \$5, \$5.25, \$5.50, \$6. The

prevailing charge from Utica to Syracuse was \$2.44; but beside this, we find \$1.80, \$1.83, \$1.89, \$2.12. From Syracuse to Rochester we find charges as follows: \$3, \$3.92, \$3.94, \$3.96, \$4. From Rome to Rochester: \$4, \$4.35, \$5.76, \$5.87. It is possible that this variety of charges might be reconciled by the fact that in some cases passengers "found" themselves, and did not incur the expense of a sleeping berth. In one place we find that a party of three from Utica to Rochester paid but \$10, and again a party of two paid \$9.60—evidently a considerable deduction from the regular fare. In 1822 the boats were allowed to make five miles an hour; but the commissioners reporting in that year recommend that the legal rate of speed be reduced to four miles, so as not to damage the embankments. In 1825 there were four packet-boats running between Utica and Rochester.

In 1795 Jason Parker began running a stage from Whitestown to Canajoharie. It appears that for some years before he had carried the great western mail from Albany; and on one occasion, when he reported six letters for the inhabitants of Fort Schuyler, the natives were incredulous, until John Post, the Dutch postmaster, a man of unimpeachable veracity, had confirmed the statement. Mr. Parker's stage was to leave Whitestown Mondays and Thursdays at 2 P.M., and proceed to Fort Schuyler. The next morning, at 4 A.M., it was to start for Canajoharie, reach there in the evening, exchange passengers with the Albany and Cooperstown stages, and return to Fort Schuyler the next day. The fare from Whitestown to Canajoharie was \$2; way passengers four cents per mile, with fifteen pounds of baggage gratis. It is impossible to introduce into a narrative of stage travel in the valley of the Mohawk quite such a glow of enthusiasm as marks De Quincey's account of the English mail coach of the early part of this century. His account of "going down with victory"—the story of how the mail coach carried through England the news of England's great victories, from Trafalgar to Waterloo, is enough to make the most prosaic heart swell with emotion. "Five years of life," says De Quincey, "it was worth paying down for the privilege of an outside seat on a mail coach when carrying down the first tidings of such an event." Every part of every carriage was carefully cleaned and examined; every horse carefully groomed; horses, men and coaches decked in laurels, oak leaves, and ribbons; and the guards in royal livery. The great line of stages is ready, each waiting for its mail, and as the lid is locked down, the driver gathers up his reins, and the horses plunge into their collars. "Horses!" he says: "can these be horses, that bound off with the action and gesture of leopards? what stir; what sea-like ferment; what a thun-

dering of wheels; what a trampling of hoofs; what a sounding of trumpets; what farewell cheers";—and amid a tumult of voices, connecting the name of each particular stage—as, "Liverpool forever"!—with the name of the particular victory—as, "Salamanca, forever"! the royal mail rushed out of sight on its journey of three hundred or six hundred miles, and soon after leaving the city, settled down to its regular pace of ten miles an hour. Neither the roads nor the stage lines through the valley of the Mohawk, in the early part of this century, will admit of any such glowing account as this. But with the improvement of the roads and the increase of travel, the conveniences and speed of travel improved. In 1820 Schoolcraft traveled by stage from Albany to Utica in seventeen hours. In the winter of 1822–3 Mr. Theodore Faxton, merely to show what could be done in the line of rapid travel, made careful arrangements for relays of horses, and drove a party of six gentlemen from Utica to Albany and back in 18 hours. In 1833 we have an incidental notice of a stage running from Utica to Manchester (9 miles) in an hour and 10 minutes.

In 1819 Fanny Wright traveled from Albany westward; and her experience, though given with unfailing good nature, shows that the condition of the roads was far from ideal. There was no such thing as "traveling post," as in the old world. If the tourist were fastidious, and easily annoyed by trifles, he could hire or buy his own "dearborn," or light wagon, and travel as he pleased. Harriet Martineau once engaged an "exclusive extra" from Utica to Buffalo for \$80, and Fanny Kemble traveled in the same way. But if the traveler wished to see people, as well as things, and to hear intelligent conversation; if not disposed to take offence at little things; if willing to exchange civilities with strangers, and make an acquaintance, if only for an hour; if he could submit to jolting, and to the whim of the driver, in going too rapidly over a rough road and too slowly over a smooth one; then let him by all means take a corner in the post-coach. As he passed through the country, he would be joined at different points by travelers differing in appearance and profession—country gentlemen, lawyers, members of Congress, naval officers, farmers, mechanics. The atmosphere was democratic. The judge, farmer and mechanic conversed upon equal terms; and the prevailing testimony is, that the party in a stage-coach was generally characterized by two excellent qualities, good humor and intelligence. Miss Wright found the roads along the Mohawk shockingly bad in many places. A storm had preceded them, and the road was full of holes, "first the right wheel of our vehicle and anon the left, making a sudden plump, did all but spill us out on the high-

way." They reached Utica "very tolerably fagged and bruised as I could not wish an enemy."

At Utica, foreigners, or those who traveled for pleasure, generally interrupted the journey long enough to make a visit to Trenton Falls. After leaving Utica, Miss Wright found that the country began to assume a rough appearance, stumps and girdled trees encumbering the inclosures, and log-houses scattered here and there. The road between Utica and Auburn was apparently not so well cleared and settled as either east of Utica or west of Auburn. In this case, the travelers reached Canandaigua on the fifth day after leaving Albany.

English travelers were always considerably amused at the names of places in America. Mrs. Trollope says: "My chief amusement, I think, was derived from names." On arriving at Rome, the first name she saw over a store was *Remus*. Captain Marryatt detests "these old names vamped up. Why do not the Americans take the Indian names? They need not be so very scrupulous about it; they have robbed the Indian of everything else." "The Americans," he says, "have ransacked Scripture and ancient and modern history to supply themselves with names, and yet there appears to be a strange lack of taste in their selection. On the road to Lake Ontario you pass such names as Manlius, Sempronius, Titus, Cato; and then you come to *Butternuts*."

The manner of distributing the mail in the thinly-settled districts was amusing as well as annoying. There was no attempt to sort the mail. In moving through the new country, papers were flung out from time to time, though "no sight or sound bespoke the presence of a human being." Occasionally the stage stopped at some "corners" or small settlement, the mail-bag was thrown out, its contents dumped upon the floor, and the driver, with the postmaster, and perhaps his wife and children, proceeded to pick out whatever letters or papers might be addressed to the surrounding district. When this was done, the remaining mail matter was once more swept into the leathern bag and thrown into the stage. If no postmaster could be found, as was sometimes the case, the mail was carried on.

The corduroy road, of which so much is heard, was found only, or mainly, in the western part of the state. Miss Martineau refers to these roads, because, she says, they seem to have made a deep impression upon the imaginations of the English, who apparently think that American roads are all corduroy. After describing the different varieties of roads in America, good, bad, and indifferent, she says: "Lastly, there is the corduroy road, happily of rare occurrence, where, if the driver is merciful to his passengers, he drives so as to give them the feeling of being on the way

to a funeral, their involuntary *sobs*, at each jolt, contributing to the resemblance; and if he is in a hurry, he shakes them like pills in a box." The corduroy road was built of split trees and rails laid across the road, as evil-minded persons affirmed, without any regard to level or disproportion of size, and a most sovereign contempt for anything like repairs. "Such a wretched apology for a highway," said a traveler in 1833, "ought to have immortalized its inventor's name, in place of being called after the coarse cloth which it resembles in grain. The man, at least, deserved a patent for having discovered a most excruciating mode of dislocating bones, and an easy method of breaking the axle-trees of carriages."

Let us take a journey through the valley of the Mohawk and westward with a party leaving Albany on August 30, 1828. We shall take the stage to Schenectady, so as to avoid the delay of passing through the locks. The stage is a huge coach, of elliptical shape, hung low, on strong leathern belts, and drawn by four horses. It is wider and longer than the English stage-coach. It will carry nine inside passengers, and there is room for one outside with the driver. After taking us in at our hotel, the stage is driven about the town to pick up the other passengers with their baggage. The road to Schenectady, with which we are, by this time, familiar, is over a sandy plain—the "pine barrens"—with rows of lombard poplars on either side. The day is hot. The driver who, like most stage drivers of that date, is merciful to his beast, stops twice to water his horses, and at the doors of the inns on the way some persons are in waiting with glasses of water to refresh the hot and thirsty travelers. The conversation is general, and even the chancellor, who is one of the passengers, does not refrain from engaging in it. At 12 M. we reached Schenectady, where the stage stops for dinner. At all hotels the custom is to have breakfast, dinner, and tea at fixed hours, and the landlords are reluctant to prepare any special meals. The ringing of a bell summons us to the table, which is bountifully laden. The charge for dinner is half a dollar. At 2 P.M. we take the packet on the canal close to the hotel door. The boat is not large—fifty feet long by eight in width. Whatever may be the dimensions of the boat, however, the captain is, in his own opinion, no small affair. He puffs and swells about, until he looks nearly as large as his boat. He seats himself in the cabin, calls for his writing-desk, orders a bell rung to call the passengers to pay up, collects the fare from the half-dozen who have taken passage with him, and then locking his desk with a key large enough for a street door, goes on deck and stalks majestically up and down as if commander of a man-of-war. "After all," we say to ourselves, "there is nothing like being a captain." The passengers, though differing in social

rank, enter into conversation with each other freely. The canal works are pointed out to strangers by a canal agent, who happens to be one of the party; but the absorbing topic is the Presidential election, which is to come off in a few months, and Adams and Jackson each find about an even number of champions. The numerous bridges are a source of great annoyance—so low that in passing under them we have to leave the higher deck, where it is desirable to sit for the sake of the view. The sleeping accommodations for ladies are tolerably good; those for gentlemen cannot be commended; and soon after leaving Schenectady we resolve that on reaching Utica we will again take the stage. The packet moves along, drawn by three horses, at the rate of four miles an hour, and we reach Utica on the afternoon of the 31st, twenty-six hours after leaving Schenectady. Having had three meals on the packet, our supper at the canal coffee-house, in a large and rather handsome room, where we are joined by thirty or forty others, is very refreshing. There are at this time five daily four-horse coaches leaving Utica for Buffalo, with a fare of \$6.50. We are to start at four o'clock in the morning, and therefore retire in good season. Through the carelessness of a servant we are barely ready in season, and hurry down to find the coach already half full, half an hour before sunrise. The road is poor, but the driver jogs along at the rate of seven miles an hour. The rapid driving of the clumsy vehicle down the hills and over the bridges at first causes some alarm; but we find comfort in the reflection of another traveler, who has written that the stage drivers in America are men who command admiration, equally by their perfection in their art, their fertility of resource, and their patience with passengers. "Although nobody, I believe," says Fanny Kemble, "ever traveled one hundred miles by land in this country without being overturned, the drivers deserve infinite credit for the rare occurrence of accidents. How they can carry a coach at all, over some of their roads, is miraculous; and high praise is due to them, both for their care and skill, that anybody in any part of this country ever arrives at the end of a land journey at all."

At Vernon, seventeen miles from Utica, we stop for breakfast. The tavern here enjoys an excellent reputation, and both the meals and the service are commended by some of our most fastidious travelers. Before leaving Vernon we take in an additional passenger, a woman, who fills the last vacant inch of the vehicle. We are appalled at seeing a young man follow her with an enormous wooden best-bonnet box, which, in violation of right and reason, he insists on forcing into our laps or crowding under the seat. Our route lies through a country well cleared, diversified with hill and dale, and with many thriving villages. At one place some Indian

children run for a long distance after the stage in the hope of securing a few pennies. The driver stops to water his horses every four or five miles, and we go through the operation of leaving the mail at various points. We expect to dine at Onondaga; but a party of militia, on duty there, has demolished the regular dinner, and rather than wait for another to be prepared, we take a luncheon of bread and cheese, and push on to Auburn. This place we reach about sunset, and are served as soon as we arrive with a plentiful supper. While we tarry at Auburn for awhile to inspect the state prison, we may comment upon the fact that at the hotel the hostess sits at the table with us, and the young woman who waits at the table sits at the foot when not busy in serving the guests. The word *servant*, we are told, is rarely used in America. Many English travelers in America, in the early part of this century, were offended at what they regarded as the free and easy manners on the part of landlord and attendants. But the landlord, we must remember, was often a man with a real or fictitious title to his name; always a man of local importance, and in those simple, democratic days, when the host mingled on familiar terms with judges and legislators, why should he be obsequious to English travelers. The young woman who served the guests was often the daughter of the landlord, and a service which would be refused to a rude demand, was cheerfully rendered at a civil request. "For my own part," says Fanny Kemble, "I have thus far met with nothing but civility and attention of every description." In 1815 President Dwight entered into a defence of America against English critics, and among other things, appears as the champion of the American tavern, proving from the words of English travelers that they had received only civility and politeness at the hands of all classes in America. And now we are prepared to resume, and soon to finish our journey. Leaving Auburn, we cross the great wooden bridge, a mile or more in length, at the foot of Cayuga Lake and come to Geneva, the most delightful place for a residence which we have seen since leaving the Mohawk. The hotel in Geneva is large and well kept, but if you are as fastidious as Fanny Kemble, it is to be hoped that you have followed her example and brought your own silver forks with you, for if we believe her statement, the wretched two-pronged iron implements furnished by our host are anything but clean or convenient. What is true of most other hotels, is true here—substantials and necessities are freely furnished, but luxuries scantily. It is not easy to have boots blacked, or to get hot water in the morning. The traveler excites no surprise by shaving in public in the bar-room. We find that twenty stages leave the door of our hotel in Geneva each day throughout the whole year. And so we

journey on stopping at various points of interest, received everywhere with hospitality which, if homely, is at least hearty and genuine, until on the 10th of September, when we are approaching Buffalo. If we need any exercise to whet the appetite for supper, we shall find enough of it in the corduroy road. We are almost shaken to pieces. Such jolts would break the springs of any English carriage, but the strong leathern belts of the American coach never give way. The best progress we can make is three miles an hour. We reach the spacious Eagle Hotel in Buffalo long after supper is over, but a new one is soon provided, and the fatigues of the journey are soon forgotten.

And now, having carried you back half a century or more and taken you with me on this personally conducted tour from Albany to Buffalo, I leave you to sleep, like Rip Van Winkle, on the shores of Lake Erie, merely cautioning you that when you awake and wish to return to Albany you need not drag along for ten days in the packet-boat, or bump over corduroy roads and wallow in sloughs for five or six days in a stage-coach, but that the limited leaves there at 8.50 A.M. and will land you in Albany at four o'clock P.M.

A. S. Hopkins

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Reminiscences of America's historical personages seem to possess an inexhaustible fascination for our reading public. This fact must be my excuse for adding to the vast riches already accumulated a few of my own personal recollections of one of the greatest of our deceased Presidents.

Strolling in Washington, one morning before breakfast, in the pleasant grounds back of the "White House," I was impressed by the simplicity, yet dignified proportions of the Executive Mansion. This is not, I believe, the generally accepted opinion respecting that building, and from time to time the question of a new edifice is mooted—some colossal and decorated structure, more in keeping with the conventional idea of the grandeur of the official occupant. I trust that, in my day, at least, no rash act of Congress, or scheme of an ambitious architect, will combine to supplant the existing building which, if not as convenient as it should be in its interior arrangements, presents, externally, a sufficiently imposing appearance to designate it as the residence of the Chief Magistrate of our nation, hallowed, too, as it is by the associations clustering about a line of illustrious men, covering nearly a century.

I was indulging in these reflections as I leaned, in the stillness of the early morning, over the railing that divides the private grounds from the outside promenade, when from the door of the adjacent conservatory stepped a tall, ungainly-looking man, in a high hat and an ill-fitting suit of black. Evidently surprised to see a stranger at such an hour inspecting the premises, he relinquished his intention of entering the mansion, and advanced toward me with an expression of curiosity, if not of suspicion. When within speaking distance, he stopped and regarded me with great earnestness from beneath a pair of shaggy eye-brows, and then I suddenly recognized the President, Abraham Lincoln. At the same moment I remembered that the political excitement attending his inauguration, a few weeks before, had not entirely subsided, and that precautions were still being taken to prevent the possibility of annoyance, if not of danger to, his person, on the part of evil-disposed individuals known to be still lurking in the Capital. I immediately raised my hat and was on the point of resuming my walk, when he lifted his own and with an encouraging smile seemed disposed to enter into conversation. I mentioned my name in an apologetic manner, and he, approaching nearer, asked what state I was

from. Apparently satisfied from my response that I was a safe person to converse with, he explained, with the homely familiarity of an old acquaintance, why he himself was out at that early hour. It was the first time, he said, that he had been able to look about the grounds or to enter the conservatory since he had taken possession of the White House. He then pointed to the building, and spoke of certain architectural changes in it "since Madison's day." When I mentioned that it was my first acquaintance with the building, he called my attention to a point of view toward the Potomac which he preferred to any other, and was about enlarging upon the subject by moving forward where the view was more extended, when a third person was seen approaching, moved probably by curiosity to look at the President. Upon this, Lincoln bade me an abrupt "good-morning," and turned with a shambling gait into the mansion.

I saw little of President Lincoln during that brief visit of mine to Washington, but two years later I had occasion to confer with him frequently on a matter of business. Once, when keeping an appointment, and when my patience was nearly exhausted by waiting to be summoned to the President's room, the door of the adjoining apartment was opened by him with considerable irritability of manner, and, in a loose dressing gown and carpet slippers, he exclaimed:

"I thought you were to be here at nine o'clock. It is now ten." I stated that I had been there for more than an hour, but that the Secretary of the Interior, who also was to have been present, had not yet appeared, and that, naturally, I had supposed they were in consultation together before calling me in. He instantly apologized, and transferred his irritability to the absent Secretary.

Lincoln's extraordinary natural sagacity often supplied the place of experience, and a brusqueness of speech sometimes followed a suggestion from another in opposition to his own views, which, after controverting, he would adopt. I suggested on a certain occasion, in regard to the business I had in hand, that all the preliminaries having been satisfactorily arranged, the easiest way to settle the matter would be for him to affix his signature to the document before him.

"O, I know that," he replied, "and so it would be 'very easy' for me to open that window and shout down Pennsylvania Avenue, only I don't mean to do it—just now."

He was irritated, and justly irritated, by certain difficulties which had been thrown in his way toward the accomplishment of a great purpose which he had determined to carry out—by opponents to the scheme.*

* See *Magazine of American History*, October, 1886.

I responded, that if His Excellency required more time to reconsider the matter, I would, however inconvenient to myself, remain a few days longer in Washington.

"No," said Mr. Lincoln, "you've had trouble enough about it, and so have I," and he read over the document to himself with close attention. "I guess it's all right," he remarked, when he had done so, and, sending for the Secretary of the Interior, affixed his signature.

I never heard Lincoln indulge in any of his habitual anecdotes, but he was full of humor and keenly appreciated it on the part of others. I once made a jocose remark which tickled his fancy. Leaning back in his chair, he looked up at the ceiling with open mouth and a grin of enjoyment; and the next moment resuming his usual solemnity of manner he went on with the examination of the papers before him. His personal appearance during that moment of "silent laughter" was not attractive, with his long legs, and slippers extended forward, and his hairy head hanging over the back of the chair, as if he had been thrown there in a dislocated condition by some violent process. But even under his personal disadvantages, Lincoln's homely face and uncouth figure failed to diminish a profound respect on the part of all who stood in his presence. It has occasionally happened to me to be alone with some "grand personage," from a prince to a prime minister, each of whom was distinguished by dignity of manner and polished address, but I never felt the inner power of a man so potentially, as was manifested by Abraham Lincoln. Behind that shaggy physiognomy, the stern integrity of the man mingled with a humane and penetrating determination of will that was very remarkable.

The last time I stood near Abraham Lincoln was more impressive than on any previous occasion, for he was mute, motionless and invisible—lying dead in his coffin beneath a sable pall in a lower room of the City Hall in New York. All day the citizens had been streaming into that room and filing around the catafalque, with mingled curiosity and sorrow, to pay their last respects to the great martyr of freedom before the remains continued their mournful and imposing progress toward their final resting-place. The hour for closing the room for the night had arrived and all but the guards had departed; but a word from me to the door-keeper induced him to allow me to go in, "for a moment." Shadows had gathered around the black drapery of the pall, and an indescribable awe took possession of my soul as I remembered the last time we were together in the White House, as he had leaned back smiling at something I had said. Suddenly, I heard the bolt of the outer door turn in the lock, and footsteps retreating. The guard, supposing I had left the room, had shut off my exit. I was

locked in with the body of Lincoln. It was not for long, for another door-keeper soon relieved the one who had left, and in response to my knocking released me. I shall not forget the expression of surprise and horror on his face as he opened the door at what his fancy may have conjured up as the summons of the dead man himself for liberation from his charnel house!

The next morning Admiral Farragut, who was a neighbor of mine at Hastings-on-the-Hudson, leaned over my garden gate to remark that he thought Lincoln's "Catapult" the finest thing of the kind he had ever seen. "I call it *catapult*," he said, "because it sounds to me more natural, in the way of my profession, than the foreign word."

That afternoon a large crowd assembled near the railroad depot of our village—beneath and around a memorial arch, with a suitable inscription, that had been erected—to see the coffin of the martyred President pass by. As the funeral train approached the village, wreathed in crape, and the bier nearly concealed with floral offerings, the engine "slowed" that the crowd of mourners might uncover before the remains of one whose great heart, just judgment and inflexible honesty of purpose had so pre-eminently defended the Union during its years of peril. How impressive were those few moments of dead silence! It seemed as if the world of action—the toil and the bustle of life—suddenly stood still to listen to the mournful cadence of a little village bell and the more distant echo of the minute gun. Then, silently and swiftly, the long funeral train moved on, bearing Lincoln to his final resting place.

Enough : he heeded not the passing bell,
The solemn tramp and toll,
The booming sorrow and the requiem roll—
Done was the patriot's work he did so well.

True to the land that bore him: true to her
Whose rivers led his youth
Into the likeness of their deepening truth,
He stood serene amid their borders' stir.

So grew he with his country, side by side,
As state is linked with state;
Child of her love, and husband of her fate,
Whose hand, e'en foemen took with conscious pride.

So stood he grandly by her altar fires,
Holding her greatness up;
And fed her eagle from the sacred cup
Brimmed with the saving blood of patriot sires.

And when he fell, 'twas to a golden rest ;
As, through a storm-tossed sky,
The unladen tempest cloud sails stately by
To melt and mingle with the glowing west.

Take him, great history, in thy stalwart arms,
And let the pond'rous weight
Upon thy foremost altar lie in state,
In the dead eloquence that best embalms.

For, through the blindness of his dusty veil
His wisdom pierceth death :
Dumb, he yet crieth with a living breath,
Forward, my country ; thou shalt never fail !


Charles K. Tuckerman.

no other alternative, nor option in the matter, for that document, with all its harsh exactions, was in force, and behind it stood the power of Great Britain. Canadian statesmen held that in enforcing the terms of the old treaty, strictness and severity would have to be used. "It must be remembered," said the Minister of Justice in his report of the 22d July, 1886, "that with thousands of miles of coasts, indented as the coasts of Canada are by hundreds of harbors and inlets, it is impossible to enforce the fishery laws without a strict enforcement of the customs laws." The two were really inseparable from one another in their practical working. The Minister of Fisheries complained that a relaxation of the rules "would give to the fishing vessels of the United States privileges in Canadian ports, which are not enjoyed by vessels of any other class or of any other nation, such vessels would, for example, be free from the duty of reporting at the customs on entering a Canadian harbor, and no safeguard could be adopted to prevent infraction of the customs laws by any vessel asserting the character of a fishing vessel of the United States."

Lord Lansdowne, the Governor-General of Canada, also took strong ground on the question in his report of March 9, 1887, to the Imperial Government, when he said :

"The same argument applies to the enforcement against the American vessels of the Canadian customs law. . . . It would not be possible to cease enforcing it against a particular class of vessels without giving them opportunities for systematically, and with complete impunity, evading the law upon coasts of which the configuration is particularly favorable to the operations of smugglers." And the Commissioner of Customs of Canada, reporting on the "Pearl Nelson" case, is emphatic in his declaration that "it was very easy for the crew or any of them to have taken valuable contraband goods ashore on their persons in the absence of any customs officer at the landing place." From the above quotations from the reports of public officers, it will be seen that the chief fear to be apprehended from the indiscriminate landing of American fishing vessels lay in the infringement of customs regulations. These reports also bear out the Dominion government's contention, that the customs laws and the fishery laws must be carried out together. The new regulations emphasized in the draft treaty of 1888, though conceding much to the United States, are still strong enough to put down smuggling. No American vessel entering Canadian bays or harbors is excused from rendering an account of itself to the Canadian boarding officer. The American fisherman will not we are sure, needlessly imperil his position, his liberty or his vessel by trespassing on rights exclusively reserved for Canada.

which prevailed in the breasts of sympathizers with the maritime workmen of New England. Canadian laws were not strained in the least, but the terms of the treaty in force—the old compact of 1818—were rigorously acted upon and interpreted to the very letter. The passage of the retaliation bill at Washington proved but another source of dissatisfaction, and reasonable men on both sides of the line looked on at the quarrel with ill-concealed apprehension.

The Commission was not called together a day too soon. It was a wise, statesmanlike act of the President to call it into being in the first place. The work accomplished by the Plenipotentiaries fully justifies the expectations formed of them, as men of broad views and statesmanship. The new treaty contains fifteen clauses, but discussion is apt to arise over not more than three or four of them. Practically, the headlands theory, for which England has always contended with spirit, has been abandoned. We may be sure that the British Plenipotentiaries fought hard to maintain the imperial pretension in this respect, for in the past it has always proved the snapper of the whip. From the very beginning of the fisheries dispute, the combined judiciary of Great Britain has held strong views on this feature of the case, averring, as Bourinot points out, "that the three marine miles from the coasts, bays, and creeks of her (British) possessions must be measured from the headlands or entrance of such classes of indentments." This opinion has always been rejected by the American people, who hold that the "line of demarcation should not be measured from the headlands or bays, but should follow the shores of those indentments as if they were sinuosities of the coast." On this point, the old treaty of 1818 says that the United States agreed to renounce all right "to take, dry, or cure fish on or within three marine miles of any of the coasts, bays, creeks, or harbors of His Britannic Majesty's Dominions in America." Altercation upon altercation has followed on the way in which this clause has been interpreted. Now it was to the definition of the three-mile limit, including the headland question, that the Commission, doubtless, bent their best energies. The great point of the deliberation was the settlement of this question. Accordingly, the two first articles of the treaty provide for the appointment of a mixed commission to delimit the British waters, creeks, and harbors of the coasts of Canada and New Foundland, as to which the United States by the convention of October 20, 1818, renounced forever any liberty to take, dry, or cure fish. The delimitation is to be made in the following manner: The three marine miles are to be measured seaward, from low-water mark, and in every bay, creek or harbor, not specially provided for in the fourth article, such three miles are to be measured

from a line drawn across the bay, creek or harbor in the part nearest the entrance at the first point where the width does not exceed ten marine miles. This definition, of course, applies to all bays, creeks and harbors on the Canadian and New Foundland coasts the mouths of which do not exceed ten miles in width. American fishermen, according to Article IV., are excluded at points more than three marine miles from low-water mark as established by the following lines, namely, at the Baie des Chaleurs the line from the light at Birch Point on Miscou Island to Macquereau Point Light ; at the Bay of Miramichi, the line from the light at Point Escuminac to the light on the eastern point of Tabusintac Gully ; at Egmont Bay in Prince Edward Island, the line from the light at Cape Egmont to the light at West Point, and off St. Anne's Bay in the Province of Nova Scotia, the line from Cape Smoke to the light at Point Aconi. At Fortune Bay, in New Foundland, the line from Connaigre Head to the light on the southeasterly end of Brunet Island, thence to Fortune Head ; at Sir Charles Hamilton Sound, the line from the southeast point of Cape Fogo to White Island, thence to the north end of Peckford Island and from the south end of Peckford Island to the east headland of Ragged Harbor.

At or near the following bays the limits of American exclusion shall be three marine miles seaward, runs the treaty, from the following lines, viz. : At or near Barrington Bay, in Nova Scotia ; the line from the light on Stoddard Island to the light on the South Point of Cape Sable, thence to the light at Baccaro Point ; at Chedabucto and St. Peter's bays, the line from Cranberry Island light to Green Island light ; thence to Point Rouge (or Red Point), at Mira Bay, the line on the east point of Scatari Island to the northeasterly point of Cape Morien, and at Placentia Bay, in New Foundland, the line from Latine Point on the eastern main land shore to the most southerly point of Red Island ; thence by the most southerly point of Merasheen Island to the main land. Long Island and Bryer Island, at St. Mary's Bay, in Nova Scotia, shall, for the purpose of delimitation, be taken as the coast of such bay. These lines of delimitation, which absolutely establish the Canadian claim, are extremely favorable to Canada, inasmuch as they serve to greatly enlarge the Dominion's jurisdiction over the fishing grounds, and with the single exception of St. George's Bay in Nova Scotia, making the exclusive property of Canada every bay on the coast of the maritime provinces. While the British contention, so long persisted in, has been practically abandoned by the Commission, the capitulation is nominal only in its value and effect, Canadian interests being fully protected. Of course, there are some in Canada who regard the abandonment of the old system of measurement as a virtual

surrender of a great principle, for the simple purpose of settling a vexatious question. But practical men will not be apt to take a merely sentimental view of the subject. Looking at the question from every side, they will see that in agreeing to conform to the wish of the United States in this matter, the Canadian yield has been slight, while the means of irritation involved in the pretension have been removed for all time. I cannot see that Canada has made any serious sacrifice in meeting the wishes of the American Commissioners. By giving up an idea, she has gained a real benefit.

We need not concern ourselves with the clause which renders free of navigation to American fishing vessels the Strait of Canso. The strait has always been open, but this is the first time that it has had its place in a treaty drawn by the two nations interested.

Perhaps the second important paragraph in the treaty before us is Article X. It concedes to American smacks:

"They need not report, enter or clear when putting into such bays or harbors for shelter or repairing damages, nor when putting into the same outside the limits of established ports of entry for the purpose of purchasing wood or of obtaining water, except that any such vessel remaining more than twenty-four hours, exclusive of Sundays and legal holidays, within any such port or communicating with the shore therein, may be required to report, enter or clear, and no vessel shall be excused thereby from giving due information to boarding officers. They shall not be liable in any such bays or harbors for compulsory pilotage, nor when there for the purpose of shelter, or repairing damages, of purchasing wood or of obtaining water, shall they be liable for harbor dues, tonnage dues, buoy dues, light dues, or other similar dues, but this enumeration shall not permit other charges inconsistent with the enjoyment of the liberties reserved or secured by the convention of Oct. 20, 1818."

To persons of humane tendencies, the terms of this article particularly appeal. In brief, it is a liberal and courteous interpretation of the privilege granted to American vessels by the old convention of seventy years ago. In enforcing the terms of that treaty, Canada, during the past two years, was obliged to use harsh measures. We have always held that the terms of that document were vexatious and cruel, and the Commissioners have only acted in the true spirit of humanity by rescinding the obnoxious exactions. The concessions made by Canada in this respect are honorable to her, and worthy of high praise. Before the Commission met, of course, Canada was bound to act on the provisions set down in the treaty of 1818. For that, however, the United States was to blame. Canada had

no other alternative, nor option in the matter, for that document, with all its harsh exactions, was in force, and behind it stood the power of Great Britain. Canadian statesmen held that in enforcing the terms of the old treaty, strictness and severity would have to be used. "It must be remembered," said the Minister of Justice in his report of the 22d July, 1886, "that with thousands of miles of coasts, indented as the coasts of Canada are by hundreds of harbors and inlets, it is impossible to enforce the fishery laws without a strict enforcement of the customs laws." The two were really inseparable from one another in their practical working. The Minister of Fisheries complained that a relaxation of the rules "would give to the fishing vessels of the United States privileges in Canadian ports, which are not enjoyed by vessels of any other class or of any other nation, such vessels would, for example, be free from the duty of reporting at the customs on entering a Canadian harbor, and no safeguard could be adopted to prevent infraction of the customs laws by any vessel asserting the character of a fishing vessel of the United States."

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The "touch and trade" privilege, about which so much in the way of criticism has been said in the press of both countries, is dealt with in the next clause of the treaty, Article XI. This article too, is framed on the laws governing common humanity, and Canada's pretension hitherto in regard to it was open to censure. It reads thus :

"United States vessels entering the ports, bays, and harbors of the eastern and northeastern coasts of Canada, or the coasts of New Foundland under stress of weather or other casualty, may unload, reload, trans-ship, or sell, subject to customs laws and regulations, all fish on board, when such unloading, trans-shipping or sale is made necessary as incidental to the repairs, and may replenish outfits, provisions and supplies damaged or lost by disaster, and in case of death or sickness, shall be allowed all needful facilities, including the shipping of crews. Licenses to purchase in established ports of entry of the aforesaid coasts of Canada or of New Foundland for the homeward voyage such provisions and supplies as are ordinarily sold to trading vessels shall be granted to United States fishing vessels in such ports promptly upon application and without charge, and such vessels having obtained licenses in the manner aforesaid, shall also be accorded upon all occasions such facilities for the purchase of casual or needful provisions or supplies as are ordinarily granted to the trading vessels ; but such provisions or supplies shall not be obtained by barter nor purchased for resale or traffic."

The concessions granted to the United States by the above article are not only dictated by the natural impulses of humanity, but by the principles of good policy as well. American vessels, when driven by stress of weather or other casualty, may hereafter enter a Canadian port, discharge, sell or trans-ship cargo, provided always that such discharge, sale or trans-shipment is rendered necessary in order to effect repairs to the craft. The vessel may replenish outfits, provisions and supplies damaged or lost, by disaster, and, in case of death, or sickness, may ship seamen. More than this the American vessel may not do, the ordinary privileges of trading are denied her, and the liberties granted are only given in cases of disaster. In other words, the common rights of humanity in time of distress are yielded, the concession in nowise modifying the rights of Canada as laid down in the treaty of 1818. Mr. Bayard, previous to the late convention at Washington, held that the fishing vessels of the United States should have in the established ports of entry of Her Britannic Majesty's Dominions in America, the same commercial privileges as other vessels of the United States, including the purchase of bait and other supplies. This claim has not been recognized by the Commissioners.

THE FISHERIES TREATY : A CANADIAN VIEW.

indeed, Mr. Bayard does not seem to have pressed the bait question at all. Vessels in distress, only, may enter Canadian ports with the object of landing and selling cargo, and then only in so far as the landing and selling of cargo is made necessary by circumstances occasioned by the disaster, and incidental to repairs. American fishing vessels, moreover, after obtaining a license, which is supplied free of charge by the Canadian authorities, may purchase in Canadian ports provisions and supplies for the homeward voyage. Cargo, according to the second clause of the article, must not be landed, nor seamen shipped. Neither can bait, ice, seines, twine or fishing supplies be purchased, the paragraph limiting the character of the supplies to those which are merely and ordinarily sold to trading vessels. The regulation further stipulates that American fishing vessels cannot obtain such supplies by barter of fish for provisions, nor purchase supplies for resale or traffic. These directions appear to be explicit enough, and Canada's rights are well protected. Competitors are rigidly excluded from her markets. Shelter in the ports of Canada is freely granted, with, of course, necessary restrictions to prevent imposition.

In turn, the United States agrees that the fishing vessels of Canada and New Foundland shall have on the Atlantic coast of the United States all the privileges reserved and secured by this treaty to the Canadian fishing vessels in the aforesaid waters of Canada and New Foundland. When it is considered that this privilege is of little value to the fishermen, the fishing off the American coasts being so much inferior to that of Canada, further discussion on that clause of the treaty will be found unnecessary. Article XIII. insists that United States fishing vessels play conspicuously official numbers on their bows for purposes of identification. Article XIV. provides adequate punishment in the shape of penalties for fishing unlawfully, preparing to fish, and any other violation of the laws of Great Britain, Canada and New Foundland, relating to the rights of fishery. The fifteenth article is a distinct bid for reciprocity between the two countries. It provides that whenever Canadian fish and fish oils are made free in the United States, as well as the packages containing the same—a most useful addition—American fish shall be admitted free into Canada, and American fishing vessels shall be permitted to enter Canadian ports and harbors for the following purposes: 1. The purchase of provisions, bait, nets, seines, lines, and all other supplies and outfits; 2, the trans-shipment of cargo; and 3, the shipping of crews; but while bait may be obtained by barter no supplies can be so acquired—they must be purchased. The licenses to do this will be furnished free of charge by the Canadian government. At any moment the United States may end the

dispute by adopting in the one item of fish and their produce untrammelled free trade. Trans-shipment of the catch is certainly a point of very great moment to the American fisherman, but Canada could not be expected to grant so valuable a privilege to a competitor in business, without receiving a corresponding concession in return. But even this privilege is freely tendered to the United States on reciprocal terms.

The protocol, which is signed by the British Plenipotentiaries, is an important addendum to the treaty. In the nature of a *modus vivendi* the Commissioners make a temporary offer for a period not exceeding two years, and pending the ratification of the treaty by the various legislative bodies interested. The clauses read thus : 1. For a period not exceeding two years from the present date, the privilege of entering the bays and harbors of the Atlantic coasts of Canada and New Foundland shall be granted to the United States fishing vessels by annual licenses at a fee of \$1.50 per ton for the following purposes : the purchase of bait, ice, seines, lines, and all other supplies and outfits, trans-shipment of catch, and shipping of crews. 2. If, during the continuance of this arrangement, the United States should remove the duties on fish, fish oil, whale and seal oil (and their coverings, packages, etc.), the said licenses shall be issued free of charge. 3. United States fishing vessels entering the bays and harbors of the Atlantic coast of Canada and of New Foundland, for any of the four purposes mentioned in Article I. of the convention of October 20, 1818, and not remaining therein more than twenty-four hours, shall not be required to enter or clear at custom-house, providing they do not communicate with the shore. 4. Forfeiture to be exacted only for the offenses of fishing or preparing to fish in territorial waters. 5. This arrangement to take effect as soon as the necessary measures can be completed by the colonial authorities.

These terms are conciliatory and liberal. The cost of the annual license described as excessive, of the fishing craft from seventy to one hundred tons, would prove really a small affair, and considering the privileges it would buy, exceedingly moderate. The treaty, as a whole, is framed on just principles. No country has been humiliated, and opposition to its terms comes only from the politicians opposed to their several governments, and from certain elements among the fishermen on both sides of the line. Its adoption would settle a long-standing difficulty and put an end to a vexatious dispute which has lasted for nearly three-quarters of a century.

QUEBEC, CANADA.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "George Stewart Jr." in a cursive script. The signature is written over the bottom right portion of the text area.

AN ENGLISHMAN'S POCKET NOTE BOOK IN 1828

WHAT HE SAW IN AMERICA

(Continued from page 338.)

November 18. Continued our journey at 6 having anchored at night, and at 7 o'clock passed Cumberland River on the left, which runs thro' Tennessee, and soon after saw the river of that name, which empties itself by 2 mouths into the Ohio. We saw several flocks of wild turkeys on the shore: one of our party killed a bird from the boat with his rifle. Most of the Americans in this part of the country are excellent shots. . . . Reached a small place (consisting however of a large dog-house only) called Trinity, 6 miles from the mouth of the river, where we were destined to remain until the next morning, in order to take the cargo of the Barges into the steamboat which we leave here. . . .

November 19. Commenced our voyage at 6 this morning and at 7 I had the first view of the noble river of the Mississippi. The fog however was so thick, that the great body of the water was indistinctly visible. . . . You soon discover the difference in the character of the 2 rivers, the Ohio moving slow and placid, whilst the Mississippi sweeps along with a fierce and tempestuous current. . . .

November 18. Under way this morning early, and during the whole day we had no view save the interminable forest, and dull ragged banks on both sides. Subject as this part of the country is to yearly inundations, very few settlements have yet been attempted and these generally on the high bluffs which are above the reach of the water. We passed only one to-day, where I observed something like the appearance of a village. . . .

November 21. Reached the small town of Memphis in Tennessee at 4 this morning. To add to the dreariness of this day's journey we had a cold, constant, and heavy fall of rain, quite in character with the dark and gloomy forests which fringe the bank to the water's side. The water of the Mississippi resembles in color the Avon below Bristol. . . . They say it possesses medicinal qualities being impregnated with salt. I cannot however say I discovered this merit, altho' I drank nothing else during the whole voyage. We anchored this evening in consequence of a thick fog and were again under weigh at eleven.

November 22. Passed White river in the morning, where we remained three hours. Took in a considerable number of Bears' and Deers' skins, killed in the neighboring forests, which abound with these animals. Met one of the Choctaw Indians who could speak English. His nation which are numerous possess large tracts of land in the northern part of Tennessee. They are more civilized than the northern savages and have something like a form of government. Passed the junction of the river Arkansas which flows thro' the whole extent of that vast country, the greater part of which is unknown. The settlements through the whole of the western countries are as yet confined entirely to the Banks of the large rivers. Passed to-day many of the white sandbanks which extend for miles.

For the last week we have lived almost entirely on the wild Turkeys which are excessively cheap in this country. I am quite decided that they are the finest flavored Birds I ever tasted.

Although the weather is still cold I perceive we are fast approaching a southern climate from the appearance of the forests, which are still clothed in all the luxuriance of their foliage, or rather in all the beauty of their autumnal tints, which are so strikingly beautiful in this country.

November 23. Steamed all night, and this morning we were blessed with one of the finest days I ever saw, though still frosty. The forests improve in appearance every day, fringing the Banks of the river and glowing with every tint and shade. While we were taking in wood Eden and myself made an excursion into the forest where were some of the largest cotton and sugar trees I have ever seen: the largest trees I ever beheld in England were nothing to them. There was also an abundance of the Holly Green oak, and other Evergreens whose names I did not know. The larger trees were covered with a creeping vine: the stem of one I measured was as large as my body. I have seen them hang perpendicularly from a branch 60 or 70 feet high, giving a light and graceful appearance to the tree. . . .

November 24. Steamed all the night, and this morning I felt most sensibly the sudden change in the atmosphere. The forests the whole of this day's journey were most beautiful, covered with all their summer foliage. At 6 this evening observed the lighthouse above Natchez, and at 7 landed in that town. The evening was excessively hot and sultry. Eden and myself walked through the principal street. . . . Natchez is a place of some trade, with a population of 5,000—all the steamboats touch here on their way to New Orleans.

November 25. Continued our journey this morning at 10 o'clock. The forests are now everywhere covered with the Spanish moss, which

attaches itself to the trees, but particularly to the Cypress (a deciduous tree and quite unlike those I have ever seen) which grow here to an enormous size. This singular creeper, with its light and delicate fibers, is a sure indication of swamp, and consequently of ague and fever. In the melancholly cypress swamps which extend for miles, you see it hanging from all parts of the trees in dark and sombre festoons, adding a funereal aspect to the dark and dreary view : quite in character however with the deadly malignity of the climate. In the summer no living creature approaches them, save the crocodile : and no sound is heard in these extensive plains but the incessant buzz of mosquitoes. The heat yesterday and to day has been quite oppressive ; in 24 hours we experienced a change of 40 degrees by my thermometer. I feel quite unwell in consequence. We had a battle royal this morning between 2 ladies of our party. They proceeded from words to abuse, and then to downright fighting. The gentlemen interfered, though the contest was carried on by words for some time after. Reached the town of Baton Rouge at 1 o'clock, 150 miles from New Orleans ; at this place the sugar plantations commence, and also the levée or raised bank to check the inundations of the river.

Visited one sugar plantation which seemed to be well conducted, and with much fewer negroes than we require in the West Indies. The sugar cane of this year's growth was smaller, and I should think not so rich and succulent as the cane in our colonies. The occasional frost here must of course check and injure the growth of the Plant. The houses and buildings are in excellent condition all along the river, a sure sign of the wealth and industry of the Proprietors.

November 27. Steamed all night and at 7 o'clock this morning reached New Orleans. It was raining hard and the appearance of the town, almost buried in mud, and the squalid, unhealthy look of the people was by no means cheering. In coming down the river we heard several unfavorable reports of the climate. We positively ascertained this morning that the yellow fever had been raging, and that the town was still unhealthy. This was by no means agreeable news, particularly as I felt very unwell from long confinement on board the Packet. We tried unsuccessfully at the Inns, where we were unable to procure any rooms, unless we consented to sleep in the same apartment with some dirty Americans. We fortunately heard of a boarding house in Canal street where we procured 2 very comfortable rooms. Walked through part of the town in the evening, which appears to be built on a flat, below the level of the banks of the river. Swamps surround you on all sides, indeed the town itself must originally have been a marsh. The water is everywhere stagnant even in the streets;

the wooden pipes intended to carry it off not having elevation sufficient to allow it to run into the main. . . . I heard bull frogs croaking on all sides, harbored I suppose in the said wooden pipes.

November 28. We were fortunate in having fine weather today, which enabled us to reconnoitre the whole city. I still feel very unwell and desponding at the idea of being obliged to remain here some days for a vessel to Vera Cruz, between which place and New Orleans there is little communication. It is built (New Orleans) very like an old French provincial town: the same narrow streets, old fashioned houses, and lamps suspended by a chain across the road. Many of the houses are however picturesque, with their large projecting roofs and painted sides and windows, quite a contrast to the brick and mortar towns we have lately seen. The Americans are however introducing their taste very fast; many of the best stores and buildings have been constructed by the American merchants. The population including blacks is upward of 40,000, the greater part of which are still French, or speak only that language. The whole place has quite the air of a French town. I cannot conceive a more unhealthy, deadly situation than New Orleans during the last of summer. Bogs, swamps, morasses, in every direction, which they do not attempt to drain. Mosquitoes are of course abundant, even now they swarm in myriads as bad as in the worst places in the West Indies. The export trade here consists principally of cotton, the sugar being entirely for home consumption. Passed by this morning the hospital for the poor, which is quite open to the street on the ground floor. I saw the unhappy wretches lying in great numbers in one large room, most of them sick with the fever. . . .

November 30. Went to the cathedral this morning: an old building of the mixed French and Spanish style of architecture. The inside was less ornamental than most Catholic churches. I observed one Madonna dressed in silk according to the latest Parisian fashion. There are 2 Catholic churches and one small Presbyterian church for the whole population: which suppose, as Sterne says of the people of Calais, is enough to hold them all, or they would build another. I should suppose that New Orleans, like the small town of Natchez (I mentioned in my travels) is not famous for its morality or religious feeling. Those who come here on account of trade, think only of making money as fast as they can, and trouble themselves very little about other matters. The Baron de Manginy, to whom we brought a letter from General Bertrand [formerly aid-de-camp of Napoleon] called on us today. He is the principal person in the place, though certainly very distinguished in manner or appearance. We dined with him at a

very good house near the town, where I met a large party of French gentlemen. Not a word of English was spoken during the evening, which I did not regret, as I have no difficulty in conversing now in the French language. One of his daughters was a pretty girl: but looking sickly and unwell. This is the general appearance of all the women throughout the United States: I have seldom seen one with the healthy look of an English girl. To use the words of Tom Moore, they are *old in their youth and withered in their prime*, which is certainly true. I have seen however some very beautiful women, and they are uniformly superior to the men in manners and appearance.

December 1, 1828. A delightful morning with a cool refreshing breeze. Took my first lesson in Spanish of an old officer who served with the royalist army in Mexico. I can make myself understood at present but hope to speak the language fluently before I return to England. Walked to the farthest end of the town along the banks of the river. We saw some beautiful little villas, secluded in gardens, where many of the tropical plants were growing, the banana, orange trees, lime, etc., and the roses, jessamine, and other flowers were in full bloom. I observed this evening many well dressed women sitting on the steps in front of their houses. In most countries this would be considered an equivocal intimation of their character, but here it is done without impropriety by the most respectable.

December 2. The weather to-day has been excessively hot and sultry. Still quite out of sorts. Walked to the canal at the back of the town which connects this place with Lake Ponchartrain. . . . We walked down to the scene of one unfortunate engagement with the Americans in the last expedition to this country. It is 5 miles below the town near the bank of the river. You can see as little as in most battle-grounds where I never discovered anything from the scene. Eden fancied he could make out General Jackson's lines of intrenchment, and where our troops were stationed. He had a doubly painful interest however in viewing the place, having lost a brother in the engagement.

December 3. I observe all the ships here engaged in the cotton trade to Liverpool are American; not more than 2 or 3 English vessels in the Port. I am afraid the Americans are superseding us fast as ship owners: although we have been told that England can compete with all nations as carriers. . . . In traveling through this country I observed that the whole commerce with England, which must be enormous, is carried by their own shipping alone. So much for the visionary idea, that English capital and industry would enable her to stand a contest with this country as a carrying nation.

ARE WE A NATION WITHOUT CITIZENS

Article XIV. of the Constitution of the United States, has been part of the fundamental law of this country since July 28, 1868. And its definition of citizenship is so clear and comprehensive that it seems quite impossible to misunderstand it. It declares that "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the state wherein they reside."

No construction, it seems to me, is necessary to understand the meaning of such language as this. It destroys completely, as it was designed to destroy, the old "state Rights" theory and order of allegiance. A person may now be a citizen of the United States without being a citizen of any one particular state; but he cannot be a citizen of any one particular state without being a citizen of the United States. To be a citizen of the United States, it is only necessary to be born or naturalized somewhere within our national territory and jurisdiction; whereas, to be a citizen of a state, another important element is necessary, namely, he must "reside" therein. Hence we are no longer a nation without citizens or subjects, as was virtually held, first by Mr. Jefferson, and subsequently by Mr. Calhoun; but a nation in fact as well as in name, rightfully demanding the ultimate allegiance, not of "states," but of living men and women.

Nevertheless, it is asserted by a writer in this Magazine (xix., 317, 318,) that "A citizen of the United States must be a citizen of some state." And again, in a foot-note, that "A man may be a citizen of a state and not of the United States."

Such propositions as these may have been tenable at almost any time during the first eighty years of our national history; because, during that whole period, a clear and authentic definition of the phrase "citizen of the United States," could be found neither in our legislative annals, nor in our judicial decisions, nor in the consentaneous action of any two departments of our government. But, made *now*, they logically involve the repudiation of a fundamental law, the validity of which has had the concurrent sanction of every department of our government for nearly a quarter of a century.

William L. Scruggs.

ATLANTA, GA.

THE FORUM

In the early days of this century, in New York City, say about 1815, the "New York Forum," a debating society, was established by some of the bright young men of the day; many of whom afterward became prominent in our civic and national history. In those days there was a dearth of public amusements. There was only one regular Theatre, "art" galleries were unknown, concerts there were none, and even the public lecturer was still to come. Among the amusements of the day, as a variant from dances and domestic pleasures, was the "Forum," the meetings of which were attended by the gay and fashionable of both sexes. In looking over some old papers I recently discovered the ancient subscription roll of that Society, with the original autograph signatures of its first members. Perhaps, as an addition to our local history, some of the readers of the Magazine may like to peruse the list. Many of the places of residence of the subscribing members are given. The document is, in that aspect, interesting, as indicating some of the portions of the city where many of the principal inhabitants, particularly the clever young men of the day, were domiciled. The original roll I will be happy to donate to any one of our local or historical bodies who may desire its possession.

The roll reads as follows :

"We the subscribers engage to form ourselves into an association, for the purpose of debate on the principles of the Forums, at Edinburgh, or the public debating societies in London; and to adopt and obey such regulations as may be made by the majority."

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Residence.</i>	<i>Name.</i>	<i>Residence.</i>
J. P. C. Samspon,	6 Murray St.	Daniel D. Arden,	City Hotel
C. Watts,	Fulton St.	Michael Ulshoeffer,	Cedar St.
Benjamin Haight,	William St.	T. Pell	do. do.
James W. Gerard,	do.	Ogden Hoffman,	Vesey St.
Sam. Berrian,	Wall St.	John M. Macdonald,	70 Cherry St.
Thos. Fessenden,	Pine St.	H. Maxwell,	Nassau St.
James Stoughton,	Nassau St.	Henry Wheaton,	62 William St.
Stephen P. Lemoine,	Wall St.	John B. (), 24 Cortlandt St.
Fred'k A. Talmadge,	Nassau St.	Edw. Livingston	
R. Emmet,	Nassau St.	Henry M. Smith	
Murray Hoffman,	Pine St.	G. A. Gamage	
Daniel Robert,	Pine St.	Ed. Huntington,	85 Fulton
Hiram Ketchum,	Beekman St.	Wm. L. Morris	

William Sampson	Michl. Riedy	Ansel W. Goes, 282 Pearl St.
I. P. C. Sampson	F. Wandewater	James T. B. Romayne
W. Paxton Hallett	Luther Clark	Junius H. Hatch, 24 Pine
Platt H. Crosby	Elisha Everill	Thos. A. Emmet, Jr.
Milo D. Pettibone	O. L. Holley	Saml. S. Gardiner, No. 1
E. D. Whittesley	J. Blunt	Wall St.
B. Van Beuren	Edm. Wilkes	David Bacon, No. 321 Wil-
Charles Gallaudet	John Mann	liam St.
John Lorimer Graham	H. L. Moses	James B. Brinsmade, No.
John Frederick Sidel, 2 Wall	Wolfe Tone	53 John St.
St.	Edwd. Selden	Lowman L. Hawes
Thos. Wills, 19 Cherry St.	James Thayere	Rob. Lawrence

The poet Fitz-Greene Halleck was a contemporary of the "Forum;" and among his "*vers de société*" (and, with the exception of three or four pieces, his poems were nothing else), he thus celebrated the "Forum" in his characteristic sprightly, sarcastic way:

"'Tis o'er—the fatal hour has come,
The voice of eloquence is dumb,
Mute are the members of the 'Forum!'
We've shed what tears we had to spare,
There now remains the pious care
Of chanting a sad requiem o'er 'em.

* * * * *

Resort of fashion, beauty, taste,
The Forum-hall was nightly graced
With all who blushed their hours to waste
At balls—and such ungodly places;
And Quaker girls were there allowed
To show, among the worldly crowd,
Their sweet blue eyes and pretty faces.

* * * * *

* * For they, in grave debate,
Weighed mighty themes of church and state
With words of power, and looks of sages;
While far diffused, their gracious smile
Soothed Bony, in his prison isle,
And Turkish wives, in harem-cages!

Heaven bless them! for their generous pity
Toiled hard to light o'er darkened city,
With that firm zeal that never flinches;
And long, to prove the love they bore us,
With 'more last words' they lingered o'er us,
And died, like a tom-cat, by inches!"

James W. Garrison

MINOR TOPICS

"LESONS TO MAKEPEACE"

The genealogy of the Washington Family has been under investigation by experts for nearly a century, and still remains unsettled. Prior to 1792 it was an accepted tradition in the American branch of the family, that their ancestors emigrated from Yorkshire, in England. At about that period Sir Isaac Heard, Garter King of Arms, in London, became interested in the subject and induced President Washington to compile a record of the family in America. As a result of their researches upon both sides of the Atlantic, it was concluded that the founders of the family in this country came from Northamptonshire, and not from Yorkshire. This opinion was confirmed by Baker, the historian of Northamptonshire, who published an elaborate pedigree of the Washington Family. This pedigree, with Heard's American continuation of it, was endorsed by Sparks, Irving, and other biographers of George Washington, but its accuracy has been questioned by later authorities, who engraft the American branch upon different English stocks. The issue is one which will never be satisfactorily settled, and notwithstanding the doubts that have been cast upon its accuracy, the Baker-Heard Pedigree will continue to attract attention because of its history and the eminent names associated with it. When it became necessary for the United States to have a flag, Washington's coat of arms, which he had adopted from the escutcheon of the Northamptonshire family, was adapted to the purpose, and our Stars and Stripes are the result. The stars, or more properly rowels, and the bars which suggested our flag, may be seen to-day upon the gateway of the old manor house at Sulgrave, where they were cut three centuries and a half ago.

The writer has recently obtained an old document which is of considerable interest on account of its connection with this matter. Upon pages 552-3 of Sparks' "The Writings of Washington" may be found the pedigree above referred to. It begins with the following historical summary: "In 30 Henry VIII (1538-9) the Manor of Sulgrave, parcel of the dissolved priory of Saint Andrew, and all the lands in Sulgrave and Woodford, and certain lands in Stotesbury and Cotton, near Northampton, late belonging to the said priory, and all lands in Sulgrave late belonging to the dissolved priories of Canons Ashby and Catesby, were granted to Lawrence Washington, Northampton, Gent. who died seized in 26 Eliz. (1583-4) leaving Robert Washington, his son and heir, aged forty years, who jointly with his eldest son Lawrence Washington, sold the Manor of Sulgrave, in Jac. (1610) to his nephew, Lawrence Makepeace, of the Inner Temple, London, Gent. Lawrence Washington, after the sale of this estate, retired to Brighton, where he died. His second son, John Washington, emigrated to America about

the middle of the seventeenth century, and was the great-grand father of George Washington, the first President of the United States."

The document mentioned above disproves some of the statements just given. It shows conclusively that Robert Washington did not sell the Manor of Sulgrave to his nephew Lawrence Makepeace, and also that he disposed of it prior to 1606, and not in 1610. Heretofore the chief objection to the Baker-Heard Pedigree has been the forced connection it makes between the Northamptonshire and the Virginian families. Its merit as a record of the family history in England is now brought in question, and the inaccuracies noted above must seriously impair its value. As a legal maxim has it, "That only is perfect which is complete in all its parts."

In Albert Welles' elaborate "Pedigree and History of the Washington Family," New York, 1879, it is stated that Lawrence Washington "died possessed of these lands (Sulgrave) 19 July, He Elizabeth (1584). His son and heir, Robert, jointly with his eldest son, Lawrence, sold the property, 43 Elizabeth (1600) to his nephew Lawrence Makepeace, of the Inner Temple, London." The date here given of the transfer is probably the correct one, but the statement that Lawrence Makepeace was the purchaser of Sulgrave at that time, is an error, which will be found corrected below.

The document is written in a quaint hand upon a sheet of parchment twenty-four and one-half inches high, by thirty inches wide. The top of it is indentured, and a strip at the bottom, one and one-fourth inches wide, is turned over upon the face of the sheet, and bears the signatures of Thomas Leson the Elder, and of Thomas Leson the Younger, the parties by whom the document was made. Folded strips of parchment, to the free ends of which seals were once attached, are woven into the folded edge of the sheet, and depend beneath each signature. The exposed surface of the parchment is much stained, and has inscribed upon it :

Lessons	}	7 March 4 ^o James 1 ^o 1606.
to		A grant of the Mannor and Lands in Sulgrave.
Makepeace		£1310. No. 1 a

The inside of the parchment is almost as white as when it was written upon, two hundred and eighty-two years ago, and the ink upon it has scarcely faded. Minute holes are pricked along the lateral margins of the sheet, and lines are drawn across in correspondence with them. Upon these lines the matter of the document is inscribed, in part, as follows :

"This indenture made the seaventh daye of March, in the yeare of the reigne of our sov'eigne Lord, James, by the grace of God, Kinge of England, France and Ireland, defend' of the faith, Between Thomas Leson the ld' of Sulgrave vs Sowlgrave, in the countie of Northton, Gent, and Thomas Leson of Noneaton in the countie of Warr, Gent, sone and heire apparent of the aforesaid Thomas Leson, on theire parte, and Lawrence Makepeace, of the Inner Temple, London, Gent, on the

oth' pte, witnesseth that the said Thomas Leson the Father, and Thomas Leson the sone, for and in consideration of the some of tenne pounds of lawfull money of England, in hand payed by the said Lawrence Makepeace, unto the said Thomas Leson the fath', and for and in consideration of the some of thirteene hundred pounds of like lawfull English money to the said Thomas Leson the sone, by the said Lawrence Makepeace before and at the seallynge and delyvery of these presents, well and trulye paid, the receipte of w^{ch} sev'all somes of tenne pounds and thirteene hundred pounds, the said Thomas Leson the fath' and Thomas Leson the sone, doe sev'ally and respectyvely acknowledge, and confess themselves satisfied, and of the said sev'all somes, and of everye parte and parcell of them, doe sev'ally and respectyvely acquite, exon'ate and discharge the said Lawrence Makepeace, his heirs, executo^r and administrato^r, and everye one of them forever by these presents, Have granted, aliened, bargayned and sold, and bye these presents doe fullye, freelie, and absolutlie grante, alien, bargayne, and sell unto the saide Lawrence Makepeace, his heirs and assignes, all that the Mannor of Sulgrave vs Sowgrave, with all the rights, members, and appurtenances thereof, or thereunto belonginge, in the said countie of Northton" . . . and so on in vain and almost endless repetition until the end is reached, where the date, 1606, appears. The name o Washington is not mentioned in the manuscript.

One of the interesting features of the instrument is the signatures of those wh were present at the "seallynge and delyvery" of it. They are six in number and are inscribed upon the back of the parchment. Among them are the autographs of Robert Washington, the Elder, Lawrence Washington, and Robert Washington, the Younger. Robert and his eldest son, instead of being the grantors of the Manor to Lawrence Makepeace, here appear, with the second son, as witnesses merely, to the real transfer. According to the Baker Pedigree, Lawrence Washington was the great great grandfather, and Robert Washington, the Elder, was the great, great, great grandfather of George Washington.

The history of the document, as far as it can be traced, is, that it was brought to this country from England, some months ago, with other MSS., and sold to a gold-beater in New York, who prefers old parchment to pound upon, because it lasts longer. Observing the excellent preservation of this particular specimen, he sold it to a dealer in old books, from whom the writer purchased it.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

EARLY NEW ENGLAND ARBITRATION

Contributed by Mr. Clark Jillson.

[*Editor Magazine of American History*: The following is a copy of a document more than two hundred years old, which shows how a dispute about the boundary between Rhode Island and Connecticut was amicably settled and who settled it.—CLARK JILLSON.]

WHEREAS some difference hath of late fallen out between M^r John Winthrop, Agent for the taking out a Pattent for the Colony of Connecticut, and M^r John Clark Agent for the taking out a Pattent for the Colony of Providence and Rhode Island concerning the right meaning of Certain Bounds sett down in a pattent lately granted to the said Colony of Connecticut AND WHEREAS by Reason of the doubtfullness of some Names, and Expressions mentioned in the said Pattent, and for the better preventing of all Disputes that might arise between the said Colonies hereafter, by Reason of such uncertainties, and dubiousness, They, the said John Winthrop and John Clark have jointly and mutually nominated, chosen, and appointed, William Breereton Esq^r, Major Robert Thompson, Captain Richard Dean Captain John Brook Haven, and Doctor Benjamin Worsley or any three, or more of them to Hear, and to consider the state of the said Difference, and to determine what they Judge, might be most Commodious, in order to the settling the said Bounds, Clearing up all Uncertainties, and giving a mutual Satisfaction to both the said Colonies WE whose names are underwritten, having in pursuance of their requests met together, and having at large heard what hath been alledged on each side, on behalf of themselves and the respective Colonies to whom they do respectively belong, upon serious debate, and consideration had of the whole matter WE have jointly, and unanimously agreed to offer this advice as followeth Firstly that a River there, commonly called and known by the Name of Pawcatuck River shall be the Certain Bounds between those two Colonies, which said River shall for the future be also called alias Neregansett or Narragansett River, Secondly if any part of that purchase at Quinebage doth lie along upon the East side of the River that goeth down by New London within six miles of the said River, that then it shall wholly belong to Connecticut Colony as well as the rest which lieth on the western side of the aforesaid River Thirdly that the Proprietors, and Inhabitants of that land about M^r Smith's Trading House claimed or purchased by Major

Atherton, Captain Hutchinson, Lieutenant Hudson and others, or given unto them by Indians shall have free liberty to Chuse to which of those Colonies they will belong Fourthly that Proprietie, shall not be altered nor destroyed, but carefully maintained through the said Colonies.

Dated this seventh of April 1663.

William Breereton

Robert Thompson

B Worsley

Jo Brookhaven

TO the four Proposals above mentioned WE the said John Winthrop and John Clark do consent, and submit, as a full and final Issue of all the controversies between US ; In Witness whereof We have interchangeably Set our Hands and Seals this Seventh Day of April Anno Dom 1663 and in the fifteenth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord Charles the second by the Grace of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland defender of the Faith &c.

Signed sealed and
delivered in pres-
ence of

John Clark (Seal)

Robert Thompson

B. Worsley.

A true Copy of the Original

Examin^d By George Wyllys

Secret'y

NOTES

THE FIRST NEW ENGLAND THANKSGIVING—In July, 1630, several hundred English—men, women, and children—were trying to live in huts and tents on or around the town hill in Charlestown (Massachusetts). They had recently escaped discomforts on the sea for privations on shore. Seven small vessels that had brought them from kindred and former homes lay in the river. Forests and wild lands, where there were men as wild, spread inland. There were no mines or great extents of fertile land, and there were few to welcome or to help them. Nearly all the inhabitants were Indians, so called. Along the coasts of what we name New England there were only scanty groups of countrymen: in Maine perhaps five hundred persons; in Rhode Island and Connecticut were none; in Massachusetts were a few, but little more than those at Salem, Beverly, and Lynn, at Dorchester and Plymouth; there was one man on the neighboring peninsula of Boston, and on Noddle's Island, Samuel Maverick. July 8, 1630, they kept a public day of thanksgiving for their arrival, a day observed through all the plantation; one that might be called the first great New England Thanksgiving, and observed upon Town

Hill by probably the largest number of English that had yet been gathered on New England ground.—*James F. Hunnewell's Century of Town Life.*

WEATHERSFIELD BOW—In the appendix to Everett P. Wheeler's interesting little monograph on "Sir William Pepperrell," we find the following: "Weathersfield Bow was one of those curious hamlets, common before the days of railroads, of which few now remain. The little village was almost sufficient to itself. The flocks and herds of the farmers provided them with meat; the skins were tanned in the village tannery, and made into shoes and boots by the village shoemaker; the wool of the sheep was spun and woven by the village housewives on hand-looms, and made by the village tailors into garments; the maple trees supplied sugar; the candles were tallow dips made from the fat of the cattle that had been slaughtered by the village butcher; the wheat raised on the meadows was ground in the village grist-mill; and the houses were built from their own tall pines. When the railroad from Boston reached the opposite side of the river in 1849, all these local industries vanished, and the neighborhood became exclusively agricultural."

QUERIES

Editor of Magazine of American History: In Vol. V., page 446, of your magazine you make reference to "The Saint Mémin Portraits," and suggest the publication of reproductions from the

copper plates; which I am sorry to see you have not been able to continue.

The Corcoran Gallery of Art possesses one of the two copies left by St. Mémin of his collection of engraved portraits,

"All choice proofs of his own selection," 819 in number. He wrote the names with his own hand beneath the portraits. An interesting little circular has been published by the gallery, which gives an account of the life and artistic career of St. Mémin. It states that he left France in 1790 an account of the revolution—that he "began his artistic career by taking views of New York, beautifully tinted, and his success led him to taking life size crayon portraits, in profile, on paper of a pinkish color. He invented a machine to do this with greater accuracy, and another to reduce the portraits to a small size for engraving."

There is in this city, in the possession of descendants, a life size crayon portrait, in profile, on paper of a pinkish color, of Capt. John G. Clark, who was in Paris about 1801 to 1803. They have also a reduced copy engraved after the style of St. Mémin. This reduced copy bears the following inscription: "Dess. p. Fournier gr. p. Chrétien inv. du physionotrace rue honoré vis-à-vis l'oratoire Nos 45 et 133 à Paris."

Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers, New Edition, thoroughly revised, edited by Robert Edmund Graves of the British Museum, London: George Bell and Sons, York Street, Covent Garden (Part 1, January, 1884), Part 3, has:

"Chrétien, Gilles Louis, a French musician, was born at Versailles in 1754. In 1787 he invented a machine called a 'physionotrace' with which he took portraits in profile from life, which were reduced to silhouettes, usually by Fouquet, and then engraved in aquatint by himself, 'L'Incorruptible Robespierre,'

Mirabeau, and Marat being among the hundreds which he produced. He died in Paris in 1811."

Was not St. Mémin a pupil of Chrétien's, if not, was it not a remarkable coincidence that he should have *invented* so similar an apparatus in so short a time after Chrétien?

W. L.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

ELIZABETH CANNING—In the *Gentlemen's Magazine* (Vol. XXIV.) we read: "This morning, May 30, 1754, Elizabeth Canning was brought to the Old Bailey to receive her sentence, one month imprisonment, and transportation for seven years;" further, July 31, Elizabeth Canning is ordered to be transported to some one of his Majesty's American colonies, and has been delivered to the merchant who contracted with the court, to be transported accordingly. In the Annual Register for 1761 (p. 179) there is this statement: Elizabeth Canning has arrived in England, and has received a legacy of £500 left her three years ago by an old lady in Newington Green.

For a half-century before the Revolution felons-convict were transported to America every year and almost every month. Their names are known or can be easily ascertained, but the place of their landing is seldom specified. Elizabeth Canning is one who was brought to New England. She returned there after obtaining her legacy. Her death was at Wethersfield in Connecticut in 1773. She had married Mr. Treat or a man of a name sounding like that (*Gentlemen's Magazine*, Vol. LXXXIII 2nd, p. 337.)

It will throw light on dark passages in our annals if some one—writing either to me, or to the Magazine of American History, will answer any or all of the following questions :

1. What sort of contracts were made for the transportation of convicts ?
2. In what vessel did Elizabeth Canning come to New England ?
3. How many other convicts came in the same ship ?
4. What became of any of them ?
5. What was the true and full name of her husband ?
6. Was her marriage before the term of her transportation had expired ?
7. Were transports a sort of white slaves ? or what was their condition ?

JAMES D. BUTLER

MADISON, WISCONSIN.

PORTRAIT OF NATHANIEL PENDLETON
—*Editor of Magazine of American History*: May I ask through the pages of your publication if there is any likeness known to exist of Nathaniel Pendleton, who served upon the staff of General Greene in the Revolution, and was the second of Hamilton in the celebrated duel ?

C. P.

PHILADELPHIA.

Editor of the Magazine of American History: Will you or some of your readers kindly inform me as to the personal history and ancestry of Rev. Dr. Leaming or Leming of Connecticut, a member of the Church of England and a great Tory during the Revolution ? He was known as " Bishop " Leaming.

H. P. R.

ALBANY, Apr. 6th, '88.

REPLIES

THE MILITIA OF NEW JERSEY IN THE REVOLUTION [xix. 340]—The following letter written by Governor Livingston of New Jersey to Baron Steuben will be of interest in connection with the note on the Militia of New Jersey printed in the April number. It is copied from *Yale in the Revolution*, by Prof. Henry P. Johnston, page 120.

Raritan, 21st June, 1780.

Dr. Baron :—I met your favor of yesterday on the road on my return from the Assembly. They have passed a more rigorous law for reducing the militia to military discipline ; and the law for filling up our Brigade, I hope will also speedily have its effect. But it must be confessed that we are always too late

and generally begin to think of providing our quota when we ought to open the campaign. I am sorry to hear that our militia quit their posts before the expiration of their time. It is indeed enough to exhaust the patience of any officer who has the direction of them. But, my dear sir, there is a kind of passive as well as active fortitude that we must exercise on these occasions, General Washington, who has exhibited a thousand instances of that kind of suffering heroism, ought to animate us by all his illustrious example. Think not, my dear Baron, of resigning your present command ; tho' in one sense an officer is in danger of reaping not but disgrace by commanding such a disorderly hand ; yet when it is duly considered *how disorderly*

they are, that he does great things even with such material, it must add to his glory.

The militia from the lower counties of this State are on their way in considerable numbers. Gov. Reed informs me that his militia are ready to march to our assistance at a moment's warning.

* * * * *

I have the honor to be, Dr. Sir, &c.,

William Livingson.

Major Gen'l Baron Steuben.

MINTO

MATCH-COAT [xix. 348]—In Ogilvie's Imperial Dictionary will be found as follows:

Match-coat, a large loose coat made of match-cloth—*American*.

Match-cloth—a coarse woollen cloth, —*American*.

W. K.

GERMANTOWN, PA.

CHURCH WORSHIP [xix. 346]—*Editor Magazine of American History*: "In answer to the query, 'In what Church in Europe are Roman Catholic and Protestant services held at the same time?' I would say it is the Gothic "Stiftskirche," or "Heilig-Geistkirche," in Heidelberg. A wall which the Roman Catholic Count Palatine Johann Wilhelm had built in 1705, separates the nave from the choir, the Protestants using the former for their services, while the Roman Catholics (now the "Old Catholics") hold their services in the latter.

M. R. C.

NEW YORK CITY.

VIRGINIA STATE NAVY [xix. 346]—I have a manuscript history of that part of Virginia's military forces, which I prepared from original documents, and other

authentic sources of information. "W. H." can possibly obtain the information he desires by applying to me.

WILLIAM P. PALMER

1008 E. Clay St.,
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA.

CHURCH WORSHIP [xix. 346]—See "Sketches of Travel, or Twelve Months in Europe," page 262. In Florence only a single wall separates the American Episcopal Church from an old Roman Catholic Church, the front doors of both opening on the same street.

H. K.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

CHURCH WORSHIP [xix. 346]—The church of the Holy Ghost at Heidelberg, one of the most important buildings in that ancient city of Germany, is so constructed, with a partition wall running through the middle of the edifice, that the services of the Roman Catholics and the Protestants may be held at the same time. In the year 1719 an effort was made by Charles Philip, the elector, to deprive the Protestants of their half of the church, but the towns-people made so strong a resistance, that he was obliged not only to desist, but to remove the electoral court from Heidelberg to Mannheim.

Heidelberg is celebrated chiefly for its university, which is five hundred years old, and has still upward of one hundred professors and an average of more than seven hundred students. The library of the university is one of the largest in Germany, containing many old and valuable manuscripts.

ANTIETAM

BALTIMORE, MD.

SOCIETIES

THE NEWPORT HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its annual meeting Monday evening, March 19, President Francis Brinley in the chair. The committee to whom was referred the matter of participation in the proposed Mason Memorial at New London, and the signing of a petition to Congress for the commemoration of the discovery of America by Leif Erickson, reported adversely on each, and the report was accepted. The annual reports of the president, treasurer and librarian were read and approved. The election of officers for the ensuing year resulted as follows: president, Francis Brinley; vice-presidents, George Gordon King, J. N. K. Southwick; recording secretary, H. B. Wood; corresponding secretary, W. P. Sheffield, Jr.; treasurer, Ralph R. Barber; librarian, R. H. Tillery; curator, Howard Smith. A highly interesting and valuable paper on the French in Rhode Island was read by Dr. H. R. Storer. He described Frenchtown, which was a little settlement in 1686 of about forty-eight French Huguenots in what is now the southeast corner of East Greenwich. The next year the colony had increased to one hundred persons, and their minister was the Reverend Ezechiel Carré, supposed to have been a relative of Gabriel Bernon of Newport, a refugee from La Rochelle. The paper was crowded with interesting detail.

THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its regular monthly meeting on March 26, President Ellis H. Roberts in the chair. Rev. Dr. W. T. Gibson read

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an excellent paper on "The Historic Difference of English and Continental Civilization," which theme he said might perhaps be better expressed by "The genius of Anglo-Saxon law and institutions contrasted with the imperialism of Latin Civilization." He said: "Among our Saxon forefathers there were indeed all the elements of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy together. The original term of land among them, when they sub-divided the common or 'folk land,' was the allodial, mostly the same as our fee simple or absolute ownership, subject only to service in the field and the repair of fortresses and bridges. The feudal system came in only with the Norman conquest, and that was modified and nearly broken down by the superior persistence of English law as early as the reign of Duke William's grandson. Magna Charta in its provision for levying of scutages only by the 'common council of the Kingdom,' as well as Simon de Montfort in securing the representation of the boroughs in parliament, did as much as anything to wipe out practically the feudal system, and to restore the real spirit and principles of old Saxon law and government."

THE FAIRFIELD COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY (Conn.) held its regular monthly meeting in Bridgeport, on the evening of March 15, President R. B. Lacy in the chair. A paper was read by George A. Hyde which had been written by Judge J. W. Fowler of Milford, on Bridgeport's early history and leading men. It was an agreeable chapter of

recollections, Judge Fowler having gone to Bridgeport a youth in 1827, when there were but two churches—St. John's Episcopal, fronting on State street, nearly opposite the present court-house, and the other a Presbyterian church, Rev. Mr. Waterman pastor. He described the principle firms of the time; the trade, he said, was mostly with Boston and New York.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its regular meeting March 20, President Gammell in the chair. Mr. James Burdick read the concluding part of his paper entitled "A California Forty-Niner." He recapitulated in brief the history of his first thirteen years in California, as given in his former lecture. He then set sail for British Columbia, where he made a protracted stay. Mr. Burdick gave a very interesting description of the mode of living and general customs of the Indians of that locality, especially on the Lower Frazier river. The Indians are a nobler race than those of lower and middle California. The governor of the province was a man of simple habits, but he was greatly loved and respected by the natives, who tendered him a continual body guard. Mr. Burdick and his associates met with a series of adventures with the Indians before reaching Lytton, their point of destination. Most of the packs are carried by the woman, who have a strap around their forehead, which falling across the shoulders reaches to the middle of the back. Most of the men devote themselves to the chase. Americans are called by the natives Boston men, while Englishmen are known as King

George men, named so from certain vessels from foreign countries.

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At the April meeting of the Society held on the evening of Tuesday, April 3, the president, Hon. John A. King, occupied the chair. Additions to the library during the past month aggregating four hundred and thirty-seven books, pamphlets, charts and engravings were reported. The paper of the evening entitled "Sir Henry Clinton and Movements on the Hudson in 1779," was read by Henry P. Johnston, Professor of History in the College of the City of New York. The unpublished correspondence of the British Commanders with the Home Government, cited by Professor Johnston, presented in a new and peculiarly interesting light the sagacity of Washington in refusing to be drawn into a general engagement. In this connection the capture of Stony Point by the detachment under Wayne was shown to be, not an aimless act of valor, but the annihilation of Clinton's plan of campaign.

THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF AMERICA held its annual business meeting in New York, April 13, President John Jay in the chair. After the reading and adoption of the reports, the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: Hon. John Jay, president; Edward F. De Lancey, vice-president for New York; Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, vice-president for Staten Island; Henry M. Lester, vice-president for New Rochelle; Charles M. Du Puy, vice-president for Pennsylvania; Banyer Clarkson, secretary; P. W. Gallaudet, treasurer.

HISTORIC AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

In the freshness of our great sorrow we can only make brief allusion to the valuable life which suddenly went out on the 23d of March last, that of Chief Justice Morrison R. Waite. For fourteen years he has been the presiding officer of a great tribunal, the most conspicuous figure in the jurisprudence of the nation, and his career has been touched by no stain, by no reproach, by no fault or failing, either official or personal. Chief Justice Waite spent his life in the unassuming performance of his duty, swayed by no partisan considerations, with no personal or selfish ambitions, high toned in his sense of honor as a lawyer, dignified in his bearing and just in his judgments on the bench, displaying great learning in his opinions, while his manliness, fearlessness, humanity, and generosity, in his associations with men endeared him to the whole country. Few men have lived among us whose death will be so widely mourned. His private character was singularly pure and noble, and the loveliness of his family life a precious memory. Wherever he was known he was beloved with a personal affection.

We are told by Rev. George E. Ellis, D.D., in his new work on *The Puritan Age*, that "Quakerism, in its origin, was an eclecticism in tenets of belief and in principles of life and conduct. It did not originate as novelties either its eccentricities or its substantial principles, with the application of them. All the peculiarities of opinion and all the oddities and extravagances of demeanor first noticeable in the Friends had been adopted and exhibited by one or another of the extraordinary individuals or fellowships among the sectaries of the time. . . . And this in fact was largely the occasion of the misconception, the ill reception, and the odium which were concentrated upon the Friends. Their opinions and actions identified them with various types of fanatics and enthusiasts, who in their previous appearance had held these heresies in connection with some gross immoralities, some really malignant and defiant outrages and avowals which made them justly amenable to restraints and penalties. The Quakers really held none of these evil affiliations of heresy. They were, however, made responsible for them."

Gouverneur Morris rendered some services to Washington, while in Paris during the last decade of the last century, that did not come within the line of his public duties. One of these was to purchase a gold watch, Washington having requested him to do so, "not a small, trifling, nor a finical, ornamental one, but a watch well executed in point of workmanship, large and flat, with a plain handsome key." Morris forwarded the watch to the "Father of his Country" by Jefferson, sending "two copper keys and one golden one, and a box containing a spare spring and glasses."

"My keenest recollection of George Bancroft," wrote John W. Forney, "was very many years ago, March 4, 1845, when he was forty-five and I was twenty-nine. His hair was then as black as Governor Hartranft's—a tall, straight, olive-faced, white-teethed, gold-spectacled scholar. I had learned to honor him before. At that time I was a democrat of democrats, and he was one my leaders and idols; and when I met him first I was

deep in the early volumes of his incomparable *History of the United States*, which began in 1834, and had run into its third volume in 1840. The splendor of its diction, and especially its high republican tone, gave it an extraordinary hold upon the people; and there was hardly an American or European review that did not greet its first volumes with the same enthusiasm that welcomes the last. He came to Washington after the election of President Polk to accept the appointment of Secretary of the Navy, and I remember right well a dinner at the National Hotel in that city one day before the inauguration."

"The dinner was given by Commodore Robert F. Stockton, of New Jersey," continued Mr. Forney. "Mr. Bancroft was not one of the party. Mr. Buchanan, Robert J. Walker, John R. Thompson, of New Jersey, Cave Johnson, of Tennessee, and a few more gathered around the board; and when the impulsive New Jersey sailor, Commodore Stockton, offered a wager of a basket of champagne that he could name the cabinet of the incoming President, the bet was immediately taken by Mr. Buchanan. The names were written by the Commodore and put in an envelope, which was placed in my hands. The Commodore lost the wager because he did not include George Bancroft as Secretary of the Navy. The new administration started with a new cabinet in the full tide of success, June 8, 1845. Andrew Jackson, the ex-president of the United States, died at the Hermitage in Tennessee. It was necessary to pay immediate honors to that intrepid historical character, and it was also necessary that an orator should be secured. George Bancroft was selected, and he discharged his duty with such zeal and accuracy, and pronounced his speech with a rhetoric so magnetic, as to capture the listening thousands."

Senator Hoar, in his recent address at the Centennial Celebration in Marietta, said: "We feel quite proud of our historical achievements in Massachusetts, and there is nothing which that commonwealth has ever done for humanity or for human liberty in which she takes a greater pride than the share which she had in the founding of Ohio. There are probably no two states in the country, probably no two communities on the face of the earth, which are more alike in opinion, in character, and in history, than these two great commonwealths. Ohio herself can not be better described than by saying of her that she is an enlarged and glorified Massachusetts."

In an address before the Historical Society on the same occasion, the Hon. William Henry Smith, formerly secretary of the state of Ohio, and for some years past general manager of the Associated Press, treated of the political contest in the territory north-west of the Ohio river, and in the early years of the state under the general title of "A familiar talk about Monarchists and Jacobins." Concluding he said: "Let us not despair of the Republic, but acquiring the faith that strengthened the immortal Lincoln in days of dark, believe that Providence will find a way for rendering useful for good the enormous wealth in the possession of the few and of transforming to conservative American citizens the refugees of Europe without the horrors of crime and bloody revolution. Much depends upon Ohio, whose central location gives her great power. Heretofore her leaders have been actuated by a noble ambition; her citizens have responded to every call of patriotism. Private and public virtue still abound. The value of the influence of the lives of her great men can not be overestimated. Let the citizens of Ohio not forget the lessons of the glorious past, or those to whose hands hereafter shall be confided the power of the Commonwealth and of the Nation."

BOOK NOTICES

PAPERS OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Vol. I. Part II. History of the College of California. By SAMUEL H. WILLEY, D.D. Quarto, pp. 440. 1887. California Historical Society. San Francisco.

This work is a most valuable contribution to the educational history of our country. The idea of founding a college in California was discussed in that exciting year 1849, simultaneously as it were with the discovery of gold. After many birth throes an academy was opened with three pupils in 1853, by Rev. Henry Durant, which was incorporated into a college in 1855. The author of the sketch before us was one of its executive officers for several years, and thus is exceptionally well equipped for the preparation of this interesting record. California, as we all know, was then very sparsely settled, and boys to be educated by no means numerous; but the academy had become self-supporting before it blossomed into a college. It was the erection of buildings for its use that made it necessary to solicit funds from the East in order to go forward with the work. Dr. Willey, who made personal efforts in this field, soon found that *money* would not be given to California. He said "California was famous as a gold-producing country, and it seemed to people absurd that Californians should be asking for money! I obtained a few thousand dollars in small sums, but my cause did not take hold as I knew it ought to have done, and it never did afterward. In making my applications for a week or two in the fall of 1855, I had many pleasant interviews with most excellent gentlemen. They had not become millionaires as yet, as some of them became afterward, but they gave the subject their attention, and generally contributed something. Mr. Aspinwall did so cheerfully, perhaps because his connection with the Pacific Mail Steamship Company made him acquainted with the real need of California. Mr. C. R. Robert, who, years afterward, founded Robert College in Constantinople, listened with interest to what I had to say, and so did William E. Dodge, and Anson G. Phelps, and others, and all subscribed something, but the sums were not large. I went to see Commodore Vanderbilt. I unfortunately found him in bad humor. Things had evidently been going wrong with his Nicaragua steamship line. He was very severe that day on California, and in very emphatic words, not worth while to repeat, wished the country no good. It was an odd interview, and amused me very much, but it yielded no money." The progress of the institution is traced by Dr. Willey with a master hand, and in a style that is exceedingly interest-

ing; and the reader will obtain from these pages a clear idea of its grade of scholarship, and of its principles and aims, both educational and religious. In the Appendix to the volume are given in full many of the orations which have been delivered on its anniversary occasions from time to time. It also contains the names of the students from the beginning, and an excellent index.

HISTORY OF PRUSSIA UNDER FREDERIC THE GREAT. By HERBERT TUTTLE. Vols. II. and III. 16mo, pp. 642. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

These volumes are designed to be the second and third of the series so happily introduced by the volumes covering the history of the kingdom to the accession of Frederic. The author has devoted such portion of his time as could be spared from his duties as a professor in Cornell University to the preparation of this very full and compendious work, and the reception accorded the first volumes by scholars and critics fully attests its value as a contribution to historic literature. The fourth and fifth volumes are in preparation, bringing the story down to the death of Frederic. The recent death of the good Emperor of Germany will, no doubt, stimulate interest in the history of his realm, of which the Prussian segment bears such an important part. The reader must of necessity refer to the earlier volume for the introductory history of the great Prussian monarch's life. No author, in view of Carlyle's great work, can venture upon the same ground without at least offering some valid excuse for doing so. Professor Tuttle finds this in the researches made during a long residence in Berlin, when he became convinced that Carlyle had not adequately studied the system of Prussian government during the last century, a knowledge of which he regards as absolutely essential if one would comprehend the triumphs of Frederic and the achievements of Prussian power during his reign. He is of the opinion that Carlyle, in casting about for some topic to which he might devote his pen, but by chance as it were upon the one which has done so much to render his name famous as a historian. This is a somewhat bold stand for a comparatively unknown author, but he appears measurably to justify the assumption. He cites numerous authorities, among which are many which Carlyle must have failed to find, or which he purposely ignored. Sources of information are now open to the student which in Carlyle's day were inaccessible, and to this fact alone Professor Tuttle is justified in ascribing what he regards as inaccuracies, if nothing more.

Since Carlyle's time the archives of Austria and Russia have been ransacked and a vast amount of new material has been unearthed. Of this a very large proportion has been published in the various continental languages; but in English no adequate review or compilation has appeared, and the author has with commendable zeal and diligence sought to make good the deficiency. In most cases he cites the authorities quoted, and an exhaustive index renders comparison easy. Carlyle apparently studied with conscientious zeal all the books that he could obtain, but the manuscript authorities he perhaps unavoidably left untouched.

In style and classification the volumes are all that can reasonably be asked for, and the maps, always interesting in a book of this character, are clear and simple.

At the death of Frederic the kingdom of Prussia was perhaps the most powerful of the nations; now again, in her new alliance with Germany, she is almost or quite at the head of Dame Europa's School. At all events, her history is one of the most profoundly interesting and suggestive of modern times, and Professor Tuttle's contributions to its elucidation have already attained a recognized position among historical works in English libraries.

HISTORIC WATERWAYS. By REUBEN GOLD THWAITES. 16mo, pp. 293. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1888.

It is the favorite boast of canoeists that their fraternity embraces, more almost than any other, representatives of the professions and semi-professions that include a very large proportion of the pleasantest and most congenial people in the land. They will not, therefore, be especially surprised at learning that the secretary of the Wisconsin State Historical Society is one of their number, nor that he has gone into print in an account of a canoe cruise taken in company with his wife, over 600 miles of western rivers. Being a historian, his book naturally takes color from his tastes, and, unlike the stories of most canoeing expeditions, deals with many matters that would escape the ordinary observer. The long route traversed lies along the Rock, Fox, and Wisconsin rivers, waterways than which none others in the great West are richer in reminiscences of the early French explorers, and of early border warfare. The narrative divides itself into three portions, one for each of the rivers named, and outline maps precede each of the subdivisions. With the instinct of a trained book maker the author has added a complete index, and a glance at its items shows how affectionately he has traced the historic landmarks that marked the progress of his long voyage. As a narrative the volume is all that can be desired, full of the incidents that enliven every such trip,

and of a well-sustained and varied interest from beginning to end.

ONLY A YEAR, AND WHAT IT BROUGHT. By JANE ANDREWS. 16mo pp. 233. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

The year is one in the life of two American girls, and what it brought is told in a bright narrative style that commends the author at once to any one who is not acquainted with her previous publications. It is a thoroughly healthful story, without any of the morbid affectations that are too common in tales of the period. There are several exciting passages of adventure, but nothing that may not happen to any boy or girl resident in a manufacturing town.

REPORT OF THE CANADIAN ARCHIVES. By DOUGLAS BRYMNER, Archivist. 1887. Being an appendix to the report of the Minister of Agriculture. 8vo, pamphlet. Ottawa, Canada. Maclean, Roger and Co. 1888.

This work is of interest to every American, containing, as it does, important documents relating to the reception and settlement of the loyalists who left the United States at the close of the Revolution. Many of the Canadian families at the present time are descendants of these loyalists; and although several works have been written on the subject, the correspondence in the Haldimand Collection gives a fund of interesting details not before known to the public. The Haldimand Collection, together with the state papers of the Colonial Office (1755 to 1791), furnishes the most authentic account of the events of that stirring period. The Haldimand Papers were presented to the British Museum in 1857, by Mr. W. Haldimand, nephew of General Haldimand, by whose care they had been preserved. A portion of the much talked about negotiations with Vermont are here, which were begun in March, 1779, with the leaders, Governor Chittenden, General Ethan Allen, Colonel Ira Allen and Colonel Fay. Besides the letters and documents of miscellaneous correspondence scattered through these Haldimand Papers, there are nine volumes of secret intelligence, the contents of which relate, to a large extent, to these negotiations with Vermont, containing besides the documents interchanged, reports of the interviews, etc., very few of which have as yet been made use of by historical writers. In addition to affairs relating especially to Canada, there are accounts of the ill-conceived expedition of Hamilton to Post Vincennes; correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton and Sir Guy Carleton on affairs to the southward; minute details of the

scouting expeditions under Butler, Joseph Brandt and other partisans; and the more formidable expeditions of Sir John Johnson and Lieutenant-Colonel Carleton. The correspondence with his friends in Quebec, after Haldimand ceased to be governor, gives interesting accounts of the state of the province under Carleton, the influence over his mind of Chief-Justice Smith, and the course of the latter with respect to legal procedure.

THE MAN BEHIND. A novel. By T. S. DENISON. 16mo, pp. 311. Chicago. T. S. Denison.

A few months ago *An Iron Crown* was one of the literary sensations of the day, and a new novel from the same hand is sure of a large audience. *The Man Behind* is unlike its fortunate predecessor in some respects, but carries enough resemblance to it in style and general motive to confirm the good opinion of its qualities that has been already formed. The scene is laid in the "Paw Paw" state, and the characters are for the most part the rough mountain men who afford such picturesque material for the appreciative student of human nature. The story deals with the three motives that underlie nearly all human actions—love, avarice and ambition. In fact, no story that deals with truth can be written without largely depending upon those three common motives of humanity. Originality, when it exists at all, must depend upon combinations rather than upon fundamental incident, and this quality the author of *The Man Behind* possesses in a marked degree. Of course where avarice and ambition play their part, sin and wrongdoing are a necessary consequence, and of these the characters of the book are by no means destitute. The draught is stronger than milk and water, but it has wholesome qualities for all that.

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS. By THEODORE ROOSEVELT. [American Statesmen, edited by John T. Morse, Jr.] 16mo, pp. 370. Boston and New York, 1888. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Mr. Roosevelt has produced an animated and intensely interesting biographical volume, which may be properly classified as a study of the public character and services of the versatile and brilliant statesman, Gouverneur Morris. Mr. Roosevelt pertinently remarks in his preface that "the reputations of our early statesmen have in no way proved their vitality more clearly than by surviving their entombment in the pages of the authors who immediately succeeded them." Of Jared Sparks, Morris' sole biographer hitherto, Mr. Roosevelt, after commending

his valuable services in preserving American history for the student, says: "The value, however, comes wholly from the matter. . . . He was funnily unconscious of his own prolix dullness, and actually makes profuse apologies for introducing extracts from Morris' bright, interesting writings into his own drearily platitudinous pages, hoping that 'candor and justice' will make his readers pardon the 'negligence' and 'defects of style' which the extracts contain. He could not resist the temptation now and then to improve Morris' English, and to soften down, or omit anything that he deemed either improper or beneath the stilted 'dignity' of history. For example, Morris states that Marie Antoinette, when pursued by the Parisian fish-wives, fled from her bed 'in her shift and petticoat, with her stockings in her hand.' Such particularity struck Mr. Sparks as shockingly coarse, and with much refinement he replaced the whole phrase by 'in her undress.'"

The reader in opening this book is brought into close sympathy with the subject of it from the very first page. The bright, active boy is more fond of frolic than he is of study; but he makes a fair record nevertheless, and graduates from college with honor as the orator of his class, his theme being, "Wit and Beauty," treated in the "dreadful Johnsonian English of the period." A little later on he takes his master's degree with a second speech, "as bad as the first, disfigured by cumbrous Latinisms and a hopeless use of the superlative." He studies law and takes his place at the bar, and then among the anxious men of the period just as they are about to shape new political conditions, and fight for them. His ready mind, his breadth of vision, and his promptness in action, brings him into responsible positions, while yet his youth is more conspicuous than his genius. One of the best chapters of the book is entitled, "Finances: the Treaty of Peace," in which we find Morris the author of a series of essays on the financial condition of the country, recommending an excellent scheme of taxation, as well as assistant financier with Robert Morris for three and a half years; and in spirited correspondence with Jay and other statesmen concerning the negotiations for peace that were going forward in Europe. Mr. Roosevelt has fortunately had access to hitherto unpublished letters from Morris to Jay and from Jay to Morris, which throw fresh light on the stumbling methods of Congress at that momentous period, and the necessity for the independent action of our peace commissioners. The "Formation of the Constitution," is also an important chapter of the work. Mr. Roosevelt never loses sight of the picturesque background of politics, war-government, and diplomacy, as he brings the pen-portrait of Morris to the front; but he gives us such a view of the real man as no

writer has done heretofore. Morris kept a full diary during his nine years abroad, "and his wonderful insight into character, his sense of humor, and his power of graphic description all combine to make his comments on the chief men and events of the day a unique record of the inside history of western Europe during the tremendous convulsions of the French revolution. He is always an entertaining and in all matters of fact a trustworthy writer." Morris did not appreciate the French disturbances, the immediate outcome of which was to be Napoleon's despotism. As a far-sighted statesman Morris despised the theorists who began the revolution, and, as a humane and honorable man, abhorred the black-hearted wretches who carried it on. "His writings," says Mr. Roosevelt, "preserve for us his views in detail on almost every important question that came up during his stay in Europe; couched, moreover, in telling, piquant sentences that leave room for hardly a dull line in either letters or diary. No sooner had he arrived in Paris than he sought out Jefferson, the American minister, and Lafayette. They engaged him to dine on the two following nights. He presented his various letters of introduction, and in a very few weeks, by his wit, tact, and ability, had made himself completely at home in what was by far the most brilliant and attractive—although, also, the most hopelessly unsound—fashionable society of any European capital. He got on equally well with fine ladies, philosophers, and statesmen; was as much at his ease in the salons of the one as at the dinner-tables of the other; and at all times observed and noted down, with the same humorous zest, the social peculiarities of his new friends, as well as the tremendous march of political events. Indeed, it is difficult to know whether to set the higher value on his penetrating observations concerning public affairs, or on his witty, light, half-satirical sketches of the men and women of the world with whom he was thrown in contact, told in his usual charming and effective style. No other American of note has left us writings half so humorous and amusing, filled, too, with information of the greatest value."

FIRST STEPS WITH AMERICAN AND BRITISH AUTHORS. By ALBERT F. BLAISDELL, A. M. [English Literature for Young People.] 16mo, pp. 345. Boston, 1888. Lee & Shepard.

The author tells his readers in the beginning of this volume that "to study English literature, is to become acquainted with the writings of the great authors who have made it what it is. It is to get at the characteristics of those master minds whose works have been universally accepted as classics." He says, "Most books worth reading once are worth reading twice; and the masterpieces of literature are worth reading a thousand times." And, acting on this basis, he has prepared a hand-book of selections and suggestions that is practically useful, and will serve as the beginning to a systematic course of study in English literature. It is an introduction to the best authors, although the ambitious scholar is not advised to rest content with merely studying this book. He is expected to go further. Questions are introduced calculated to stir thought and lead to critical investigation. It is recommended that pupils be required to state the impressions produced on them by reading a work: what they think its leading features are, or what they imagine to be the object which its author had in view in writing it. If there is a plot its probability may be discussed. If the theme of the work is one that has been treated by other writers, attention may be directed to differences of treatment, and parallel passages should be cited. Then, again, committing choice passages to memory is like sewing good seed in the ground, which brings forth in after years a bountiful harvest. One chapter is devoted to an "Outline Course of Study," and another, entitled "Miscellaneous Subjects," is extremely valuable. The book is one we cordially recommend to teachers, who will readily discover its limits and its possibilities. It needs only to be known to become extensively popular.



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For the year ending December 31st, 1887.

ASSETS \$118,806,851 88.

Insurance and Annuity Account.

	No.	Amount.		No.	Amount.
Policies and Annuities in force, Jan. 1st, 1887	129,927	\$393,809,202 88	Policies and Annuities in force, Jan. 1st, 1888...	140,943	\$427,623,932 51
Risks Assumed	22,305	69,457,468 37	Risks Terminated	11,399	85,637,758 74
	152,232	\$463,266,671 25		152,232	\$463,266,671 25

Dr.	Revenue Account.	Cr.	
To Balance from last account ...	\$104,719,734 81	By Endowments, Purchased Insurance, Dividends, Annuities and Death Claims.	14,128,493 00
“ Premiums.....	17,110,901 63	“ Commissions, Commutations, Taxes and all other Expenses	3,649,514 49
“ Interest, Rents and Premium on Securities Sold.....	6,009,020 84	“ Balance to new account.	110,061,718 68
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	\$127,839,656 77		\$127,839,656 77

Dr.	Balance Sheet.	Cr.
To Reserve for Policies in force and for risks terminated . . \$112,430,096 00		By Bonds Secured by Mortgages on Real Estate \$49,615,208 06
" Premiums received in advance 82,314 36		" United States and other Bonds. 43,439,377 81
" Surplus at four per cent 6,294,441 53		" Real Estate and Loans on Col- laterals 20,159,173 37
		" Cash in Banks and Trust Com- panies at interest 2,619,393 66
		" Interest accrued, Premiums de- ferred and in transit and Sun- dries 2,973,169 38
	\$118,806,851 89	\$118,806,851 89

I have carefully examined the foregoing statement and find the same to be correct.

A. N. WATERHOUSE, Auditor.

From the Surplus above stated a dividend will be apportioned as usual.

Year.	Risks Assumed.	Risks Outstanding.	Surplus.
1884	\$34,641,420	\$351,780,395	\$4,743,771
1885	40,507,139	364,981,441	5,012,634
1886	56,832,719	393,809,303	5,643,568
1887	69,457,468	427,623,932	6,294,442

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REVENUE ACCOUNT.

Premiums.....	\$19,328,519.87	
Less deferred premiums, January 1, 1887.....	1,041,666.15	\$18,286,853.72
Interest and rents, etc.....	4,252,430.50	
Less interest accrued January 1, 1887.....	480,497.10	3,765,933.40—\$22,052,787.12

\$93,872,410.60

DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT.

Losses by death, and Endowments matured and discounted (including reversionary additions to same).....	\$4,361,366.83
Dividends (including mortuary dividends), annuities, and purchased insurances.....	5,173,843.96
Total Paid Policy-holders.....	\$9,535,210.79
Taxes and re-insurances.....	264,465.60
Commissions (including advanced and commuted commissions, brokerages, agency expenses, physicians' fees, etc.....	3,531,026.06
Office and law expenses, salaries, advertising, printing, etc.....	629,300.68—13,960,063.43

\$79,912,317.17

ASSETS.

Cash on deposit, on hand, and in transit.....	\$3,038,400.10
United States Bonds and other bonds and stocks (market value, \$52,255,814.82).....	49,088,286.14
Real Estate.....	6,887,062.59
Bonds and Mortgages, first lien on real estate (buildings thereon insured for \$14,000,000 and the policies assigned to the Company as additional collateral security).....	15,969,372.78
Temporary Loans (market value of securities held as collateral, \$2,404,853).....	1,867,500.00
*Loans on existing policies (the Reserve on these policies, included in Liabilities, amounts to over \$2,000,000).....	388,799.44
*Quarterly and semi-annual premiums on existing policies, due subsequent to Jan. 1, 1888.....	1,174,340.36
*Premiums on existing policies in course of transmission and collections. (The Reserve on these policies, included in Liabilities, is estimated at \$1,300,000).....	839,156.08
Agents' balances.....	170,782.59
Accrued Interest on investments, January 1, 1888.....	488,477.59—\$79,912,317.17
Market value of securities over cost value on Company's books.....	3,167,528.68

TOTAL ASSETS, January 1, 1888,..... \$83,079,845.85

Appropriated as follows:

Approved losses in course of payment.....	\$327,078.38
Reported losses awaiting proof, etc.....	262,214.54
Matured endowments, due and unpaid (claims not presented).....	27,582.80
Annuities due and unpaid (claims not presented).....	13,042.06
Reserved for re-insurance on existing policies: participating insurance at 4 per cent. Carlisle net premium: non-participating at 5 per cent. Carlisle net premium.....	\$68,807,642.00
Additional amount of Reserve (transferred from Surplus account) required on account of new State Standard of valuation (Actuaries' 4 per cent.), taking effect December 31, 1887.....	1,562,088.00—70,369,740.00
Reserved for contingent liabilities to Tontine Dividend Fund, January 1, 1887, over and above a 4 per cent. Reserve on existing policies of that class.....	4,176,425.25
Addition to the Fund during 1887.....	1,765,062.54
DEDUCT: Returned to Tontine policy-holders during the year on matured Tontines.....	\$5,062,027.79 646,306.06
Balance of Tontine Fund, January 1, 1888.....	5,315,720.83
Reserved for premiums paid in advance.....	52,886.73

\$76,428,265.74

Divisible Surplus (Company's new Standard)..... 6,651,580.11

\$83,079,845.85

Surplus by the present New York State Standard, i. e., 4 per cent. Actuaries' (including the Tontine Fund).....\$11,846,793.06

From the undivided surplus, as above, the Board of Trustees has declared a Reversionary dividend to participating policies in proportion to their contribution to surplus, available on settlement of next annual premium.

Number of policies issued during the year, 28,522. Risks assumed, \$106,749,295.

Total number of policies in force December 31, 1887, 113,323. Amount at risk, \$358,935,536.

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MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XIX

JUNE, 1888

No. 6

THE CONQUEST OF THE MAYAS

MONTEJO IN THE INTERIOR, AND FOUNDATION OF MERIDA

(Part II. Continued from page 330.)

Having fully determined to remain some time at Chichen Itza, the Adelantado tried to persuade the inhabitants that he had their welfare at heart and was anxious to do everything in his power for their good. Following these tactics he won a few to his side, and caused them to help in building dwellings like their own, to form a village for the Spaniards, a hundred and seventy taking up their abode there; the rest were to station themselves in other parts of the country. In remembrance of his birth-place Montejo called the new settlement Salamanca.

The seeming docility and good will of the people of Chichen threw the Spaniards completely off their guard, and believing that they would have no difficulty in obtaining provisions they did not even take the precaution to send to their ships for anything. They had not been long there when the Spanish general undertook to allot so many natives to each soldier, that his men might thus have all their wants supplied by the exaction of services and tributes. Whatever these of Chichen thought about this arrangement they held their peace for the time being, and the Spaniards failed to comprehend the true state of their mind.

Gold was what the white men most desired, this wish being freely expressed and generally known. The chiefs showed Montejo their map of the country, and persuaded him that gold mines existed in the Province of Bakhallal, now Bacalar, in the southeast part of the peninsula. He therefore decided to send a party thither, accompanied by several natives, and commanded by Captain Alonzo Davila. It was quite satisfactory to the people, who wished nothing better than to see the white men separated into small groups, far from each other. The Adelantado was undoubtedly rash in thus dividing his forces, and probably would not have done so but for the reason that his soldiers were greatly discouraged and discontented because as yet they had found none of the precious metal.

Davila started with fifty foot and sixteen horsemen—the number of natives is not given. Francisco Vasquez, a man who had great knowledge of mines, was to receive three hundred ducats if he succeeded in discovering a grain of gold.

On their way to Tulum, on the east coast, at which place they intended to form a settlement, they fought a few battles, but pushed on as rapidly as possible, only to find, on their arrival, that the spot was most unsuitable for a village, owing to the dense forests and stony soil. They realized that if the natives accompanying them should turn upon them there, they could not even utilize the horses to make good their escape. So they passed on to Chablè where gold was said to exist, but they failed to find any. The cacique of that place behaved in a friendly manner, and assured them that gold could be found in a village called Chetemal. Davila bade him go and summon the chief of that place to come and give information and bring provisions for the white men. The cacique of Chetemal sent the following reply: "I will not go. The fowls and maize that the white man desires will be handed to him on the points of lances and arrows. I, the cacique, am waiting for war, and in the mood for fighting." Lest their native companions should think they feared this threat, and consequently turn against them, Davila started for Chetemal with only half his men and some caciques who offered their services.

Tiresome enough was the journey, through swamps and lakelets. Chetemal was found to be deserted, but there were cornfields and orchards, such as the invaders had not yet come upon. They therefore determined to settle on that spot, and accordingly sent word to their companions in Chablè to advance with as many natives as were amicable.

They named the village Villa Real. Its cacique had gone with his people to unite with those of another place for greater strength.

The Spaniards, after two months had elapsed, learned where he was, and resolved to go and attack him, thinking it would be more advantageous than to await an onslaught. The number of friendly natives who fought against their own countrymen enabled the few soldiers with their superior weapons to win the battle, and several prisoners were taken to Villa Real. These probably had a very hard time of it, for their captors generally did not fail to strike terror into the hearts of their opponents by acts of cruelty resorted to, said the soldiers, because they were not numerous enough to otherwise awe the natives into submission. Diego de Landa, second Bishop of Yucatan, says that every time the people resisted their yoke, the Spaniards treated them so cruelly that the population became greatly diminished. Many persons were burned alive, others hung. On one occa-

sion several prominent people were confined in stocks within a house that was then set on fire. The same author was shown a tree from whose branches a captain had hung many women, their little children being suspended from their feet. In a village they hung a lovely maiden and a beautiful young bride, not because they had made themselves objectionable, but for being exceptionally pretty, and a possible cause of disputes among the soldiers. Many unfortunate wretches had their limbs cut off, women their breasts, afterwards being thrown into lakes, with calabashes tied to their feet. The soldiers stuck their swords into little children because they could not walk fast. When a number of people were captured, men and women were linked together by chains fastened round their necks, and forced to march long distances. Those taken ill—even women in their hour of greatest



DON FRANCISCO DE MONTEJO,
THE CONQUEROR OF YUCATAN.

*The only known portrait in existence.
Never before published.*

need—or unable to keep up with the rest, had their head cut off so that it and the body could fall away, this giving less trouble to their conductors than to loosen the chain.

It is affirmed that Don Francisco de Montejo had no hand in these barbarous deeds, that on the contrary he reproved and sometimes punished those to whom they could be traced; but unless on the spot he was not able to prevent such acts of violence. There was never yet a war in which cruelty was omitted, and these shocking outrages need not be again alluded to in this brief account of the conquest of the Mayas.

From Villa Real, Davila sent six soldiers to report to the Adelantado, bidding them return in sixty days. These messengers had advanced but nine miles when they were met by a few warriors who slew them after a short fight.

The people at Chichen were meanwhile showing no good will, but great annoyance at their subjection. The Adelantado was busy enough trying to prevent an outbreak by much friendly talk, and at the same time making inquiries about gold. Finally provisions gave out. This was the opportunity that had been looked for by those from whom tributes and services had been forced. Realizing the strait in which their enemies were, they now refused all demands, obliging them to battle for every mouthful of food, so that each day some soldiers were wounded or killed. An incident that occurred in one fray is worth recording. A famous marksman tried, with bow and arrow, to kill a Spaniard who had made himself noticeable, because, being a dead shot, he had slain many natives; but instead of destroying his enemy the marksman himself was mortally wounded. Feeling his life fast ebbing, in order that it could not be said he had died at the hands of a Spaniard, he dragged himself to a tree, and with a strong vine, in the presence of all, hung himself.

Having decided to fight the Spaniards until they retreated, the people had sent their wives and children to a ranch in the depths of the forest with only two men, father and son, to watch over their safety. The Spaniards, thinking it would be easy to bring the men to terms if they held their families captive, started to look for the ranch, but at a short distance from it they met a troop of armed men, who at once sent a runner to tell the refugees to flee to the forest. That they might have time to escape, their guard meanwhile fought the Spaniards, and afterward retreated, leaving their adversaries alone. To pursue them into the forest would have been certain destruction, so they retreated to camp wounded, and without prisoners.

Davila, faring very badly in Chetemal, started with twenty men for a place called Mazanahò, leaving the other soldiers to guard Villa Real. All the paths by which they went were found to be closed,* a sure sign that the natives were inimical. Making his way through the bush, Davila met a native, and but for him, the captain and his followers would probably have all perished. He informed them that where they purposed going the people were up in arms, assembled in large numbers, and strongly fortified.

Guided by this fellow, a traitor to his own people, the invaders made their way to the opposite side of the village and there entered without difficulty, not being expected in that direction. The inhabitants were so surprised at seeing the enemy suddenly in their midst that they made no hostile movement, and it was not the purpose of the Spaniards to

* By a green branch laid upon the ground. The same thing is done there to-day.

attack, only to defend themselves against the indignant people when they resisted their unjustifiable demands. Fortifications had been made to prevent the strangers from entering, but since they were already in their midst, just a few men with apparently no desire to harm anyone, what excuse was there for fighting.

Davila, observing their hesitation, walked toward the fortifications and asked what they were for, since they were at peace; adding that there



FUNERAL MONUMENT OF CHACMOL.
SITE OF MONTEJO'S CAMP AT CHICHEN ITZA.

was no need of such defenses unless they wanted war, in which case he, Davila, would bring a great number of men and fight till not one villager was left alive.

There was something very cunning in the conduct of the Spaniards. They did not enter the country as declared foes, but as friends who wanted to live there and know the country. They wormed their way in, and gained more by policy, not to say hypocrisy, than by force. The natives, though conscious that the strangers were in reality enemies, were sufficiently civilized to hesitate before taking arms against people who

came among them as if confident that they would be welcomed and obeyed. Wherever they arrived they never afforded any immediate excuse for fighting.

From Mazanahò Davila started for Chablè, twenty-one miles distant. When near they came upon barricades guarded by warriors. But here again a native guided them by a different route into the village which, however, was found to be deserted. There they remained four days, sending messengers to look for the villagers and tell them to return to their homes where no harm would come to them. At this place Davila learned of the fate of the six men he had sent to Montejo. Hoping it might be a false report, he returned to Villa Real to await their arrival on the sixtieth day. They came not. He then determined to journey with twenty-two men over the road they had taken and find out more about them. He went as far as Bakalal, where some chiefs told him that if he wished to write to Montejo they would send the letters and have an answer in thirty days. He gave the letters, but they were never delivered.

Discovering that the natives of Cochua had caused the death of his messengers, Davila resolved to fight them, certain caciques offering to aid him. They tried to make the people of Chablè join them, but these absolutely refused, and the Spaniards vowed they should be punished later on. The first village in the Province of Cochua was fortified, and here the caciques and others who had promised to help deserted. Two chiefs were overtaken. When one was killed, the other, to avoid death, embraced Davila, and his life was spared.

The soldiers made their way to the opposite side of the village, believing that entrance would there be easy, but found it likewise barricaded. A desperate fight took place. The historians say that the soldiers had to contend against thousands, which is extremely improbable, considering that only three white men were wounded, one mortally. The battle was over when two soldiers arrived with another of the deserters, who assured the Spaniards that they would all be killed if they continued on the same road. They accordingly allowed him to guide them into another, and soon reached a deserted village where, owing to the condition of the two wounded men, they remained a day or two; then they went to a large village and again fought hard, but failed to make an entry. Eleven of them being wounded, they returned to the small village, pursued by their opponents, who gave chase, injuring as many as they could. They did not, however, follow very far, no doubt believing that the few wornout, half-starved men would perish at the hands of those with whom they next came in conflict.

Realizing his danger, Davila determined to go to Villa Real. The cacique whose life he had spared because he embraced him acted as guide. At Chablè they were happy enough to find canoes in which they could traverse the lakes on their way to Villa Real. They were very anxious to communicate with Montejo. Herrera says they seized canoes loaded with merchandise that were on the river ready to go to Ulua (Mexico), and at the same time captured the son of a nobleman. Davila ordered



RUINS OF ANCIENT CASTLE AT CHICHEN ITZA.

NEAR SPANISH ENCAMPMENT.

his people to detain the youth and told those in whose company he had been found that if they would take letters to the Adelantado and bring an answer in thirty days, the prisoner would be free, and the canoes with contents returned to them. The offer was accepted. Thirty days having elapsed, the father of the youth was sent for and questioned. He said the messengers had been assassinated, but not being believed, was tortured until he confessed that the letters had not been dispatched. He himself was then made prisoner, and his son told to convey the letters to Chichen. But he did not go. The owners of the canoes decided to get them back

into their power, and with that object in view called around them many comrades.

As for the soldiers in Chichen, with them things went from bad to worse, till at last they were obliged to fight a battle in which a hundred and fifty were killed, nearly all the rest being wounded. Matters had reached a climax; the invaders must depart or perish. To avoid pursuit they resorted to a ruse. When about to make a sally in search of food, they were in the habit of ringing a bell to call the men together. So before starting, in the small hours of the morning, they tied a dog to a rope attached to the tongue of the bell, and placed food just beyond his reach. In his efforts, first to follow the men, afterward to reach the food, the dog rang the bell, causing the natives to arm and await an attack. After some time, seeing no movement in the camp, though the bell continued to ring, one made bold to approach, and discovered that the strangers had fled. A body of men at once set out, but though very fleet-footed, it was long before they overtook the soldiers. When within hearing they shouted every insulting remark that they could think of to compel them to stop and fight, but Montejo now only cared to preserve the lives of the few men left. When the natives came up with them, those on horseback turned and fought to give those on foot a chance to get further away. Many were wounded by the horsemen, but still they mocked and jeered. One big fellow seized the leg of a running horse and held it with its rider as if it had been a lamb. Finally they grew tired and turned back to Chichen. According to Landa, the weary Spaniards were kindly received by the Lord of Oilan and rested there some months in peace. The Adelantado then decided to go by land to Campeche, and there embark for Mexico. He and his men therefore made the journey on horseback, under the guidance and protection of the Lord of Oilan and other prominent people. In Campeche they were well received and their guides returned home, the Lord of Oilan dying on his arrival.

Montejo went to Mexico, returning, some say, the following year, 1530, with a greater number of men, establishing himself in Champoton where he remained four years, but did not succeed in subjugating the natives.

Davila, in the little village he had called Villa Real, did not know the Adelantado had left Chichen. He and his few men suffered great misery, so they determined to try and reach Honduras, and after passing through terrible distress did come to the coast. In canoes, almost without food, going ashore from time to time to procure crabs and wild fruit, they made their way to Truxillo, only to find that the people there were themselves in want, three years having elapsed since any ship had come into port. All

they could offer were a few horses for sale. But it so happened that while they were in this plight two vessels arrived from Cuba. In one Davila embarked with his few companions, and was thus able to reach Campeche, where he once more met the Adelantado and told him of all he had endured.

Montejo now made up his mind to go again to Mexico, and he sent word to the King of Spain that Yucatan could not be conquered unless



CITY HALL AT MERIDA, YUCATAN.

ANCIENT DWELLING OF THE JESUIT FATHERS.

Built on the site of the Spanish encampment.

the authorities in Honduras united their efforts with his. This arrangement was not made, but the Queen, in the name of the King, wrote to the Mexican authorities, ordering them to do all in their power to help the Adelantado. He was thus enabled to obtain more men and everything else necessary to return to Yucatan. Reaching Campeche he found that his few countrymen who had remained there had been greatly afflicted, prostrated by disease and want, the natives having displayed anything but

friendship and good-will. Only six were able to be on duty and seek sustenance for the rest.

Notwithstanding the help that Montejo had received from Mexico the task he had undertaken seemed a hopeless one, and at the end of 1535 every Spaniard left Yucatan, embarking for Tabasco. After their departure Yucatan was greatly afflicted by other evils, drought and famine, the last being due to the Europeans who, by their presence, had greatly interfered with agricultural pursuits. Then there was civil war between the Xius and the Cocoms. Next came a terrible plague of locusts; and all these things caused such a decrease in the population, hundreds of people falling dead upon the high-roads, that when the Spaniards returned they said they did not recognize the country.

During the complete absence of the soldiers, some friars, wishing to teach the Christian doctrine to the people of the peninsula, went there with several natives of Mexico. Arrived at Champoton, these first went ashore to explain that the white men had come in peace, were very few, had no weapons, and only desired to tell them about the true God. The lords of Champoton readily gave permission for the monks to land, and they lived such good lives, says Cogolludo, that after forty days the noblemen brought their idols to be destroyed, and wanted their children to be taught the new doctrine. They built houses and a temple for the friars, who rapidly learned to preach in the Maya language. Under the influence of these few pacific men, fifteen lords, owning many serfs and much land, formed a union and obtained the vote and consent of all their subjects to acknowledge the King of Spain as sovereign.

About this time thirty Spanish soldiers made their way into Yucatan from Chiapas, bringing many idols taken from another province. The captain bade one of the principal caciques to spread them throughout the land, giving each idol in exchange for a man, woman, or child, able to serve as slaves, threatening to make war upon him if he did not obey. The foolish man consented, and ordered his people to worship the idols. They dared not anger their chief, so he who had two sons gave one; and he who had three, gave two. As for the natives selling their own flesh and blood to purchase the favor of the gods, and mercy from those they deemed more powerful than themselves, we cannot forget that in the time of the Inquisition Christian parents delivered up their own children to the torturer and executioner, in order to propitiate the dreaded Inquisitors and please the Almighty God.

Those who had so kindly received the monks were now enraged, reminding them of their promise that no Christians would trouble their people,

and asking why they **had** destroyed their gods, which were certainly better than these new ones. The **friars** tried to pacify them, told the soldiers that they were doing an immense **amount** of evil, and besought them to depart. Instead, they strove to make the **monks** appear responsible, persuading the natives that the whole thing had **been arranged** by them, thus imperiling the lives of those unarmed men; for the **indignant** people wished to put them to death, and they had to flee, though afterward their would-be executioners sent messengers a hundred and fifty miles to beg



THE HOUSE OF MONTEJO. AT MERIDA.

BUILT IN 1549, THE FRONT COSTING \$14,000.

that they would forgive their wicked purpose and return. They did, and were received as if they had been angels, but so often were they endangered by the conduct of their countrymen, that at the end of six months they thought it safer to go and live in Mexico.

Although Montejo had spent all his fortune in the attempt, he now had no hope of getting any hold upon Yucatan. Nevertheless in 1537 he again managed to obtain what was needed for another effort, and reaching Champoton put his son in command, he himself returning to Tabasco, whose people he was also endeavoring to bring under the Spanish yoke.

Great was the sorrow of the natives at seeing another crowd of Spaniards landing in their country, but they disguised their feelings until some days had elapsed, then came in a multitude to exterminate the enemy, if possible. They seized and killed the first sentinel who, in dying, shouted at the top of his voice, awaking the soldiers. So unexpected was the attack, so dark the night, that the confusion was dreadful; nevertheless, many of the assailants perished, and only a few soldiers. Harassed by the cries of their dying comrades, the natives at length retreated. Before long the white men were short of provisions, having no chance to obtain any; and meanwhile their opponents were actively engaged sending for men to take part against the hated foreigners.

To eke out a living the soldiers caught fish. One day two of them, having gone a little farther than usual, were captured, sacrificed, and eaten by those who participated in the bloody rite. Notwithstanding the fact that these people were at war among themselves, many united against the common foe, and some desperate fighting was done. So great was their detestation of the strangers that if the death of one cost a hundred lives (Cogolludo says "a thousand") they did not begrudge them. On one occasion, unable to stand against the multitude, the Spaniards were at last obliged to retreat and take to their ships. Their adversaries pursued them to the water's edge, then returned to the deserted camp, where some donned Spanish garments, and returning to the shore, shouted, mocked, and jeered, calling the white men cowards, which so exasperated them that they relanded, and after a brave struggle regained a footing upon the site they had before occupied.

The warriors had to disperse to get food from their villages, and when several days had elapsed, the people of Champoton, seeing that the foreigners had no intention of going away, and that they did not seem disposed to be aggressive, ceased to trouble them, and even made friendly advances. But every time the invaders tried to penetrate farther into the country they were driven back.

From time to time ships touched at Champoton and supplied the most urgent needs of the Spaniards. Several availed themselves of such opportunities to leave the country, so that at one time there were but nineteen men left. From Tabasco the Adelantado sent to his son what succor he could, but very few men were willing to go to Yucatan. At last, having spent three tiresome years at Champoton, all resolved to depart; they would only wait until word of their intention should be sent to the Adelantado. He was not pleased with the news, and at once sent more men there with orders for the others to remain. Some say that Montejo himself went to

encourage them. Be it as it may, he at that time invested his son with full powers to complete the conquest if he could. He made out a long document in which every move was planned, as well as the division of the land, and particularly ordained that the natives be managed with persuasion and kindness. Don Francisco, Jr., seems to have been a good fellow, fearless yet prudent, and very liberal, dividing all he had among his followers. He at once tried to push his way into the interior, and of course met with resistance, fortifications, and armed men who would fight. Thus, now bat-



THE MOUND OF MAYAPAN: AN OBLONG PYRAMID.

tlng, now persuading, now bribing the chiefs with presents, he made his way from Champoton to Campeche, where a community was established in 1540. From there, Don Francisco sent his cousin, also named Francisco de Montejo, a captain, with sixty men to Tihò where the Adelantado had ordered that the capital be founded and called Merida. These men went through great hardships. Not content with fighting, the inhabitants stopped up the wells that the invaders might perish of thirst, removed all provisions from the places they had to traverse, scattered over the roads dead bodies of men and animals, as well as all manner of dirt, so that disgust might compel them to turn back, or the hot, fetid air prostrate them. There came a time when they had naught but the clothes on their backs, for the natives set fire to their camp and all they could do was to escape with their weapons. After that they had to fight for every mouthful of food. Messengers were therefore sent to seek help from Campeche. The weary soldiers did finally reach Tihò and encamped upon the largest of many artificial elevations found there. Nearly three hundred years later the city hall of Merida was erected on the very same spot. They had not long been there when forty of their companions arrived from Campeche. About the same time friendly natives approached and asked: "What are you doing, Spaniards? Why are you here? Against you are coming warriors more numerous than the hairs on the skin of a deer!"

Alice D. Le Plongeon.

THE MILITARY CAREER OF GENERAL GEORGE IZARD

General George Izard, the senior major-general on the Canada frontier during the campaign of 1814 and the first month of 1815, was probably the only strictly professional soldier of that period. His education had been exclusively military from the age of fifteen. His appointment to the chief command during the last year of the war was thought to promise a turn in military affairs, disasters having been the rule thus far on the frontier. He was not, however, able to accomplish to the satisfaction of the public the unusual and arduous work assigned him, and which, with the limited means supplied, he endeavored to perform to the best of his ability. He was therefore unjustly blamed, and the historians of the war seem to have vied with each other in asserting his incapacity. While admitting the unusual educational advantages he had enjoyed, and his excellent record at the time of his promotion, they accused him of having been a slave to routine and not able to make use of the material at hand when nothing better could be furnished by the government. After the unsatisfactory ending of the operations of 1814, General Izard resigned his position in the army, and, in 1816, published his official correspondence with the War Department for the purpose of vindicating his conduct. Later on, when governor of the territory of Arkansas, he wrote for the benefit of his sons an account of his early years, and especially the details of his military education in Europe. The writer has also his private diary, kept while commanding a brigade under Hampton in 1813. These three documents prove that Izard *was* able to mold to his purposes the materials at hand, that his conduct was always strictly professional, and that he was condemned for not having been able to accomplish the impossible. Let us turn backward a moment and learn somewhat of his early life and education.

His family were among the earliest settlers of South Carolina; his father, Ralph Izard, who had received his education in England, and inherited considerable fortune, married in 1767 Alice de Lancey of New York, niece of James de Lancey, the lieutenant-governor of that province. He removed in 1772 to London with his family, purchasing a dwelling in Berners Street. His third son, George, was born at Richmond, near London, October 21, 1776. The following year Ralph Izard went to France, and while there, was appointed by Congress commissioner to Tuscany.



MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE IZARD, U. S. A.

From a painting by Otis, Philadelphia, 1817.

He ascertained, however, in Paris, that nothing could be gained by a visit to Florence, and in 1779 returned to America alone. His wife and younger children remained in France, where George was sent to school, and in 1780 first came to Charleston with his mother and was placed in a grammar school until the age of eleven. In 1789 Ralph Izard moved with his family to New York, the seat of the new government, having been appointed senator from South Carolina to take his place in the first Congress under the Constitution, and George was placed in a preparatory school for the freshman class in Columbia College. Another change became necessary the following year by the meeting of Congress in Philadelphia, and George entered the junior class of the college in 4th street in the winter of 1790-91; he was graduated in February, 1792, at the early age of fifteen.

Having been destined for the profession of a soldier, and manifesting no unwillingness, he was sent to England consigned to the care of his father's friend, Thomas Pinckney, the recently appointed minister to that country. The only school then immediately available was the "Prince of Wales' Royal Military Academy of Kensington Gravel Pits." Captain Reynolds, the principal, had been a sergeant in the regular army, but was then nominally a commissioned officer of one of the militia regiments. He had the exterior of a handsome grenadier, but his school was so wretchedly organized, and he proved himself so incompetent upon a short acquaintance, that young Izard was easily able to see it, and left without consulting Minister Pinckney, who then advised him to go to Edinburgh, where were some friends of his family. There were fifteen or sixteen youths at this new school, all of whom were Izard's seniors. The only one who became distinguished afterwards was Sir Peregrine Maitland, lieutenant-general and governor of Upper Canada.

In September of the same year, 1792, Minister Pinckney, having heard of a better school in Germany, directed Izard to proceed to Marburg in Hesse Cassel, where he entered another private military school taught by Monsieur Beauclair, a Frenchman, and remained two years.

At the end of that time he felt that he had learnt everything that could be taught him, and was impatient to leave. Beauclair perceived that he had become indifferent to the advantages of his school and took occasion to insult him grossly during one of the recitations. Izard then desired him to advance the necessary funds for reaching Hamburg where he could hear from Minister Pinckney, but Beauclair refused, and wrote instead to London a most calumnious account of his conduct. After three or four weeks of very unpleasant suspense to Izard, a letter from Minister

Pinckney was received, authorizing him to leave the school, and the next morning before daylight he left Marburg, with five other travelers, in a heavy German post wagon, bound for the North of Germany.

He spent the summer of this year, 1795, in various cities of Germany, and was for some weeks in Berlin. While there he witnessed a great review of Prussian troops. His experience of life had not been much so far, and he was astonished at the opportunities which offered themselves for dissipation and extravagance to the youthful and unwary in a capital which was then new and not yet given to much riotous living.

His father, meanwhile, continued to be concerned about his education, and having interested Mr. Monroe, then minister to France, in his behalf, he sent his son a letter, which was received while in Berlin, introducing him to Mr. Monroe. George thereupon proceeded without delay to Paris, where the minister soon succeeded in obtaining, from the Committee of Public Safety, permission for him to enter the "Ecole du Génie," a school for military engineers located at Metz.

At this juncture he received a lieutenant's commission in the United States corps of artillerists and engineers, which had been issued on the 4th of June of the previous year, 1794. This commission placed him on the same footing with the regular cadets of the school, who, after passing their examinations for admittance, became sub-lieutenants of engineers, and he was consequently enrolled among them and permitted to wear the same uniform.

He was now nineteen, and through admittance to such an important school was launched into the fashionable life of the place. He made many acquaintances, and having ample means was everywhere treated with marked civility. Another reason for the consideration he received was that he was the only foreigner who had been admitted to the school, notwithstanding influential efforts in favor of young men of family from other European countries. The commandant was Lieutenant-Colonel Bizot de Coudray, who received him with much kindness and furnished him with all the aid and advice necessary for the prosecution of his studies.

Being provided with "good instructors, amiable friends, and sensible advisors," he neglected none of the advantages within his reach. He was permitted to live in a private house, and his wearing the uniform of the corps enabled him to visit every part of the fortifications of that strongly-fortified city. His stay at Metz made a great impression upon his mind, and he says in the memoir of himself, "this is the period of my past life that, if I were to be called upon to choose, I should select as the one

which I would prefer to live over again." He remained two years, and expected to stay longer; but in the summer of 1797, when the misunderstanding with France seemed destined to end in a war between the two countries, he was advised by General C. C. Pinckney, the successor of Mr. Monroe who was in Holland, to meet him at the Hague. He thereupon bade adieu to his many friends at Metz, and repaired to the place of meeting, from which he soon after sailed for Baltimore, where he arrived in November.

The government was still at Philadelphia, and he reported there for duty to the Secretary of War, Mr. McHenry. The secretary ordered him to Charleston to take charge, as engineer, of Castle Pinckney, the building of which had recently been commenced in that harbor. War with France appeared so imminent soon afterward, that, in 1799, a new army was raised, of which Washington was appointed commander-in-chief; the major-generals being Alexander Hamilton, C. C. Pinckney, and Henry Knox. The latter, having been of superior rank during the Revolution, did not accept, and the vacancy was left unfilled. A second regiment of artillery and engineers was also instituted, one company of which was sent to garrison Fort Pinckney and placed under Izard's command as captain, where he remained in charge of the post until January, 1800; then proceeded to New York to accept the position of aide to General Hamilton. The general was obliged soon after to go to Albany on account of a great lawsuit in which he had been retained before the increase in the army, and Izard went to Philadelphia to join, as a member, a board of artillery sitting there.

The war-cloud having soon blown over, he accepted an invitation from his brother-in-law, Mr. Wm. L. Smith, who was *chargé d'affaires* at Lisbon, to be his secretary, and sailed for Portugal via Madeira in the spring. His reason for doing this was that there was a prospect of Mr. Smith being transferred to Constantinople as minister, and this change would have given Izard the opportunity of more extended travel, which he much desired, and also of witnessing some of the military operations soon to commence in Egypt, where Sir Ralph Abercrombie's army had lately landed. It would have been easy to cross over to Alexandria for this purpose. The change, however, was never made, and the secretaryship not being to his fancy, he resigned in January, 1801, and sailed again for England, where he stayed a few weeks, and in Paris until the following July, then sailed for Baltimore.

He had obtained leave of absence for this journey, and, upon arriving, reported for orders to General Dearborn, the new secretary, who ordered

him to Fort Mifflin to command one of the companies there, and, its ranks not being full, he was allowed to enlist recruits in Pennsylvania and Delaware, with his head-quarters at Bristol, Pennsylvania.

In April, 1802, at the first reduction of the army under Mr. Jefferson, a corps of engineers was formed distinct from the artillery. Notwithstanding it was well known what had been his opportunities for becoming a competent engineer, he was not continued in the corps, but assigned to the artillery. His dissatisfaction at this was such that, after commanding the post at West Point during the winter, he resigned from the army in April, 1803.

These details concerning Izard's education and his early service in the army have been given in order to show what had been his advantages in studying his profession, and what had been his experience upon returning from Europe. His assignment to the artillery, instead of the engineers, shows how small a difference was made then by the War Department between the various branches of the service. It seemed to matter very little what an officer had specially studied, he would be assigned to whichever branch suited the Secretary.

After his retirement from the army Izard married, and spent his winters in Philadelphia, and his summers near Bristol, Pennsylvania. Outside of his profession his tastes were literary; he was a member of the Philosophical Society, whose meetings he attended. Early in 1812 preparations were commenced for possible war with England, and he was appointed to the command of the 2d regiment of artillery. Soon afterward he was ordered to command the Department of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware, and in February, 1813, he was changed to District No. 3, of which the city of New York was head-quarters. This place had been threatened by the enemy's fleet, and General Armstrong had tried to have Colonel Izard stationed there the previous autumn. It could not be done then, but as soon as he became Secretary of War, he issued the order, and Izard was then promoted to the rank of brigadier-general. In August, 1813, the alarm having subsided at New York, he obtained leave to join General Hampton's division on the Chateaugay frontier, with head-quarters at Plattsburg.

General Izard kept a diary of his military operations, and the events of 1813 can easily be followed in his notes for that year. This diary is invaluable as proving, in a way that no other evidence can, how completely he was the professional soldier. We find from it that he leaves Philadelphia on October 3, 1813, at 3.30 P.M., in a carriage with his aides-de-camp, and arrives at New York the next day at 7 P.M. From New York to Albany

in a steamboat; delayed there for a few days to purchase a pair of horses, which cost \$200. They are driven in a light vehicle called a handy, and a light wagon follows with the baggage. Arrive at Chateauguay four corners near Hampton's head-quarters on the 16th at 8 A.M. Length of journey due to bad weather, execrable roads, and the necessity for certain water transportation, in order to rest the horses. The 17th takes command of his brigade, which consists of the 10th, 29th, 30th, and 31st Infantry, the two latter consolidated; total, 1350 men, with 150 light dragoons. The respective colonels are Pickens, Melancthon Smith, and Dana. From the 17th to the 25th was occupied in ascertaining the enemy's position, and skirmishing with the British and their Indian allies. "25th Oct. Pass the last night with my brigade; very wet. Troops under arms from 3 o'clock this morning till half an hour after reveille. The 4th regiment, with the greater part of the 1st brigade and all the light infantry under Col. Purdy cross the river at dusk this evening, and march through my camp on their way down the river. 26th. At reveille my brigade crosses the river to the west bank. The object of the major-general is that we should attract the enemy's notice while Purdy gets in their rear. We march down the road on the left bank, below Baird's house; here we halt for a couple of hours; the 10th regiment leads. Two dragoon horses in the advance are wounded. The 10th regiment is pushed forward. General Hampton, on hearing some firing below, asks if I have any objection to proceed with the 10th alone—that the others, which are a mile and a half behind, shall be sent immediately. Of course I go. On the brink of a deep ravine, within a hundred yards of a thick wood, we are met by a volley of musketry. Some confusion in forming the 10th in line, but at last succeed. The action brisk for about 20 minutes, when our ammunition fails us. Some is procured from a working party in our rear. We advance to the wood. The enemy silenced. The rest of the brigade comes up. I advance with the 30th, under Col. Dana, 700 men, 150 yards into the wood. Halt the 29th, its right on the river. Heavy firing on the opposite side, where the 1st Brigade is driven down to the bank. Remain till dark, to afford our friends on the other side our protection. They are apparently in the greatest confusion. Orders at last arrive to retreat, which I do, withdrawing the 30th by files from the right of platoons, through intervals in the 10th; the 29th, with a company, advanced on the opposite side of the ravine keeps its ground. The whole then form column of sections where the ground does not oblige them to file—the 10th leads, followed by the 30th, and the 29th in rear of the column. The advanced company of the 29th forms the rear guard. The movement is executed with precision and in good order;

indeed, better than any they have hitherto shown since I commanded them. 1 private killed, 1 lieutenant and 7 privates wounded of the 10th regiment.

27th. We halted last night on ground which we had passed in the morning, where forage had been observed, and encamped in open column of battalions in the order of march, the right on the river, the left on the wood. Purdy's detachment returns in the utmost confusion. He had about 1800 men, of which the light corps and the 4th infantry, considered the best in our army, were the majority. Several officers made their appearance yesterday, while we were retreating with our brigade, without their swords and hats, after swimming the river. The rout is disgraceful."

The diary continues to note the incidents of each day. After the affair of the 26th, there is some skirmishing with the enemy as the two brigades retreat slowly from the position on the Chateauguay river. They soon halt in the neighborhood of Plattsburg, where huts are built for the troops, and Izard occupies a house in the town.

It is well known as part of the history of the time that the intense hatred for each other of Major-Generals Wilkinson and Hampton prevented all coöperation between the two during the campaign of 1813; and that the War Department was powerless to make them unite their forces. Wilkinson was the senior, and attempted to place Hampton under arrest after his division had retired into winter quarters. Hampton, however, had been notified of what was coming, and had left Plattsburg unexpectedly a few days after the 18th November, devolving the command on Izard. When, therefore, the order for arrest was brought by one of Wilkinson's aides, Hampton was already far away, and it never was served upon him.

The weather early in December became intensely cold, and all the officers of both divisions who could obtain furloughs left for their homes. Wilkinson was ill at Malone, and Generals Lewis, Boyd, and Porter, with many field and line officers of his division, had passed through Plattsburg on their way to the rear. The only general officer of Hampton's division who still remained at his post was Izard. The cold, though, became too severe for him also, and, after having been three weeks in bed, and resuming command for a day, he concluded that it was useless to try to remain any longer, and he left for Philadelphia on the 5th January, turning the command over to Colonel Purdy.

Izard's handling of his brigade as described in his journal was in marked contrast to what had been the rule in the many defeats the American arms had met on this frontier. It produced a favorable impression for him, and Ingersoll, in his history of the war, mentions his

conduct with commendation. His brigade was the inferior one of the two, and doubtless when he took the command, was far from being in a condition to satisfy a professional soldier. Its behavior therefore on the day of the defeat, having been but a short time under his supervision, can be cited in refutation of the charge that he was unable to mold the materials at hand to his purposes.

The two years during which the war had lasted were so disastrous that it was manifest that some change was absolutely necessary. An attempt was consequently made early in 1814 to reorganize the army. This consisted only in removing the old generals who had commenced their military careers during the Revolution, and whose failures were as much in consequence of the small and badly equipped armies which they commanded as of their incapacity. In their stead certain new promotions of younger men were made of which Izard and Brown were the major-generals. The reorganization however stopped there, for the manner of raising the armies remained the same, and the War Department, which also required entire remodeling, was not touched by the reformer. Izard's dispatches tell a tale with regard to the forces in northern New York, and their condition of inefficiency in 1814, when it was time for the campaign to commence which has never yet been freely exposed, and they will be largely quoted.

In the month of April, having been commissioned as senior major-general he was ordered to proceed to Lake George and preside at a court martial, to be convened there for the trial of General Wilkinson. The situation having become menacing on the frontier, he was afterward directed to adjourn the court-martial until the close of the campaign, and to assume command of the army at Plattsburg. The Secretary, in a letter of the 14th May encloses a list of the general staff and the regiments and corps for District No. 9 which comprises the entire northern frontier. He adds: "If the regiments assigned to your division can be filled by even the first day of *August next* the campaign may be a good one." The words in italics are the Secretary's (Armstrong) and they show that he realized how behindhand all the preparations were. But he does not feel uneasy about an immediate advance of the enemy, as he adds: "Of reinforcements to the enemy we hear only of the 76th and 16th regiments of infantry coming from England." It was too soon yet for any of Wellington's troops to arrive.

The Ninth Military District was divided into two divisions—the first or Division of the Right, and the second or Division of the Left. Izard commanded the the first with his head-quarters at Plattsburg, and Brown the

left with head-quarters at Buffalo. The brigadiers assigned to the first division were Winder, chief of staff, Macomb, Smith and Bissel. The troops were one regiment of light artillery, sixteen regiments of infantry, one battalion of riflemen and two squadrons of light dragoons. To the second division were assigned the brigadiers Gaines, Winfield Scott, and Ripley, with seven regiments of infantry and the necessary artillery, cavalry and riflemen.

Izard knew full well what were the difficulties the government had to contend with in supplying him with the necessary number of troops, and was not uselessly sanguine ; but when the list of general and staff officers for his division was received he felt hopeful, and in one of his dispatches mentioned that it seemed to indicate a corresponding number of fighting men. If the regiments of infantry had averaged 800 men each, and the other arms of the service a corresponding proportion, he would have had under him about 13,000 men and Brown about 6,000. With those numbers as late as July, a blow might have been struck at Montreal, as was the original intention of the government. But the other side of the picture must now be shown, and Izard's first dispatch to the Secretary, describing the condition in which he finds his command, is appended :

NORTHERN ARMY, H. Q., PLATTSBURG, May 7th, 1814.

Sir. . . . I arrived in this vicinity on the 1st inst and assumed command of the army on the 4th. . . . I have been engaged for three days in examining the troops, and am sorry to say that I am greatly disappointed both in their number and quality. With very few exceptions (and those confined to companies) they are deficient in all the requisites of regular soldiers. Their clothing and equipments are in a wretched state. Their proficiency in field maneuvers, and even the rudiments of exercise, is lamentably small, and an undue proportion of them are on the sick list. Of those who appear under arms, a very great majority are unfit to take the field, in consequence of indispositions contracted in the last movement to the Lacole. Whole battalions are composed of year's men, who in a few days will be entitled to their discharge from the service. In short I cannot, on this side of Lake Champlain, produce an aggregate force of more than two thousand effectives, and these raw ill-clad and worse disciplined. The brigade in Vermont is not proportionally stronger ; the last report from Burlington presents no more than an aggregate of six hundred men. There is besides at Vergennes a detachment of about three hundred men, and I understand that four or five hundred recruits under Colonel Dana may soon be expected in that quarter. The extent of my command not having been defined I have some hesitation in giving orders to detached officers. The morning on which I left Albany, I was informed that orders, directly from the War Office, had been received by the senior officer at Greenbush to forward all his recruits to the westward. . . . In the mean time I find it necessary to order some of the officers at Albany to join their corps here. We have a detachment of over one hundred dragoons under the charge of a single subaltern. Lieutenant-Colonel Ball will be directed to repair thither and to order such dragoon officers as he may meet or hear of, not on active duty, to join him. The same

measure will be adopted respecting the light artillery, of which there are three companies with only one officer to each.

Different systems of instruction have been adopted by the officers of this division. As uniformity is indispensable in this particular, I am about to authorize the former practice agreeably to Baron Steuben's regulations,—without however giving to the latter the formality of a general order until the 1st of June, when, unless I receive instructions to the contrary, I shall adopt them as regulations for the troops under my command." In another dispatch two days later, he writes : " The dragoons are without clothing,—their arms, with scarcely an exception, unfit for use, and they have not been paid for many months. The riflemen have had no pay for considerably over a year. I regret to say that several desertions have taken place from these two corps since my arrival."

These dispatches fully expose the situation. Shortly after recruits appear to have steadily arrived at Plattsburg. It was evident that the campaign could not be commenced until August, and, in the meanwhile, large reinforcements were reaching Canada, partly from England and partly from Bordeaux, France, after the battle of Toulouse, mainly veterans who had served in Spain under Wellington. The arrivals for Izard were raw and undisciplined men, and they had to be most perseveringly drilled before becoming efficient soldiers. Izard insisted upon this being carefully done, as an essential to a successful advance, and he held the officers to a stricter account in the performance of this and other duties than the privates who had still to be instructed in theirs. Working parties were also detailed for the erection of earthworks, and, by the end of August, the post was in condition, assisted by the flotilla under Macdonough, to repel an attack by a largely superior force. The total under Izard by the middle of August was 7,000 men. The government then, seeing that an attack upon Montreal was impracticable on account of insufficient numbers, authorized Brown to transport his division to the Canada shore opposite Buffalo. This was accordingly done in the night of the 2d July, and Fort Erie, which was the point at which the landing was made, occupied by a small garrison, immediately surrendered. The next day Brown was confronted by a British army under Drummond and the battle of Chippewa was fought, resulting in a retreat of the British. Drummond was soon reinforced, and Brown was obliged to retire to the little fort, which was then besieged. Before the siege the battle of Lundy's Lane was fought, but it did not delay Drummond.

As a diversion to this movement, and in order to occupy the enemy in another quarter, Izard was at the same time directed to occupy with 1,500 men, and fortify a position between Sackett's Harbor, at the eastern end of Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River, thereby menacing Kingston. This plan was afterward abandoned, as it was thought more important to

reinforce the garrison of Fort Erie, and Izard was therefore ordered to make immediate preparations for marching 4,000 men from Plattsburg to Niagara. The distance in a straight line was about three hundred miles between the two points, but the country between Plattsburg and Sackett's Harbor was a wilderness and impracticable for an army with a wagon train. Moreover, if the roads had been practicable, it would have been dangerous to march a long column parallel to an enemy's frontier whose allies were Indians. It was considered necessary therefore to make a *détour* by Schenectady and Johnstown, which lengthened the journey by one hundred miles, making the entire distance four hundred. It was a great undertaking for the time, the most difficult perhaps that any American general was called upon to do during that war, and yet Izard never received any credit for the obstacles he overcame in executing the order.

The letter from the Secretary instructing him to prepare for the march was received the 27th July, and immediately Izard began to collect the horses and wagons which would be required. An idea can be formed of this first difficulty when it is stated that, in a dispatch to the Secretary of the 1st June, Izard announces that there are but six quartermaster horses to his command. It is to be presumed that the wagons and horses were obtained by impressment and purchase from the country around, but it was found impossible to procure all the horses which were wanted, so that many of the wagons were drawn by oxen. It can be seen then that it required time to collect the necessary transportation, and it was not until the 29th August that the start was made. The government, as is well known, was very inadequately provided with the material requisite for a war, and least so with the wagons and horses for an army train. The country wagons of that period were heavy, lumbering concerns, very unlike the light-running ones of to-day, and the ox-carts and ox-wagons were of still more clumsy build, with probably scarcely a suspicion of an iron axle. The force left behind under Macomb was small, but commanded by some of his best officers. Izard states their effective strength in a dispatch to the Secretary, and subsequent events proved that he had not selected all the best regiments for himself, as he was accused of having done.

After Schenectady the road taken passed through Johnstown and Remsen. The slow progress of the oxen delayed the column, and it was impossible to accomplish more than fifteen miles a day. The men were unaccustomed to long marches, and it was necessary to rest them, and the oxen also, occasionally, for a day at a time. The weather appears to have been favorable during that part of the march, and Sackett's Harbor was reached on the 16th, instead of the 13th, as Izard had hoped. There was

a further delay here of five days on account of a violent gale which prevented any embarkation, and it was not until the 21st that 3,000 of the troops could be got on board Chauncey's fleet. These were landed the next morning early at the mouth of the Genesee River. Two battalions of infantry were left at Sackett's Harbor to assist in guarding the public stores and navy yard, and the remainder, consisting of the regiment of light artillery without their guns, the dismounted dragoons and a squadron of mounted dragoons, continued the journey by land.

Upon landing at the Genesee River, "every exertion was used to collect a sufficient number of wagons and horses for the transportation of our camp equipage and provisions; but our appearance being unexpected, and that part of the country thinly peopled, it was not until the 24th that we could resume our march. Part of the tents and stores were unavoidably left, to follow as fast as means could be procured for the purpose. Through excessively bad roads, and amidst continual and heavy rains, we proceeded; the officers of every grade, with very few exceptions, being dismounted. On the 26th, some hours before night, the whole of our corps arrived in good spirits at this village, Batavia, and with a less proportion of men disabled for immediate duty than could, under such circumstances, have been expected."

Two important events occurred during this long and toilsome march which were the source of life-long annoyance and mortification to Izard. The first was the repulse by Macomb and Macdonough of a land and naval attack upon Plattsburg shortly after his departure, and the second the successful sortie of the garrison of Fort Erie, which drove off the British and raised the siege while he was at Sackett's Harbor. Although outranking Brown and Macomb, his role for the time was somewhat that of a subordinate to both.

At Batavia, which is half-way between the mouth of the Genesee River and Buffalo, he met General Brown, and it was decided that he should besiege Fort Niagara on the American side without delay, as the detachment from Sackett's Harbor had not yet come up, and without them it was best not to cross over to the Canada side. By rapid movements it was thought that the fort could be taken in a few days of open trenches with light field pieces, while Brown's division at Fort Erie would prevent reinforcements being sent to the fort. The troops were thereupon moved to Lewistown, where Izard met Brown again and General P. B. Porter commanding the New York militia. After a conference with the two it was determined that the two divisions, Izard's and Brown's, should be concentrated on the Canada side opposite the English army under Drummond, who, after

being driven from Fort Erie, had withdrawn to an intrenched camp behind the Chippewa River.

On the 8th October Izard marched from Lewistown to Schlosser Landing, on the Niagara River, where he expected to cross; but there being not enough boats he moved farther up to Black Rock, where he crossed to a point two miles north of Fort Erie. The detachment from Sackett's Harbor had then arrived, and having united with Brown's division, he, as senior major-general, commanded the army. The total effective force amounted to 5,500 regulars and 800 militia under Porter. It was now the 11th October. Batavia can be considered as having been the terminus of Izard's march, which occupied thirty days. There was great disappointment felt at his slow progress, and he was universally condemned as having lost time intentionally in order that Fort Erie might not be relieved in time. Ingersoll, in alluding to the fifteen miles a day, says that he might as easily have made thirty. This would have been extremely difficult under the most favorable conditions, and with the facts fully before us and the causes of the delays explained, it can be easily seen that in expecting such a journey to be completed in fifteen days the public were desiring the impossible. In the dispatch to the Secretary from Batavia Izard says: "The roads and weather oppose any rapid movement. Indeed, when I look back on the distance which we have come since we left our position in front of a superior enemy on the Champlain line, I am surprised at the little time and few accidents which have attended our progress."

The two events of 1814 for which Izard is justly entitled to credit have thus been narrated. The first was the fortifying of Plattsburg and converting the raw recruits which were hastily gathered there into an efficient little army. The second, his marching 4,000 men to the Niagara River over almost insurmountable obstacles and delivering them there fit for immediate service. There was still another trial to which his professional ability was to be exposed.

After the repulse of Drummond from before Fort Erie, it was the opinion of the Secretary, and of General Brown also, that if Izard's division could be rapidly transported by the fleet from Sackett's Harbor to a point on the Canada shore beyond the Niagara River he could then advance upon Drummond's rear, and with the assistance of Brown's division operating upon his front, the entire British army might be captured. This plan was never seriously entertained by Izard, as Chauncey's fleet did not command the entire lake; but after the union of the two divisions it was still hoped that it might be done.

Having landed on the Canada side, as stated, Izard marched his army to within striking distance of Drummond. He there tried to provoke him to battle, but instead of accepting the challenge Drummond continued to strengthen himself by additional earthworks. It was evident that he would not leave his intrenchments unless his position was turned. With regard to this, Izard says: "I may turn Chippewa, and should General Drummond not retire may succeed in giving him a great deal of trouble; but if he falls back on Fort George or Burlington * Heights, every step I take in pursuit exposes me to be cut off by the large reinforcements it is in the power of the enemy to throw in twenty-four hours upon my flank or rear."

He always disagreed with Brown as to the relative strength of the two armies. He considered, from the reinforcements that he knew Drummond had received, that he only slightly outnumbered him, while Brown thought that he exaggerated the numbers of the reinforcements. After a full consideration of the subject and several dispatches to the Secretary with replies from the latter containing his approval and also that of the President, he withdrew his entire army from Canada and ordered the evacuation of Fort Erie as a post, the retention of which during the winter would require too many useless sacrifices. It was not then suspected that peace would be made so soon, and Izard hoped to be in command of a larger army the next year. The one he commanded was the largest and most efficient in the field, and any disaster occurring to it in consequence of attempts to dislodge Drummond would result in the entire northern frontier being exposed during the winter to incursions of the enemy. It was too late in the season for a prolongation of the campaign, and the troops in hand would be a nucleus around which would be collected the new levies in the spring.

The operations of 1814 having ended in no material gain to the Americans, it was then proper to find a scapegoat for the failures of the year. Izard, as an officer educated abroad, and altogether alone in that respect, was not understood by civilians nor by the officers under him, and it suited every one to select him as responsible for the inglorious ending of the campaign. Severe criticisms of his conduct were published, which were soon seen by him. He was highminded and sensitive to anonymous accusations, and, although he knew that he had given evidence of good judgment and professional skill in carrying out the orders of the government, as soon as he was aware of the public discontent, he resigned from the army without hesitation. "Brave, ambitious and honorable" are the

* Burlington Heights are now Queenstown Heights.

strong terms with which Ingersoll characterizes him, although in criticising his movements he finds fault with him at every step. The explanation of this lies in the fact that Ingersoll was no military critic, and consequently unable to understand the difficulties which a general had to encounter. Mr. Monroe, who knew Izard well, and was aware of his ability, tried in vain to retain him at the head of the army.

As a general, his strongest qualification outside of the routine of military duty was caution. This was the result of the knowledge he possessed of what was required to constitute an army, and of the weakness of his own in many of the most important essentials. The Americans were overwhelmingly outnumbered during the active months of the campaign, there having been over 30,000 British regulars in Canada during that time, while on the American side there were never more than 10,000 between Plattsburg and Detroit.

In further reply to those who accused General Izard of having purposely delayed his march from Plattsburg, it should be stated that it had been left discretionary with him on his arrival at Sackett's Harbor whether to make a demonstration against Kingston, and thus produce a diversion in favor of Fort Erie, or to march to the relief of that fort. He found no orders awaiting him at Sackett's Harbor, and, having received pressing letters from Brown urging his coming to the Niagara, he decided upon that step. The most difficult part of his march still remained before reaching Batavia.

It had become evident to Izard by this time that it was useless to expect any results from the operations of the year. Everything had been behindhand in the preparations for the campaign, and the Americans were so enormously outnumbered by the British that the only thing to be done for the time being was to preserve the army as a nucleus for larger levies to be raised during the winter. Having observed the defects which injured its efficiency, he recommended the proper remedies to the government, especially that officers of every grade be required to remain at their posts during the winter, and that leaves of absence be granted only for urgent reasons.

Any disaster occurring to his army would have laid northern New York at the mercy of the enemy, and he had the firmness to resist as quixotic the popular wish that Drummond and his entire force be made prisoners of war by an attack upon his intrenched position. After his resignation from the army, General Izard remained in Philadelphia, occupying with his family a small dwelling in Spruce Street, between Ninth and Tenth. On the 4th of March, 1825, he was appointed by President Monroe

governor of the Territory of Arkansas, one of the last acts of Monroe's administration.

As governor his life was uneventful. He commenced the organization of the militia, and recommended that an arsenal be located at Little Rock, as trouble seemed imminent at one time with the Indians. The Choctaws, Quapaws and other tribes were removed to the reservations while he was in office. He did not find many congenial souls in that far-away Territory. He was again misunderstood and considered an aristocrat and a martinet, although a few discriminating ones could see his good qualities. He transferred his library to his new home, and much of his time was spent with his books. His administration of the affairs of the Territory proves to have been prudent and wise by an examination of the records, and he died at Little Rock, where he was buried, the 25th January, 1828, leaving three sons, all of whom died childless. Izard County in Arkansas was named after him.

G. E. Manigault.

CHARLESTON, S. C.

POPULAR GOVERNMENT IN VIRGINIA, 1606-1776

I

Mr. Gladstone has said that "the American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man," and the assertion has generally been accepted as a just tribute to the wisdom of the framers of that instrument. But, at the same time, there has been extorted from the statement a meaning which it is impossible to believe that Mr. Gladstone intended to express. The saying is generally assumed to mean that the Constitution was "created out of nothing," as one writer on the subject has expressed it, and the natural inference has been that it was entirely original.

Such a view may be flattering to our patriotism, but cannot commend itself to our judgment; nor can it do justice to the author of the quotation. That the Constitution has proved to be a success for a century is admitted; but whether this is due to the creative power of its framers, or to their discrimination in selecting from colonial and state constitutions already tested by experience is the question which is raised.

Free political institutions which have developed slowly, molded by the genius of a people and modified according to popular needs, have proved the most permanent; while free constitutions which have been elaborated on paper for peoples unaccustomed to their principles, and suddenly adopted, have lasted for but brief periods. The political institutions of the Anglo-Saxon race are the most conspicuous examples of the gradual development of primitive customs into free, popular, and complex constitutions. Many of their institutions to-day resemble closely those of fifteen hundred years ago. The changes made in the original forms, and the additions to them, have been introduced by very slow degrees, and with so conservative a spirit that the need for them has usually been felt long before they were secured. The result has been, in England, an unwritten constitution, comprising custom, precedent, judicial decisions, bills of rights, and royal charters—a practical, practicable whole, the growth of centuries.

When the American colonies were settled, the principal features of the English Constitution were pretty clearly defined. The colonists brought with them the sturdy independence and love of constitutional liberty which characterized their race. They also brought the institutions of

their native land, and established them in the new world. For a century and a half they lived under those institutions, modifying them to meet local necessities. Subsequently, when they asserted their freedom, it is not reasonable to assume that they entirely relinquished them. It is more natural to believe that they modified them, in order to still retain their principal features in their independent government.

It is only fair to Mr. Gladstone to presume that he had in mind such thoughts as these when he penned the often-quoted sentence. If we believe that he had, we can still find in it a high compliment to the statesmanship of the framers of the Constitution. The "wonderful work" is there; but, instead of "creation," it consisted in the unerring instinct with which they selected from their own experience such forms as would meet their new demands; the judgment with which they united them into a practical working system, and the spirit of concession which secured these results.

That the Constitution of the United States is the outgrowth of the principles of constitutional liberty brought to America by the English settlers—the result of the development of the free institutions which grew up with the people during a century and a half of colonial life, every student of our history must believe. To point out what those principles of constitutional liberty were, and to trace something of the growth of those free institutions in Virginia, is the object of this article. Virginia, as the oldest colony, naturally comes first in making such an inquiry. She is, moreover, peculiarly interesting from her character, representative of the South, her long and varied history, and the active and influential part she took in the struggle for constitutional liberty.

II

The claim of England to the American continent was based upon its discovery in 1497, by Cabot, under a charter granted him by Henry VIII, "to seek out, discover and find whatsoever isles, countries, regions, or provinces of the heathen and infidels, whatsoever they be, which before this time have been unknown to all Christians." Similar patents were granted other discoverers, and many voyages were made, with varying frequency and success. In 1578 Sir Humphrey Gilbert received a patent which provided that all persons settled in colonies he might found "should and might have and enjoy all the privileges of free denizens or persons native of England." Six years later Sir Walter Raleigh secured a charter which contained a like provision.

Though no permanent colonies were established under these charters,



the results of the voyages, and of others which followed them, seemed to promise commercial gains to some, political advantages to others. As a result, a company was formed, and secured a charter from James in April, 1606.

This charter provided for two companies, one to plant their colony between parallels 38 and 45, the other between parallels 34 and 41. The London Company had the southerly situation, with land fifty miles along the coast from their settlement, one hundred miles into the main-land, and all the islands within one hundred miles. The company last making a settlement could not place a colony within one hundred miles of one already made.

Government was to be by means of two councils, one in England and one in the colony. The company could exact duty on everything bought or sold within their precincts. They could export, free of duty for seven years, goods needed by the colonists, and could take as colonists any citizens who would go. Every English subject living in any of the colonies "and every of their children which should happen to be born within any of the limits and precincts of the said several colonies and plantations, shall have and enjoy all liberties, franchises and immunities, within any of our other dominions, to all intents and purposes, as if they had been abiding and born within this our realm of England."

The charter the king followed with instructions for the government of the colony. The council in England was to have a general oversight of affairs; that in the colony was to be its legislature, executive and judiciary. The colonial council chose its own president; enacted laws; heard and decided all cases; inflicted punishments; awarded damages, and executed the laws of the colony. Such crimes as tumults, rebellion, murder and adultery were punished with death. Juries served only in cases of life and death. The goods of the colonists went into a common stock.

King James's scheme of government was embraced in the charter and instructions. Article XV. of the charter provides that all English subjects resident in the colonies should "enjoy all the liberties, franchises and immunities . . . as if they had been abiding and born within our realm of England;" but the laws were not to be made by the colonists; juries were to serve only in enumerated cases of life and death; the council controlled the liberty of the subject; his property went into the general stock.

For two years the London Company attempted "to found a colonial empire." The mines, the gold, the passage to the South Sea, and the lost colonists were not discovered, though all these had been expected. Hundreds of lives were lost, thousands of pounds expended, and for all

this there was almost no commercial return. The company was disappointed at the result. They thought it necessary to gather more power into their own hands, and they asked the king for a new charter with larger powers. One was granted May 23, 1609.

The new charter enlarged the powers of the company, explained its privileges, and made such changes as experience showed were necessary. The company became a body corporate, self-sustaining and independent. Their territory was to extend two hundred miles each way along the shore from Point Comfort; to the west "from sea to sea;" and include all islands within one hundred miles of the coast. All subjects residing in the colony, and all their children and posterity, "shall have and enjoy all liberties, franchises and immunities of free denizens and natural subjects, within any of our other dominions . . . as if they had been abiding and born within this our realm of England." A governor for the colony was to be appointed by the council in England, and to rule according to their instructions. By this charter the company largely increased their power; the colonists were still ignored.

Under this charter was put into operation a code of laws based upon the martial law in force in the Netherlands. It was, in the words of Stith, "very bloody and severe, and no ways agreeable to a free people and the British Constitution." Death was the common penalty for even such acts as willfully injuring a flower or herb. Swearing; absence from Sunday worship; speaking evil of officers; disobedience of orders; killing an animal, even your own, without permission; neglect of business, and like offenses, were punished by branding, whipping, the galleys, court-martial, or even death. With Doyle, "we can hardly suppose that those who enforced this code . . . intended it for more than a temporary expedient during a period of license and anarchy. In truth, the colony at this time scarcely aimed higher than at being a profitable slave gang administered for the benefit of the company. . . . It is, however, probable that these laws only applied to the company's servants, and not to those independent planters who had settled at their own expense, or to the hired servants on their estates. Thus we may believe that this atrocious code had no operation over those who economically and socially formed the most important part of the colony, and to whom a large share of self-government was soon to be entrusted." It remained in force from 1611 to 1619.

The returns to the company continued small under the second charter; the treasurer's management was unsatisfactory; subscriptions were in arrears; servants engaged by the company refused to go out, and they

desired to secure the Bermuda Islands, which were beyond the one-hundred-mile limit from the coast. To remedy evils and also secure the power they desired, reorganization was necessary. They therefore asked for a third charter, and it was granted March 12, 1612.

By this charter the powers of the company were further increased; weekly meetings were to be held for the conduct of affairs; "four great and general courts" were to be held yearly for the settlement of the more important concerns; seditious servants could be apprehended, examined, bound with sureties for their good behavior, or sent back to Virginia for trial, and those who failed to pay their adventures expelled. Islands "within three hundred leagues of any of the parts heretofore granted" were also allotted to them.

For a time the rule of the governors was very severe, but about 1618 the management of the company in England underwent a change, and the more liberal party secured control of its affairs. Yeardeley was chosen governor, and was instructed to call a general assembly, to be composed of the council of state and two burgesses chosen in each plantation. He reached Virginia in April, 1679, and issued the call. The first free assembly in America met on July 30, 1619, with eleven plantations represented.

The assembly's powers were not, at first, very broad. They could, however, petition the company; mold into laws the instructions sent out by the company, and add to them regulations of their own. Their first meeting prepared ordinances regulating trade with the Indians; established rules for the religious, social and economic guidance of the colonists; petitioned the company regarding the tenure of land, to the end that none might be injured in their estates; levied a poll tax to pay their officers' salaries, and attended to a few other matters.

Two years later, July 21, 1621, the company issued a formal "Ordinance and Constitution . . . for a Council of State and General Assembly . . . to settle a form of government there as may be to the greatest benefit and comfort of the people, and whereby all injustice, grievances, and oppression may be prevented and kept off as much as possible from the said colony."

It established a council of state, to assist the governor, and a general assembly, to be composed of the council of state and "two burgesses out of every town, hundred, or other particular plantation, to be respectively chosen by the inhabitants." The assembly was to be called by the governor yearly, or oftener for very important causes. An absolute veto was reserved him. The assembly was to have "free power to treat, consult and conclude, as well of all emergent occasions concerning the public weal

. . . as also to make, ordain, and enact such general laws and orders, for the behoof of the said colony, and the good government thereof, as shall from time to time appear necessary or requisite." The laws enacted were not to be in force unless confirmed in a quarter court of the company; but, it was added, that after the government of the colony was well settled, orders from the company should not bind the colony unless they were ratified by the assembly.

This ordinance, which formally established representative government in Virginia, Hildreth concisely remarks was "the model, or at least the prototype, of most of the governments of English origin subsequently established in America." Bancroft says, "The system of representative government and trial by jury thus became . . . an acknowledged right. On this ordinance Virginia erected the superstructure of her liberties. Its influences were wide and enduring, and can be traced through all her history. It constituted . . . a nursery of freemen. . . . The privileges then conceded could never be wrested from the Virginians; and, as new colonies arose at the South, their proprietaries could hope to win emigrants only by bestowing franchises as large as those bestowed by their elder rival."

But, singularly enough, only a month after the first assembly met in Virginia (July, 1619,) a Dutch ship brought into the colony the first cargo of negro slaves. Land was then largely cultivated by indented servants. English prisons had been emptied into the colony; ship loads of felons, paupers, kidnapped persons, and those who had sold their service for a time to pay for their passage, composed a class of temporary slaves—persons held to service for a term of years. The planters and the company itself cultivated land with these servants. Tobacco, cultivated by them, very quickly proved to be the most profitable crop, and few other crops seemed available. Large tracts of land were devoted to it; laborers were in demand, and a bounty in land was offered for each one brought into the colony.

Into such a condition of affairs, and with such a need existing, the first lot of negro slaves had been brought. The partial and limited slavery of white persons was common, though it was held that Christians could not be retained in permanent slavery. With the negro it was different, and he, as a heathen, infidel and "stranger," could be held in fee simple, and bought and sold. He steadily increased in numbers, and soon entirely superseded the indented servant.

The Virginia Company was exempted from any duty beyond five per cent.; but, about this time, a sum largely in excess of it was demanded

on tobacco by the English Government. The company objected, but finally compromised by paying what was demanded and in return having the importation of Spanish tobacco, or its cultivation in the kingdom, prohibited. In 1621 private persons acquired a monopoly of the trade, and secured a proclamation limiting the amount to be imported from Virginia. The tobacco from the colony was then sent to the Netherlands. An English order in council forbade this, unless duties were first paid in England. Parliament, however, finally interfered, and removed the limitation on the amount exported to England. This attempt to exact duties in England before export should be made to foreign countries was, as Hildreth says, "the first germ of that colonial system, afterwards sanctioned by parliamentary enactment, and one of the principal features in the subsequent relations of the mother country to the colonies."

About this time the company met with difficulties in England. The king had conceived a dislike for it, or its management; had attempted to control the election of its treasurer in the spring of 1620, and believed that it fostered political ideas which he abhorred. In October, 1623, an order in council declared that a new charter would be issued to put the government of the company into the hands of a governor and twelve assistants in Virginia, who would depend upon like officers in England, who in turn would depend upon the king's council board, and the company was asked to surrender its charter. This being refused, a *quo warranto* was served, directing them "to show, by what authority they claimed to be a body corporate, and to have and enjoy those liberties and privileges which they did." In July, 1624, the court declared the company's patent to be null and void. Of this, Lodge remarks that "in obedience to their own sentiments, and in conformity with their most cherished principles, the London adventurers endowed Virginia with free institutions, but their overthrow was none the less a distinct benefit to the colony. It not only relieved the settlers from the cumbrous, complicated, and uncertain government of a mercantile corporation, but it placed them in the same direct relation with their king as his other subjects."

King James died soon after the charter was rescinded. The members of the company then petitioned for a new patent, but failed to secure it. Other applications made in 1631 and 1639 were also refused. In the latter cases the colony petitioned against it, as they dreaded further changes in the management of their affairs.

Wyat continued as governor till 1626. Yeardley succeeded him, but died the next year, and was followed by West and Potts, who were chosen by the council. Harvey, the first royal governor, came out in 1629. He

was arbitrary and violent ; claimed an absolute veto power ; exacted fines relentlessly, and favored Lord Baltimore in the controversy with Maryland. These things led the council, in 1635, to arrest him and send him to England. He was, however, supported by the crown ; returned in 1637 for two years more ; and, during this period, allowed no assembly to be called. Wyat succeeded him, and his term to 1642 was uneventful.

The Virginia assembly exercised its functions naturally. It levied taxes ; provided for their expenditure ; passed laws for the moral and industrial improvement of the colony, and for its protection. In 1623 it forbade the governor "to lay any taxes or impositions upon the colony, their lands, or other way than by the authority of the general assembly, to be levied and employed as said assembly shall appoint," and this claim of the exclusive right of taxation was repeated in 1631, 1632, and 1642. In the last-named year Berkeley came out as governor, bringing instructions that all the exports from Virginia should go to English ports—another step in England's attempt to control the commerce of her American colonies.

On the execution of Charles the assembly put themselves on record as staunch loyalists ; but when vessels were sent over by the Commonwealth to subdue them they promptly compromised. The governor and council were removed, but the assembly agreed that the colony should remain subject to the Commonwealth. In return, the right to hold an assembly was confirmed ; no taxes were to be laid without consent of the colony, nor forts or garrisons maintained ; all land grants and private rights were to remain unchanged ; the freedom of trade enjoyed in England was to exist, and all privileges were to remain unimpaired. The assembly was to choose all officers, including the governor.

It was at this time (1650) that Parliament passed an act aimed at Dutch commercial supremacy, and designed to protect and develop British shipping, which, when afterward re-enacted, became known as the Navigation Act. It provided that foreign vessels could bring to England only the products of their own countries, and that goods could be shipped from the colonies in English vessels only, thus sanctioning by legislative enactment the principle already applied. The act, however, was not enforced in Virginia, so that free commerce really prevailed.

During the Commonwealth period the assembly chose three governors, and Virginia ruled herself quietly, without interference from England. In 1655 the franchise was restricted to land and householders, but the next year it was restored to all freemen on the ground that all who pay taxes should vote. Virginia was, in the words of Bancroft, "the first State in

the world, composed of separate boroughs, diffused over an extensive surface, where representation was organized on the principle of universal suffrage."

The assembly of 1658 carried on a controversy with Governor Matthews, who endeavored to dissolve them, but who finally yielded and acknowledged their supremacy. The next year they resolved that until affairs were more settled in England, the assembly was supreme, and they chose Berkeley, the last royal governor, to serve again, providing, however, that he should call the assembly at least every two years; that the Secretary of State should have the assembly's approval, and that the assembly should not be dissolved against its will. Berkeley accepted, with protestations that he was but the servant of the assembly.

Owing to the reaction beginning in favor of royalty, the new assembly was largely loyalist. One act was to grant the governor and council power to levy taxes for three years. Another was the grant of the right to prorogue the assembly, and by this very means the governor continued this same assembly for fifteen years without a fresh election.

With the Restoration (1661) a more rigid control of colonial affairs was adopted in England. The act of 1650 was repeated and enlarged, and became known as the Navigation Act. In addition to the provision that all goods must be shipped in English vessels, it provided that the most valuable products of the colonies, known as "enumerated articles," must be shipped to England or her colonies. It was soon (1663) farther added that goods could be received in English vessels only, and soon after (1672) it was ordered that goods going from one colony to another must pay duty as if sent to England. In 1662 the colonial laws were again revised, but nothing bearing particularly on our subject was added.

The severe restrictions upon trade; unjust taxes; an extortionate clergy; the grant of the colony to two lords, and the heavy tax laid in order to buy their patent for the colony; an extravagant assembly drawing large salaries; trade absorbed by monopoly; exemption of councilors from the tax levies; all taxes levied by polls; the restriction of the franchise to land and householders; no election for assembly between 1660 and 1676; and, finally, outbreak of war with the Indians, for whose suppression the governor's methods were inadequate, caused widespread discontent. A popular councilor, Bacon, requested a commission to march against the Indians, but the governor refused. He then marched independently, and was declared a rebel by the governor; but afterward, on confessing his errors, was pardoned.

The governor at last yielded to the popular feeling, and issued writs



for a new assembly. That body passed a number of reform measures, including the reduction of different fees; repealed the act restricting the franchise, thus restoring that right to every freeman, and itself assumed the right before held by county magistrates, to impose certain taxes.

These reforms did not fully quiet the popular mind. Bacon, at the head of a body of hurriedly raised troops, anew demanded a commission against the Indians, and secured it. After subduing the Indians he came into conflict with Berkeley, who had again declared him a rebel and raised troops against him; but before the trouble ended Bacon died.

During the conflict Bacon had published a statement of the public grievances, and called a convention. Many of the people agreed not to assist the governor against him. Bacon desired them to promise also to support him actively against Berkeley, and also against troops sent from England, if such should come, until the whole matter could be submitted to the king. There was difficulty in securing assent to the last proposition, and it is uncertain just how that matter ended. The people were ready to resist an unjust governor, but they were not prepared to offer resistance to the king.

In 1674 the colony had sent commissioners to England to endeavor to purchase for the colony the grant of all Virginia made to Lords Culpepper and Arlington, or to have the grant modified. At the same time they were instructed to solicit a charter for the colony, in order to secure a royal ratification of the rights and privileges they enjoyed. A charter, liberal in spirit, and permanently vesting the assembly with the powers it already exercised, was prepared. It was about completed when news of the so-called "Bacon's Rebellion" reached England. There was then substituted for it a patent which entirely ignored the assembly, but dealt with land titles and the judicial powers of the council.

Bacon's death practically ended the popular movement. Commissioners sent from England to settle the trouble brought instructions to declare void all the late assembly's acts; to call a new one, for which only freeholders should vote; and to have the assembly meet but once in two years. This new assembly (1677) was evidently subservient, for it is said to have repealed all the objectionable acts; but it also appears to have had a little spirit, for it seems to have re-enacted some of the reform measures.

Early in 1677 Berkeley was recalled. He was succeeded in turn by Jeffreys and Chicheley, and by Culpepper in 1680. Culpepper brought instructions that the assembly was to be summoned only when directed by the crown, and even then that laws should originate with the governor and council, and be sent to the king for his approval before the assembly

could act on them to the limited extent of acceptance or rejection; the governor could suspend councilors at pleasure, and when suspended they could not stand for election to the assembly, and the assembly could no longer receive and decide appeals; but, at the same time, the crown left in the assembly's hands the right of originating money bills, the crown only making "recommendations." The control of the purse insures to its holder the ability, sooner or later, to bend all opposing powers to its will.

At this time, however, royal "recommendations" were all-powerful. Consequently, drafts of laws brought by Culpepper were accepted by the assembly, especially as connected with these proposed laws came an act of amnesty for past political offenses. Among the laws so accepted was one to double the governor's already generous salary, and another to make the yearly duties levied and spent by the assembly perpetual, and under the king's control.

Culpepper, as a whole, was not very severe in carrying out his instructions, but he exhausted all methods of turning everything to his private gain.

In 1684 he was succeeded by Lord Howard, who also came to enrich himself, and was even more unscrupulous than his predecessor in the methods he adopted. A council subservient to his will was chosen. The assembly he attempted to coerce and bribe, and when these means failed he dissolved them. He repealed acts of assembly at pleasure, or revived such as had been repealed. He appointed the clerk of the assembly, and obtained through him knowledge of all acts proposed in that body. Judges, sheriffs and all local officers were appointed directly or indirectly by the crown. Royal authority was at its height. For five years no assembly was held.

Little of political moment occurred in the next few years. Two assemblies held under Nicholson (1690-92) passed a number of laws regarding industries and regulating church affairs. Andros ruled vigorously for the next six years, but as arbitrarily as his predecessors, and Nicholson served again (1698-1704), more arbitrarily and with less judgment than before. During this term the assembly succeeded in acquiring the appointment of the treasurer of the colony—a step of great importance to the cause of popular government, and one which the governor could not have appreciated.

The Earl of Orkney becoming governor, and the only one of his deputies who arrived dying almost immediately, the colony governed itself for the next five years, and the assembly grew stronger as it became habituated again to the exercise of its functions.

When Spotswood came out in 1710, he brought the writ of habeas corpus, to the great joy of the people. With the co-operation of the assembly he instituted reforms in collecting the taxes and administering justice. He was devoted to the welfare of the colony, but haughty, and often involved in trivial contentions with the assembly, which he sometimes sharply reprimanded. In a controversy in 1718 over a recent act of Parliament extending the post-office system in Virginia, the assembly insisted that Virginia could not be taxed without her assembly's consent, and though not always able to act up to their claims, the principle of no taxation without representation became fixed.

In 1722 an act of assembly imposing duty on imported liquors and slaves was agreed to by the new governor, Drysdale, but was repealed by proclamation from England. The four years of Drysdale's administration were quiet and harmonious. Twelve years later the assembly again imposed a duty on imported slaves, but this time it was made "payable by the buyer," and was allowed to stand.

The sixth and last revision of the code took place at this time. The king ratified fifty-seven of its sixty-seven acts, and declared ten void. This displeased the assembly, and they voted an address, the purport of which was that according to the constitution and usage of the colony all acts not repugnant to the laws of England were in full force till notice was received that the king disallowed them, and that once his majesty had accepted them, they could not be altered. This would appear to imply that they considered all the assembly's acts, which the king had not specially disallowed, to have received his approval. Practically, this might generally be assumed. On the other hand, the assembly had for years legislated pretty freely; probably few acts had received specific approval, the majority being passed over as inoffensive, and only objectionable ones receiving attention. Gooch ruled quietly and acceptably for over twenty years (1726-49), so satisfactorily, indeed, that we know little of the events of his term.

From this time on the colonies came into closer relations than before. The similarity of their interests was made more apparent by their development, and by the feeling of common danger, from the French and Indians on one hand and from the abuses of royal prerogative on the other.

The assembly protested against a fee imposed on the issue of patents, and sent commissioners to England with a protest. They ignored Governor Dinwiddie's call for money to meet French encroachments; but the next year (1754) they made a grant at the same time appointing a com-

mittee to act with the governor in using it, a proceeding distasteful to the governor, but from which he had no escape. The ill-feeling which naturally arose between governor and assembly was such that when the colonies were summoned to send representatives to Albany to renew the treaty with the Six Nations none were sent from Virginia.

The assembly in June, 1755, authorized the issue of the first paper money in Virginia, in anticipation of the taxes laid to meet the expenses of the French and Indian War, and a little later issued still more to provide for frontier defense. In order to increase the revenue, they also by degrees raised the import duty on slaves to twenty per cent.; but in 1760 reduced it to ten per cent., on the ground that the higher duty was disadvantageous to the settlement of the country, by reducing the number of slaves imported, and thereby the revenue.

The assembly had the governor at a disadvantage much of the time. He was obliged to exert himself to carry on the war, and was compelled to accede to such demands as the assembly might make, in order to secure their support, for without it he could not get the funds needed, and there was no time to refer questions to England. Thus, during Dinwiddie's term (1754-57) the assembly's power became more firmly established.

In 1755 there was a short tobacco crop, and the assembly authorized the settlement of debts in money, at the accustomed rate of twopence per pound, instead of in tobacco as was usual. In 1758 the act was renewed. Tobacco rose above twopence per pound. The clergy, whose salaries had been payable in tobacco, sent an agent to England, with the result of having the law disallowed. Suits were soon after brought to recover the difference between the value of the tobacco and the rate of twopence per pound. In the test case, the court decided in favor of the plaintiff, and ordered that he go before a jury to determine damages. It was then (1763) that Henry used language that royalists called treasonable, for he claimed that a sovereign who annuls salutary laws forfeits all right to obedience, and he asserted that the assembly, council and governor were the only source which could give force to colonial laws. The jury gave one penny damages, and the assembly voted to defend any suits the clergy might bring.

In this controversy the clergy were legally right, for the king had vetoed the law; but popular feeling had become so strong in support of acts of assembly that Henry was sustained by the people, and the assembly practically voted an endorsement of his claim. Popular feeling must indeed have been strong, for the clergy brought no more suits. There was, however, no thought of anything more than the assertion of

the rights of Englishmen granted in the charters and confirmed by long usage.

The long war had thrown responsibilities upon colonial assemblies, and they had grown accustomed to independent action. Large sums had been voted by them and expended by their agents, and governors had frequently been compelled to yield to their demands. Beside this, many colonists were now trained soldiers, used to war and victory. The colonies, too, had in a measure co-operated, and were now partly conscious of their strength.

In 1764 news of the proposed Stamp Act led the Virginia assembly to prepare memorials to the king, lords and commons, remonstrating against such taxes. The tenor of all of them was that Virginia had been settled by Britons who brought with them all their rights; that their rights had also been expressly guaranteed to them by royal charters; that they had exercised them for years with the approval of the king; and that chief among their rights was that of voting their own taxes. They also referred to their heavy expenses in the recent war, and the present exhausted condition of the colony. The addresses were full of protestations of loyalty, and, in spite of the clear statement of what they conceived to be their natural and constitutional rights, were couched in humble terms.

But they availed nothing. The Stamp Act passed, and news of it reached Virginia in May, 1765, while the assembly was sitting. After heated debate the assembly adopted the resolutions introduced by Patrick Henry. They asserted plainly that the first settlers brought, and had transmitted to their posterity, all the rights and privileges possessed by the people of Great Britain; that by royal charters these rights had been expressly confirmed; that the distinguishing feature of the British Constitution is taxation of the people by themselves, or by their representatives; that the colony of Virginia had uninterruptedly enjoyed this right, had never forfeited it, and it had been constantly recognized by the king; lastly, that therefore the assembly "have the only and sole exclusive right and power to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of this colony, and that every attempt to vest such power in any person or persons whatsoever, other than the general assembly aforesaid, has a manifest tendency to destroy British, as well as American, freedom."

The following day, Henry being absent, the last resolution was stricken out; but complete copies had already been sent away, and had given an impetus to popular feeling. That feeling soon expressed itself in mutual pledges to unite at any hazard to prevent the operation of the act, which Edmund Pendleton declared void "for want of constitutional authority in

Parliament to pass it." Massachusetts proposed a congress of the colonies to consult on the difficulties of the situation, but the Virginia assembly was not in session when the call was received, and delegates were not appointed.

When news came the next year (1766) that the Stamp Act had been repealed, the expressions which spontaneously burst forth showed how loyal at heart the colonists were. In Virginia, the feeling found partial expression in a vote of a statue to the king ; but the bill prepared to execute it being postponed, the matter seems to have been dropped. At the same session, the office of treasurer of the colony was separated from that of speaker of the house, with which it had up to this time been united.

The hope of different treatment from England soon proved to be vain. The new acts passed for colonial taxation showed that it was determined to raise a parliamentary revenue in America. The old spirit was immediately aroused, and Massachusetts, in February, 1768, invited the other colonies to co-operate and consult with her as to means for defense of colonial rights.

The Virginia assembly, on receiving the call, emphatically re-asserted the exclusive right of the colonies to tax themselves. Memorials, reciting the position of the colonists, were again prepared for the king, lords, and commons. Massachusetts was assured of Virginia's gratification at her course ; the other colonial assemblies were notified of these proceedings, and a suggestion was made of the necessity of a union of all against every measure affecting their liberty.

While the assembly was in session in May, 1769, news came of Parliament's recommendation to send treasonable offenders to England for trial. The assembly immediately remonstrated against transporting a citizen to England for trial, reiterated its claim of the sole right to impose taxes in Virginia, and asserted the wisdom of united action to defend colonial rights. The next day, after adopting an address to the king, they were dissolved by the governor, who had heard of their resolutions. The members then met in convention, and signed a non-importation agreement, which was to continue in force until all unconstitutional revenue acts were repealed.

Comparative quiet followed Governor Botetourt's explanation of the English ministry's intentions to repeal the obnoxious acts, and his assertions that the king would not further tax America, for both of which the assembly expressed their gratification.

The assembly had from time to time made efforts to regulate and restrain the slave trade, but these acts had received the royal veto. To

prevent further similar acts of assembly, the king (Dec., 1770,) directed the governors "to assent to no law by which the importation of slaves should be in any respect prohibited or obstructed." Slavery was coming to be recognized as a growing evil. Early in 1772 the assembly considered the above order, and prepared a petition to the king. This petition recited that the slave trade is inhuman; that if encouraged it would endanger the colonies; that though some subjects in England might derive gain from it, it kept better settlers away from the colony, and would have a most injurious effect. In view of these facts, they asked the king to withdraw the order. To this petition no reply was vouchsafed.

Early in 1773 the assembly received the report of the Boston committee, making what Hildreth calls "the boldest and most comprehensive exposition as yet set forth of colonial rights and grievances," and also the Massachusetts house and council's answers to Gov. Hutchinson's denunciation of it. The assembly approved the Massachusetts papers. They then decided to recommend to all the colonies to form intercolonial committees of correspondence, which, they thought, would so unite the colonies as to make them one confederation toward the outer world.

In May, 1774, on receipt of news of the Boston Port Bill, the assembly appointed a day of fasting and prayer, "to implore the divine interposition for averting the heavy calamity which threatened destruction to our civil rights." For this they were immediately dissolved by the governor. They then met near by in convention, and resolved that an attack on one colony affected all, and should be opposed by all. They recommended an annual colonial congress, and appointed a committee to communicate with the other colonies concerning it. Three days later, on the arrival of letters from Boston, the burgesses still in town agreed on a general convention to be held August 1st.

Before the convention met, the people of Fairfax County adopted a series of resolutions prepared by Mason and advocated by Washington. They claimed all right of taxation for the people; declared what rights had been infringed, and proposed non-importation, non-exportation, and a general congress.

The convention met as agreed. They decided to import neither tea nor English goods; to no longer purchase or import slaves; to stop exporting tobacco to England if wrongs were not redressed; to deal with no merchant not entering into this agreement, and they chose seven delegates to the proposed general congress.

When, early in 1775, the governor gave notice of the prorogation of the assembly till May, a second convention was called for March. It ap-

proved the acts of the Continental Congress ; decided on the necessity of a well-regulated militia, and resolved to put the colony into a state of defense. It also recommended the encouragement and use of colonial manufactures, and elected delegates to the second Continental Congress.

The assembly met in May, called by Governor Dunmore to consider Lord North's conciliatory proposition, which was that Parliament would hereafter impose only the duties required for the regulation of commerce if the colonies would themselves lay all the taxes he desired. While they were in consultation, the governor became alarmed at the temper of the people, and withdrew to a ship of war in the river, the representative of royalty thus abdicating his office, and leaving the assembly in undisturbed control.

The assembly referred Lord North's proposal to congress. They then addressed the governor, declaring that the proposed conciliation "only changed the form of oppression without lightening its burden ;" that they alone were judges of the necessity and amount of taxes ; that the proposition left unrepealed many unjust acts ; that the interests of other colonies were involved, and that they would weary the king with no more appeals, but leave the question to the general congress. With this assembly royal government came to an end in Virginia.

A convention was then called to meet in July, and meeting, formed the supreme government of the colony. Further preparations for defense were made, and Patrick Henry was placed in command of the troops. Delegates to congress were chosen ; £350,000 in paper money was issued, and some minor matters were attended to.

The late governor, in command of some war vessels, continued to cause trouble, and in November declared martial law, inviting indented servants and negroes to join his standard. In response to this, congress at once suggested to Virginia to form a government of her own.

In May, 1776, delegates to the convention assembled. They unanimously agreed to a resolution instructing the Virginia delegates in congress to propose that congress declare the united colonies free and independent states, and that in the confederation to be formed by the colonies the regulation of internal affairs should be left to the colonial legislatures. They then appointed a committee to prepare a declaration of rights and a scheme of government. The committee soon reported, and on June 12 a comprehensive declaration was adopted.

This Bill of Rights enumerated certain inalienable rights of the people which "pertain to them and their posterity, as the basis and foundation of government." Instead of dealing with such specific violations of rights as

had caused their alienation from England, they went back to natural principles of right and justice. They say that men are by nature equally free, and enjoy the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of property and happiness, and cannot deprive themselves of them; that all power is derived from the people; that government should be for the common benefit; that when it proves inadequate, it is the indubitable right of the community to reform or abolish it; that no man or set of men are entitled to special privileges, and no office should be hereditary; that the legislature, executive and judiciary of a state should be distinct; that elections should be frequent and regular; that trial by jury should exist, and "no man be deprived of his liberty except by the law of the land or the judgment of his peers;" that excessive bail and fines should be avoided; that general warrants should not be granted; that freedom of the press should not be restrained, that a militia is the natural defense of a state, and a standing army should be avoided; and that the military should be in subordination to the civil power.

These propositions are a compact and lucid statement of the rights of man, universal in their application.

Upon this basis the new political structure was to be reared. Before passing to it, it is worth while to note that many doctrines of this bill of rights are to be found in the Declaration of Independence, adopted by Congress a month later, and in the Constitution of the United States, framed eleven years later. After the adoption of the Bill of Rights on June 12, the new constitution came up, and was finally adopted on the 29th, only about a month being devoted to both instruments.

It is not natural to the English race to make great innovations in their political institutions. The wonderful permanence and success of their institutions have been greatly helped by the conservative instinct which has allowed natural development to take place. In the new constitution old customs were in the main preserved, the outward form being altered to harmonize with the now acknowledged fact of government by the people for the people. In places where old forms were liable to abuse changes were made, and modifications here and there were introduced. New names, too, were sometimes necessary in order to indicate the difference between royal and popular control; but the structure of the new government was erected upon the solid foundation of the free institutions which had always been a part of their political life.

Separate legislative, executive, and judicial departments were established, in only one of which could a person at one time hold office. The legislature was the General Assembly, composed of a House of Delegates

and a Senate. The House was formed of two representatives from each county, and one from each of the larger towns, chosen annually. The Senate had twenty-four members, one from each of the twenty-four districts into which the state was to be divided. They held office four years, six to go out each year, and so establish a regular rotation.

No change was made in the existing right of suffrage, which called for a freehold of fifty acres or a town lot. All laws were to originate in the House. Money bills the Senate could not even amend, but must accept or reject entire. The governor was to be chosen annually by joint ballot, the Houses voting separately. He was to exercise his powers with the advice of a Council of State, composed of eight members, chosen by the assembly by joint ballot. The governor could not adjourn or dissolve the assembly, nor had he any veto power.

Delegates to Congress were to be chosen annually by joint ballot. The governor, with the advice of the council, could embody the militia, and was commander-in-chief. The assembly was to appoint the judges of the several courts, the secretary, and attorney-general, who were to continue in office during good behavior. No minister could be a member of the assembly or the council.

The governor appointed justices of the peace. The then secretary and clerks of the county courts were to continue in office during good behavior. Sheriffs and coroners were to be nominated by the respective courts, and commissioned by the governor.

Governor and judges could be impeached by the House for action endangering the safety of the state. The treasurer was to be elected annually by joint ballot of the Houses. Finally, the territories erecting the colonies of Maryland, Pennsylvania, North and South Carolina were ceded and confirmed to those colonies respectively.

Under royal rule, the functions of the three departments of government had been commingled. In the careful separation of them now made each was restricted to its proper duties, the three being independent yet united. The assembly met once a year as before. Delegates were chosen for one year; senators for four. The House of Delegates was the true successor of the House of Burgesses, but the Senate was a new body. The Council had formerly served partly as a sort of upper house of the legislature. Now, its duties were connected with those of the governor, and were of an advisory and executive nature. It was to be very permanent in its character, for only two of its members were to be changed every third year.

While a colony, laws for Virginia had sometimes originated in the assem-

bly, sometimes had been proposed by the governor, and sometimes had been sent out from England to be adopted. It was now determined to make it impossible for legislation to proceed from any but the more popular body; hence, *all* laws were to originate in the House, and money bills could not even be amended by the Senate. This provision seems to be an instance of unnecessary caution, for both Houses were to be elected by the people. The facts that the governor had been a royal officer, always more or less antagonistic to the development of popular rights, and that the burgesses had been those who represented the people in the struggle to acquire and maintain their rights, gave two marked features to the new constitution, viz.: the great restrictions placed upon the governor, and the fullness of power vested in the delegates. They forgot that the governor was henceforth to be one of themselves, and they hedged him about with limitations as they would a representative of royalty. They remembered that the assembly had fought their battle for freedom, and they confided in the House of Delegates without reserve. The Senate they expected to be aristocratic, and somewhat limited it in its powers.

Although members of assembly were to be chosen frequently by the people, the choice of the governor was not trusted to them. This idea that the office of executive was too important to be filled by popular vote was of so dominating a character that it was, eleven years later, incorporated in the Constitution of the United States. The governor was deprived of a veto power, because the evils of that power had been felt through the royal veto of judicious measures, notably of acts designed to control or stop the slave trade. They had not forgotten that the struggle for popular rights had been often a struggle against a royal governor; but they forgot that a qualified veto in the hands of a governor who was one of themselves would be an advantage.

Changes in the forms to which they were accustomed were not made unnecessarily. To shape old institutions into harmony with the now established fact of a free government by the people and for the people was all that was attempted. Such conservative habit in political life is the instinct of the race, and to it is largely due the success of Anglo-Saxon political institutions.

Luther H. Porter.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF WILLIAM H. SEWARD

On the same visit to Washington that I found myself talking with President Lincoln over the garden railing of the White House, I had with me a letter of introduction to his Secretary of State, William H. Seward, who, as the experienced counselor of Lincoln, was in the opinion of many *the* President of the United States.

Although I had some curiosity to know Seward personally, I should not have sought him out to deliver my letter at that exceptional time—the beginning of a new administration—had I not something to communicate to the Secretary which I knew would be of political interest to him. The question was how to get at him? The usual course in seeking an interview with a cabinet minister at that period of political excitement and official occupation was to dance attendance in the Secretary's ante-room for hours, if not for successive days, to be told at last that the Secretary was too much occupied to see the applicant in person, and the Secretary's secretary would receive his communication. I did one day look into the waiting-room of the Department of State, but found it so crowded with office-seekers hungry for crumbs, if not loaves of official patronage, that I retired in disgust. As I considered that the communication I had to make was of sufficient importance to disturb the Secretary on Sunday, I decided to waylay him on his return from church.

From the church door I watched him slip by the group of friends who were lingering to salute him as he passed out, and walk hastily down a side street to avoid being encountered. I went round the square in the opposite direction and so met him face to face as if by chance. He looked annoyed when I addressed him but slackened his pace and became genial in manner when I mentioned from whom I was the bearer of a letter of introduction. I added that it was an interview for the next day that I desired and that I would not occupy his attention for more than ten minutes by the watch. He asked if I knew how many ten minutes there are in six hours, and said that if half the persons who called upon him on departmental business were allotted ten minutes each he would be unable to attend to his official duties. I replied that in that case I would not call at all, and hoped he would pardon the interruption I had caused him.

"The fact is," said Seward breaking into a smile, "I have scarcely had a moment to myself for several days, and I went to church this morning

for the sake of having a little uninterrupted reflection. But come to-morrow to the Department at three o'clock and you shall have your ten minutes."

At the hour named, on the following day, the Secretary himself came into the ante-room, where several persons were still awaiting an interview, and dismissed them—rather brusquely I thought,—with a few words of regret at not being able to receive them. Then making a sign to me to follow him we were soon seated in the secretary's private room at a table loaded with documentary evidence of the great amount of official work which he daily dispatched. There, lighting an Havana, he comfortably composed himself for conversation. I had not forgotten my promise of "ten minutes" and held my watch in hand so as not to exceed them, which amused him; but when the time was up, he showed no disposition to hold me to my word and it was a full hour before I took my departure. Once we were interrupted by the announcement that two foreign military officers were pressing for an interview. They were admitted and stated that they were desirous of being attached to the Federal army during the war. They were referred to the Secretary of War. I asked Seward if he attributed similar offers of assistance on the part of foreigners to disinterested motives. "I suppose," he replied, "that most human actions are more or less inspired by selfish considerations. In other words, these men will no doubt offer themselves to the rebel army if we reject them."

Seward's drawing-room, in his private house, was hung with portraits of many of the reigning sovereigns of Europe and their ministers of state. He saw me one evening inspecting these pictures and remarked: "You are looking at my tormentors."

He was excessively fond of pet animals, and on one occasion, in the midst of a diplomatic reception, invited me and my wife to the basement below, leaving his other guests, to show us his collection of birds, dogs, etc. A good story is told in this connection. A certain foreign ambassador at Washington, who had been a strong personal friend of Seward, incurred the grave displeasure of the Secretary by having gone out of his way, on returning to his post from Europe, to pay a semi-official visit to the usurping Emperor Maximilian at Mexico. The Secretary of State limited his further relations with the ambassador to the cold civilities of official intercourse. The latter, who had been an intimate and welcome guest at Seward's table, received no more invitations and was cut to the heart. He began to *étudier la question*, as the French say, diplomatically, in order to win his way back to the affection of the old statesman. Calling one day at the house, and failing to see the Secretary, he

asked permission of the servant to look at the birds. While so doing he missed one of a pair of rare and beautiful doves, and was told by the servant that, much to Mr. Seward's regret, it had died, and that his master had sought in vain to replace it. From that day the ambassador devoted his leisure hours to the pursuit of a dove to match the lost one, and after no little difficulty he succeeded. He sent the bird in a cage accompanied only by his card to the Secretary's house. No better peace offering than the emblematic dove could possibly have been devised, and the result was a diplomatic triumph for the ambassador. He soon received one of the old familiar invitations to dinner, and amicable relations were restored between the two friends without, I believe, any allusion to the fact that they had ever been disturbed.

Seward, who received more than the average politician's share of partisan abuse, was generally supposed to be callous to the attacks of his enemies, but he felt acutely anything like personal injustice. In private conversation with him I once alluded to a malignant report circulated by certain newspapers that the Secretary was a victim to strong drinks, if not to opium. He had read the attack and remarked that to political slander he was "thick-skinned enough, but that when aspersions were cast upon his private character, he could cry like a child," and the moisture of his eyes, as he said it, attested the fact.

I had several letters from Seward during his tenure of office under Lincoln and Johnson, but none of a personal character, and it was not until after his retirement from public life that I again met him.

In July, 1872, on my return from an absence of several years in Europe, I heard of Mr. Seward's illness, which, although not critical, was keeping him a prisoner at his home in Auburn in the western part of the state of New York. Being on my way homewards from Washington, I decided to take a circuitous route, and stop at Auburn for an hour, in order to pay my respects to the venerable statesman, from whom I had received many favors, and whom I had not seen for years. Calling at his house, I was disappointed to find he was absent, being at his country-place on the borders of a lake some distance from Auburn, where he was passing the summer with his family. As I was turning from the door one of his sons who chanced to be in town for the day made his appearance and insisted upon my coming in to lunch. Before it was over my host informed me that he had telegraphed his father of my arrival, and had received a reply requesting him to bring me down at once to his country house "to pass a few days."

We arrived at the opposite shore of the pretty sheet of water, Lake

Owasco, when the sloping rays of the afternoon sun made the scene especially attractive. We soon perceived a row-boat approaching, in the stern of which appeared to be an old Indian woman wrapped in a blanket. It was Seward, who had crossed to welcome and accompany me back. I had expected to find him much broken in health, from the effects of a stroke of paralysis, but I was not prepared to see him so helpless. Notwithstanding this terrible shock to his system, his mental faculties were unimpaired. His memory was wonderful; and during the two days that I enjoyed his hospitality, he entertained me and the devoted little family circle around him with political and social reminiscences and a fund of amusing anecdotes. Free from the bonds of red tape and official reticence he was a changed man, and the visit of a friend of former days seemed to afford him a good excuse for a flow of conversation, which, as we sat on the veranda in the cool of the evenings, was prolonged until midnight. A part of each day he devoted to the dictation of his experiences during his journey around the world, his amanuensis being one of his nieces.

On the first evening of my arrival, as we sat on the veranda, a bonfire suddenly burst forth on the shore of the lake at our feet, illuminating the placid sheet of water and the surrounding scenery with a glow of splendor.

"That," said my host, "is in honor of your return from abroad." I acknowledged the compliment with thanks, although suspicious that the statement was open to criticism. He presently explained that the bonfire had originally been intended for the celebration of the Fourth of July a fortnight before, but the evening of that day being rainy the inflammable pile had been reserved for the first guest who might arrive.

I have taxed my memory for some of Seward's "telling" anecdotes of Presidents or statesmen which might with propriety be related here; but although the personages who figure in them have passed away, I do not suppose he would have consented to my repeating, however amusing, what encroached upon private relations between officials.

I will, however, record a statement which the ex-Secretary of State requested me to repeat after his death, should I outlive him, to Mr. Motley, formerly Minister to Vienna, in justification of a circumstance which at the time brought upon Mr. Seward unmerited censure. Mr. Motley had been represented in a note from an American abroad to the Department of State as having been guilty of aspersions respecting Mr. Seward at his own dinner-table in Vienna. The Secretary felt obliged to report to the minister the charge preferred, but, I believe, without comment. Mr. Motley in a sharp rejoinder resigned his post, which resignation was accepted by President Johnson. The conclusion in the minds of Motley and his friends

was that Seward had influenced the President's decision, and, in spite of Motley's emphatic denial of the truth of the charge, had acted from revengeful motives. "The truth is," said Seward, in effect, "that on the receipt of Motley's dispatch I replied expressing the hope that in view of his acceptable conduct as our representative abroad, he would reconsider his decision and continue in office. This dispatch, by some omission, was not laid before the President before being transmitted, and when I subsequently informed him of its tenor he, to my great surprise and regret, disapproved of it and in spite of my efforts to change his opinion insisted upon Motley's resignation being accepted. I was obliged to telegraph to our forwarding agent in London to intercept and return the dispatch to Mr. Motley, and subsequently the dispatch accepting the minister's resignation as approved by the President was substituted for it."

After Seward's death I communicated this message to Motley, in London, much to the latter's satisfaction. That he should have borne in silence during the life of Lincoln the public reproach of having officially acted in this case from personal pique reflects great credit upon his memory.

When I took leave of Seward he called me aside and said: "Now tell me what I can do for you? If I possess any influence with the present administration I am at your service." I replied that the only thing he could do for me was to get better health at his earliest convenience, and to let the world occasionally hear from him.

"Do you mean to say," he asked, "that you came to visit a broken-down old man like me without a single interested motive beyond that of seeing me?" He noticed that I was annoyed by the implication, and added, with emotion, "I do not have many such visits nowadays."

As the railway car whirled me away from Auburn those last words of the ex-Secretary, "I do not have many such visits nowadays," lingered in my ear. Was his then no exception to the fate that too often overtakes the retired statesman or politician? A recent writer records a visit to Lord Beaconsfield just before his death. Disraeli's position at the time was not precisely that of Seward, since the former had not retired altogether from public affairs, but he had quitted the active arena of the House of Commons for the "gilded mausoleum" of the upper Chamber. The ex-Premier had been speaking to his friend of his own political career, and as he sat gazing abstractedly into the burning coals in the grate, he muttered, half inaudibly, "*Dreams—Dreams!*"

Charles H. Tuckerman.

INCIDENTS IN THE LIFE OF JOHN HANCOCK

AS RELATED BY DOROTHY QUINCY HANCOCK SCOTT

[*From the Diary of General William H. Sumner*] *

To-day, Thursday Nov. 21, 1822, I dined, at an informal dinner, with my respected friend, Stephen Codman, Esq. Madam Scott, the widow of the late Governor Hancock, (having married for her second husband Capt. Scott, since deceased,) Mrs. Hooker, the wife of Judge Hooker of Springfield, Mrs. Paine and the members of Mr. Codman's family were present. Having often before had opportunities of hearing of the eventful periods of our Revolution from those who took part in them, and found afterwards the treachery of memory when I came to relate them, I now determined not to rest on my pillow till I had recorded the points of her most memorable conversation.

The attention of Mrs. Scott was called to the period of the Lexington battle, and she observed that Mr. Hancock used to come down from Concord where the Congress sat, to the Rev. Mr. Clark's in Lexington, to lodge, and that he and Mr. Samuel Adams were there the night before the Lexington battle. Mrs. Clark, I think she said, was a cousin of Mr. Hancock.

Mrs. Scott at this time was a young maiden lady of the name of Quincy, to whom Mr. Hancock was paying his suit. Mrs. Hancock, the aunt of the Governor, and the widow of his uncle Thomas Hancock (as lady-like a woman as ever Boston bred, she observed,) who was her particular friend and protectress, (her mother then being dead,) was also at Lexington, at the same house. She observed that Dr. Warren sent out a message in the evening that they must take care of themselves, and give the alarm through the country, for Gen. Gage had ordered a force to march that night to Concord, to destroy the stores. Paul Revere, Esq., brought the message, and arrived there about 12 o'clock. Mr. Hancock gave the alarm immediately, and the Lexington bell was rung all night; and before

* [Increase Sumner, LL.D., for fifteen years a judge of the Massachusetts Supreme Court, and afterward governor of the state, was the father of General William H. Sumner. The latter was *aid-de-camp* to Governor Caleb Strong during the war of 1812; he was appointed adjutant-general of the state under Governor Brooks in 1818, which office as well as that of quartermaster-general he held for many years under four or five successive governors. He also filled from time to time many other public positions of trust, and was a writer of ability.—EDITOR.]

light about one hundred and fifty men were collected. Mr. H. was all the night cleaning his gun and sword, and putting his accoutrements in order, and was determined to go out to the plain by the meeting house, where the battle was, to fight with the men who had collected, but who, she says, were but partially provided with arms, and those they had were in most miserable order; and it was with very great difficulty that he was dissuaded from it by Mr. Clark and Mr. Adams, the latter of whom, clapping him on the shoulder, said to him, "That is not our business; we belong to the cabinet." It was not till break of day that Mr. H. could be persuaded that it was improper for him to expose himself against such a powerful force; but, overcome by the entreaties of his friends, who convinced him that the enemy would indeed triumph, if they could get him and Mr. Adams in their power; and finding, by the enquiries of a British officer, (a forerunner of the army) who asked where *Clark's tavern* was that he was one of their objects, he, with Mr. Adams, went over to Woburn, to the Rev. Mr. *Jones'*, I think she said. The ladies remained and saw the battle commence. Mrs. Scott says the British fired first, she is sure. This was a point much contested at the time, and many depositions were taken to prove the fact that the British were the actual aggressors. One of the first British bullets whizzed by old Mrs. Hancock's head, as she was looking out of the door, and struck the barn; she cried out, What is that? They told her it was a bullet, and she must take care of herself. Mrs. Scott was at the chamber window looking at the fight. She says two of the wounded men were brought into the house. One of them, whose head was grazed by a ball, insisted on it that he was dead; the other, who was shot in the arm, behaved better. The first was more scared than hurt. After the British passed on towards Concord, the ladies received a letter from Mr. H. informing them where he and Mr. Adams were, wishing them to get into the carriage and come over, and bring the *fine salmon* that they had had sent to them for dinner. This they carried over in the carriage, and had got it nicely cooked and were just sitting down to eat it, when in came a man from Lexington, whose house was upon the main road, and who cleared out (leaving his wife and family at home) as soon as he saw the British bayonets glistening as they descended the hills on their return from Concord. Half frightened to death, he exclaimed, "The British are coming! the British are coming! my wife's in *eternity* now." Mr. H. and Mr. Adams supposing the British troops were at hand, went into the swamp and staid until the alarm was over.

Upon their return to the house, Mrs. Scott told Mr. H. that having left her father in Boston, she should return to him to-morrow. "No, madam,"

said he, "you shall not return as long as there is a British bayonet left in Boston." She, with the spirit of a woman, said, "Recollect, Mr. Hancock, I am not under your control yet. I *shall* go in to my father to-morrow ;" for, she said, at that time I should have been very glad to have got rid of him, but her aunt as she afterward became, would not let her go. She did not go into Boston for *three years* afterward ; for when they left this part of the country they went to Fairfield, in Connecticut, and staid with Mr. Burr, the uncle of Aaron Burr, who was there. Aaron, she says, was very attentive to her, and her aunt was very jealous of him lest he should gain her affections, and defeat her purpose of connecting her with her nephew. Mr. Burr, she said, was a handsome young man of very pretty fortune, but her aunt would not leave them a moment together, and in August she married Mr. H., and afterward they went on to Philadelphia, to the Congress, of which Mr. H. was President at the time she married him.

Mrs. Scott observed that she did not like Philadelphia very much, though she had very good friends there among the Quakers. She said that she was busy all the time she was there in packing up commissions to be sent off for the officers appointed by Congress. It was not till some months after this that Mr. Hancock kept a clerk, though all the business of Congress was done by the President—she herself was for months engaged with her scissors in trimming off the rough edges of the bills of credit issued by the Congress and signed by the President, and packing them up in saddle bags to be sent off to various quarters for the use of the army.

Mrs. Scott spoke freely of the character of Mr. Hancock, who was afterwards Governor, and said he would always have his orders executed through life. That he always kept open house, and spoke of his entertainment of the French officers and others at the time the French fleet was in Boston. The poor cook, she said, was worn out, and could not set to picking turkeys every night after getting a great dinner, and the feathers were sometimes too visible on the poultry upon the table. Mr. H. was mortified at this, and to cure the cook, directed a turkey to be roasted with the feathers on. This was actually done, and the turkey caught fire on the spit, and the feathers, when they were burnt down to the quill, popped off with a great noise, and made a stench which annoyed every body in the house but Mr. H., who, though confined up stairs with the gout, affected not to smell it. The experiment was successful, and the poor cook was obliged, *nolens volens*, to be careful of pin feathers after that, and to have the turkeys well singed. She says at one time they had 150 live turkeys, which were shut up in the coach house at night, and let

out to feed in the pasture, where the State House now is, by day, and that two or three were killed every night.

She mentioned another instance of Mr. H.'s determination. Having taken it into his head that he would have nothing but pewter plates and dishes used, one day when confined up stairs while his friends were at dinner, he heard the noise of a china plate. He sent for Cato into his room, and asked him if there was not a china plate on the table; Cato replied that it was only to put the cheese in; he ordered Cato to go down and put the cheese into a pewter plate, and bring the china one up to him, which Cato having done, he ordered him to throw it out of the chamber window. Cato thought, as "massa" could not stir, he would cheat him, and threw the plate on to a slanting bank of grass, and it did not break. The Governor more observing than Cato thought, not hearing it break, made Cato go down and smash the plate against the wall.

When the French fleet was in Boston, in 1778, under the Count D'Estaing, Mr. Hancock ordered a breakfast to be provided for thirty of the officers, whom he had invited. But the Count brought up almost all the officers of his fleet, midshipmen included, and the whole common, to use Mrs. Scott's expression, "was bedizzened with lace." Mr. H. sent word for her to get breakfast for 120 more, and she was obliged to prepare it as they were coming in to the house. They spread twelve pounds of butter on bread, and sent to the guard on the common to *milk all the cows and bring her the milk*. She sent to all the neighbors for cake, but could not get much brought into the room, for the little midshipmen were so voracious that they made prize of it as the servants passed through the entry, and she was obliged to go out and order it to be put into buckets and covered with napkins; in this way it escaped capture. The Frenchmen, she said, ate voraciously, and one of them drank seventeen cups of tea at the table.

The midshipmen, she said, made sad destruction with the fruit in the garden. The Count D'Estaing, however, politely said he would make it up to her, and told her she must come down to the fleet and bring all her friends with her; and true enough she did, she says, for she went down and carried a party of five hundred. They were all transported in the boats of the fleet, and staid all day. The Count was an elegant man; he asked her to pull a string to fire a gun, which, half frightened to death, she did, and found that she had given the signal for a *feu de joie* to the fleet, the whole of which immediately commenced firing, and they were all enveloped in smoke, and stunned with the noise. Such a noise she never heard before, nor wishes to again. The officers afterwards frequently

dined at their house, and the Count Bourgainville, who could not eat, had his milled chocolate brought and served out to him by his servant. The Governor also gave the officers a grand ball at Concert Hall. Three hundred persons were present.

* * * * *

Speaking of General Washington's visit to Boston, after the peace, when Mr. Hancock was Governor, I asked her whether the Governor refused to call on General Washington, as it had been reported. She replied that Mr. H. had enemies as well as other folks, and that although Mr. Hancock had sent out an express to the General at Worcester, and invited him to dine on the day of his arrival in town, yet, as Mr. H. had the gout in his foot and hands, and could not move, they persuaded the General that he was disinclined to make the first call, and the General sent up a note at dinner time excusing himself. It is well known that Mr. H. was a great advocate of the sovereignty of the States, and it was represented to the General that Mr. H., being chagrined at not being chosen the first President of the United States, was determined to insist on the first call from the President. The President could not admit this, and declined dining with the Governor in consequence. Mr. Patrick Jeffery, and other friends of Mr. H., informed him that it was necessary for him to remove the impression which this opinion, now become general, had made, and the Governor, the next day, was carried down to the General's quarters, and taken from his carriage in the arms of his servants. When the General saw them bringing up a helpless man in their arms, she says, he found he had been deceived, and burst into tears. On Monday he sent word by the Marshal of the District, Jonathan Jackson, Esq., that he should call on the Governor, and hoped that he should have the pleasure of spending an hour or two with him and Mrs. Hancock, alone; which he did, and expressed his astonishment that any persons should have so imposed on him, &c., and was very sociable and pleasant during his whole visit. Mrs. Scott says the General was very affable when with his friends only, but in the presence of strangers was very careful of his dignity.

A day or two after Mrs. Scott's conversation, before minuted, was held I repeated this view of the subject to Governor Brooks, who says that Mrs. Scott's is only the domestic view of that matter. That he himself dined with General Washington that day at his quarters, and that Mr. [Jonathan] Jackson was there also, and that Mr. Jackson frequently spoke of the Governor's conduct, and that he had no doubt his omission to call was intended; but, when he found that he was not supported by the gentlemen of the town, who thought he had degraded himself and committed the dignity of the

State by so gross an omission, he got over it as well as he could, and feigned himself quite as sick as he was, to make a good excuse, as a man of his courtier-like manners always did; and that General Washington, not to be outdone in politeness, very probably was quite unwilling to ascribe to Gov. Hancock any such design or motive as really existed, and put it on the ground which Mrs. Scott has mentioned.

* * * * *

The following letter (a copy of which has recently come into my possession, from one of Miss Quincy's family) was written by Gov. Hancock at New York, when on his way to the General Congress, (which met at Philadelphia on the 10th of May, 1775,) and was addressed to Miss Dorothy Quincy, Fairfield, Connecticut, where she was staying at the house of Thaddeus Burr, Esq., at which place he left her on his way from Lexington, and where he married her in August, on his return from Congress.

" NEW YORK, SABBATH EVENING, }
May 7th, 1775.

My dear Dolly,

I arrived well, though fatigued, at King's Bridge, at 50 min. past 2 o'clock yesterday, where I found the delegates of Massachusetts and Connecticut with a number of gentlemen from New York and a guard of the troop. I dined and then set out in procession for New York—the carriage of your humble servant of course being first in the procession. When we arrived within three miles of the city, we were met by the Grenadier Company and a regiment of the city militia under arms, gentlemen in carriages and on horseback, and many thousand persons on foot—the roads filled with people and the greatest cloud of dust I ever saw. In this situation we entered the city, and passing through the principal streets of New York, amidst the acclamations of thousands, we were set down at Mr. Francis'. After entering the house three huzzas were given, and the people by degrees dispersed.

When I got within a mile of the city, my carriage was stopped, and people appearing with proper harnesses insisted upon taking out my horses and dragging me into and through the city, a circumstance I would not have had taken place upon any consideration, not being fond of such parade. I begged and entreated they would suspend their design, and asked it as a favor, and the matter subsided. But when I got to the entrance of the city, and the number of spectators increased to perhaps seven thousand or more, they declared they *would* have the horses out and *would drag me themselves* through the city. I repeated my request that they would so far oblige me as not to insist upon it. They would not

hearken, and I was obliged to apply to the leading gentlemen in the procession to intercede with them not to carry their design into execution, as it was very disagreeable to me. They were at last prevailed upon and I proceeded. I was much obliged to them for their good wishes and opinion—in short, no person could possibly be more noticed than myself.

After having rode so fast and so many miles, you may well think I was much fatigued, but no sooner had I got into the room of the house than we were visited by a great number of gentlemen of the first character in the city, which took up the evening. About 10 o'clock I sat down to a supper of fried oysters, &c.—and at 11 o'clock went to Capt. Sears' (the King here) and lodged. Arose at 5 o'clock—went to the house first mentioned, breakfasted, dressed and went to meeting, where I heard a most excellent sermon by Mr. Livingston—returned to the same house—a most elegant dinner provided—went to meeting and heard Dr. Rogers, a fine preacher.

Tomorrow morning it is proposed to cross the ferry. We are to have a large guard in several boats, and a number of the city gentlemen will attend us over. I can't think they will dare to attack us. The Grenadier Company of the city is to continue under arms during our stay here, and we have a guard of them night and day at our doors. This is a sad mortification to the Tories. Things look well here.

I beg you will write me to acquaint me with every circumstance relative to that dear aunt of mine. Write lengthy and often. Mr. Nath^l Barrett and Mr. Breck are here. People move slowly out, they tell me, from Boston. My best respects to Mr. and Mrs. Burr. My poor face and eyes are in a most shocking situation—burnt up and much swelled, and a little painful. I don't know how to manage with it.

Is your father out? As soon as you know, do acquaint me, and send me the letter; and I will then write him. Pray let me hear from you by every post. God bless you, my dear girl, and believe me

Most sincerely

Yours most affectionately

JOHN HANCOCK."

The above contribution was accompanied by the following note :

In looking over some old papers I have found an account of some incidents in the life of John Hancock that may interest your readers. The account was written by an uncle of mine, General W. H. Sumner.

James W. Sumner

AN ENGLISHMAN'S POCKET NOTE BOOK IN 1828

WHAT HE SAW IN AMERICA

(Continued from page 428.)

December 4. The weather still close and oppressive. Made another excursion in the neighborhood of the town. Observed a noble evergreen oak in front of a tavern, in the thick branches of which a light stage had been erected, with chairs, etc., to which people ascended by ladders; a cool shady retreat for those who frequented the house. Our party at the boarding-house has considerably increased: the new comers are principally merchants from the North, who remain here during the winter. The stores here are abundantly supplied with manufactured articles of all descriptions—they are generally very inferior and excessively dear. Boots and shoes which I was obliged to purchase (having lost my supply on the road,) were as dear as in London. We are already heartily tired of the place; though we have no chance of getting away for some days at least.

December 5. Still warm and oppressive. There is a public ball here 2 or 3 times a week, which includes all the colored ladies of the place known by the name of quadroons. Many I have seen are really very beautiful girls; their blood is a mixture of Indian, African, and French. They have generally European countenances and features, very black hair and eyes, and the complexion of the very darkest brunette. . . . I see many of the Indians in the town every day. Some of them are very fine looking fellows, dressed like those I have before described. They all wear a small silver ornament or ring fastened through the cartilage of the nose. Those who are better dressed wear a sort of leggings made of buffalo or deer's skins, with the moccasin common with all the Indians of the continent. I do not see why this government has not succeeded [if it ever attempted it seriously] to introduce civilization amongst the Indians of this extensive country; they are still the same wild, unsocial beings as they are described to have been 100 years ago. The civilization and improvement of the country generally seems not yet to have reached them.

December 6. Took another walking excursion in the neighborhood of the town, but discovered nothing new, or worthy of remark. Indeed there is little to see here after all; no old buildings or recollections connected with ages gone by; everything here is concerned with trade, dirt and disease. Still without the prospect of getting away for some days.

December 7. A fine cool morning: after breakfast Eden and myself determined to walk to Lake Ponchartrain, six miles from the town. We followed the canal for the first two miles. Everything around us was most dreary and desolate; one continued cypress swamp, the trees covered entirely with the Spanish moss. The canal is connected with a natural outlet of the Lake, a sort of deep, but sluggish stream along which we continued our walk until we arrived at a large inn, situated close to the Lake. As it was a cloudy day, we could not distinguish the land on the other side. Indeed it had all the appearance of an inland sea, which in fact it is, for it is connected with the ocean; the water is brackish and bad. The cypress swamps extend to the very brink of the Lake, not at all adding to the cheerfulness of the scene. The pond or morass (for it does not deserve the name of stream) passes from the lake through the middle of the swamp both sides covered with high reeds, where there is an abundance of wild fowl in the summer and a few alligators. The water of this deep morass is on a level with the land around it, which is one extended swamp. A large ship of one hundred tons was passing through on our return. Felt rather tired with my long walk of upwards of twelve miles. The whole of this country must be deadly in the summer. I had no idea of swamps until I saw it. I am not surprised that fevers make such ravages. . . .

December 8. A fine clear and bracing morning. We lounged along the quay where I observed many fresh arrivals. Some of the vessels are English—indeed there is an appearance of considerably more trade and bustle than when we arrived. The climate here in the winter is sometimes really delightful, similar I should think to that of Naples. All apprehensions of fever have ceased in consequence of one or two slight frosts, which are generally the prelude to two or three months of fine, healthy weather. Another lesson in Spanish this morning. I feel less difficulty in keeping up a conversation, although I have not yet acquired a facility in speaking. There was a play yesterday evening (Sunday), at the French theatre, which I was not aware of until to-day. Sunday is one of their regular days of performance. Enjoyed the treat of reading some English papers, the first I have seen for months: those who are far distant from their native land can alone appreciate the intense interest and pleasure which one must experience in hearing from his country. Those natural ties, which from habit are scarcely felt when living in the midst of our friends and country, are doubly strong and sensitive when removed from those scenes where we received our earliest and most agreeable impressions.

DANIEL WEBSTER'S VISIT TO MISSOURI

HIS LAST WESTERN TRIP

During the first half of the present century it was a more popular custom than since, for aspirants to the chief magistracy of our great republic, and other prominent public men, to make long tours through the different states, visiting the principal cities and meeting and speaking to the people face to face. These journeys were made in private and public coaches, or later by steamboat, and aside from a few hardships and inconveniences little cared for by the men of that period, must have been very pleasant. These excursions of presidential candidates, sometimes called "swinging 'round the circle," have not been in favor with the people since the middle of the century, and candidates who have made them have generally been defeated. Such visits are in a great measure rendered unnecessary by the telegraph and daily press, and the people seem averse to permit the dignity of the great office to be lowered by a personal strife for it.

This method of seeking the highest honor in the gift of the American people was in vogue in 1837, when Daniel Webster, who was, if not an aspirant, a presidential possibility and the choice of a vast number of his countrymen as well as the only presidential candidate who ever visited Missouri, came to St. Louis, accompanied by his wife and his daughter Julia, afterward Mrs. Samuel A. Appleton, who had the honor of being married in St. Paul's Church in the city of London the following year.

Mr. Webster received on this occasion assurances of very high esteem from a large number of the leading politicians of the time, from throughout the state, and also of the city. He began his Western journey early in May following his immortal speech to the people at Niblo's Saloon, in New York City, in which he portrayed future national events with almost prophetic verity. He traveled across the country to Pittsburg, where he took passage on one of the elegant steamers of the day, which had been sent there by the people of Wheeling to carry him to the latter city, where he was entertained with a public dinner, at which he made one of his characteristic speeches on the financial condition of the country. On the 18th of May he arrived at Maysville, Kentucky, and was received by a vast throng of the citizens of Kentucky and Ohio, who had gathered in from the surrounding country and neighboring cities, to see him, hear him speak,

and pay homage to his matchless character and abilities. The next day he was accompanied to Lexington by a committee of prominent citizens, who had been chosen by the people as an escort ; here he was met by his illustrious contemporary and friend, Henry Clay, and given a public reception and dinner. Whether or not he was entertained by Mr. Clay at his beautiful home, Ashland, history so far as I can learn is silent.

Leaving Lexington he was accompanied to Louisville by Mr. Clay, and was treated to that peculiarly Kentucky entertainment, a "barbecue," and spoke for two hours and a half to a very large audience. Mr. Clay had written Mr. Webster the latter part of March preceding, on hearing of his contemplated western visit, expressing great pleasure at the prospect of seeing him in Kentucky and promising to bear him company to Missouri, where one of Mr. Clay's sons then resided ; but very urgent personal affairs demanded Mr. Clay's presence in Kentucky and they separated at Louisville.

Proceeding from Louisville Mr. Webster paid General Harrison a visit at his home at North Bend, Indiana, and was accompanied by him to Cincinnati, arriving on June 2, and on the following day addressed an immense assembly of the people, General Harrison presiding and introducing the speaker. From Cincinnati Mr. Webster embarked for St. Louis on board the fine steamer *Robert Morris*. At St. Louis in the meantime an enthusiastic meeting of citizens had been held, presided over by the Honorable Robert Wash, an early and distinguished Judge of the Supreme Court of Missouri, and a committee appointed from the leading men of the state to receive the great patriot and statesman.

This committee, together with a number of other citizens, proceeded down the Mississippi on board the handsome steamer *H. L. Kenney*, meeting the *Robert Morris* near the mouth of the Ohio River, where the committee was taken on board the visitor's boat, and after appropriate introductions bade their honored guest heartily welcome to Missouri. The two steamers approached the city together and landed at the foot of Market Street, where thousands of voices were blended in a shout of welcoming applause.

No visitor to Missouri since Lafayette in 1825—until the recent visit of President Cleveland in 1887, who accompanied by his charming young wife visited the principal western cities including St. Louis and received such an ovation as was never accorded to any other public or private persons in America—has ever been tendered a reception like that to the "great expounder of the constitution" on this occasion. From the steamer Mr. Webster and his party were conveyed in carriages to the old "National

Hotel," then the finest hostelry in the city, which still stands on the corner of Third and Market Streets and is now called the St. Clair Hotel, and is a lodging place for very poor people, bearing no evidence of its former scenes of splendor. Here Mr. Webster and his wife and daughter made their home during their sojourn in the city, and were visited by hundreds of the most prominent citizens of Missouri and Illinois, ladies as well as gentlemen, who regarded them as the guests of the growing young commonwealths and did all in their power to enhance their pleasure.

On June 10, the day following the arrival of Mr. Webster, a magnificent feast was spread in the open air, in an inviting woodland belonging to Judge John B. C. Lucas, who had been United States judge of the upper Louisiana territory by appointment from Thomas Jefferson. This beautiful grove stood just west of the present Ninth Street of St. Louis, now near the heart of the city and occupied by a public square called "Lucas Place." Several thousand people were there assembled to see and hear the great orator. The meeting was organized by making General William H. Ashley president; and Dr. William Carr Lane, an early and most highly esteemed mayor of the city who in that capacity had received Lafayette in 1825, and Honorable Richard Graham, together with John B. Sarpy, John Perry, James Clement, Jr., and James Russell were chosen vice-presidents; who formed with several other eminent gentlemen an interesting group upon the stand from which Mr. Webster was introduced and delivered his address. Colonel Charles Keemle, whose name is yet borne by "Keemle Hall," St. Louis, was chief marshal of the occasion, and mounted on a splendid charger escorted the procession and guests to the grove.


Mr. Webster delivered an able and eloquent oration, speaking nearly two hours upon the political issues of the day and the financial condition of the country, which was received with frequent demonstrations of applause and approval by his vast audience. Mr. Webster remained in St. Louis until June 14, and during the entire visit was royally entertained by the people, who loved and honored him far more than they have many of the men whom they have elevated to the highest position in their gift. Yet to him this favor, justly deserved as the crowning glory of a noble life, was never granted. He was greater, if such greatness can be attained, than the office.

While at St. Louis invitations poured in upon Mr. Webster to visit numerous places of importance, but he was compelled to hasten to his home at Marshfield to prepare for the approaching session of Congress, of

which he was then a member in the upper house. He made short stops at Chicago, Toledo, Detroit and Buffalo, all of which he had visited on a former occasion, and reached home the latter part of July. After a month of recreation on his farm, among his cattle, which were his especial care and pride and of which he remarked, "I love to look into their great gentle eyes, and to see them crop the grass," he proceeded to Washington and took part in the important measures before Congress during that memorable session.

This was Mr. Webster's last visit to the West, although he afterward purchased a large and very beautiful tract of land in Illinois, in Sangamon county, with the intention of establishing a magnificent rural home for himself and his descendants—a desire never realized.

KINGSTON, MISSOURI.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "William A. Hood". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, sweeping flourish underneath the name.

MINOR TOPICS

TRIBUTE TO ISRAEL WARD ANDREWS, D.D., LL. D.

Our May Magazine had already gone to press when the sad intelligence reached us of the death of Professor Israel Ward Andrews, D.D., LL. D., of Marietta, Ohio, who has contributed so many excellent and useful articles to our pages. He went to Boston early in March, to deliver an address before the New England Historic Genealogical Society, on the first settlement of the Northwest Territory, and on his way home was attacked with pleuro-pneumonia at the home of his brother, Rev. S. J. Andrews, in Hartford, where he died on the 18th of April.

In the death of Dr. Andrews one of the ablest and most finished scholars of the century has been removed from the world of letters. He was the well-known president of Marietta College for thirty years, from 1855 to 1885 ; but his valuable services in that institution cover a much longer period, indeed a full half-century. Every class that has graduated within that time has been more or less under his instruction. It was in 1838 that he first entered upon his duties as a teacher of mathematics, under President Joel H. Linsley, D.D., and continued in his professorship under the famous scholar and divine, Rev. Henry Smith, D.D., LL.D. Upon the retirement of President Smith in 1855, to accept the presidency of Lane Seminary, Professor Andrews was elected to succeed him. He continued to fill the position until 1885, when increasing years led him to resign a position of so much labor and responsibility, and was succeeded by General John Eaton. Since he retired from the presidency Dr. Andrews has filled the chair of Putnam Professor of Political Philosophy. In 1856 he received the degree of D.D. from Williams College, in 1874 the degree of LL.D. from Iowa College, and in 1876 the same degree from Wabash College.

As a disciplinarian and instructor Dr. Andrews had no superior. In the language of a recent writer : " No one of the five or six hundred graduates of Marietta College, in the time of Professor and President Andrews, can ever forget his perspicuous, forcible and exhaustive methods in the classroom. The dullest and most diffident student was made at ease and taught to express in the best way what he knew, and, in addition, every student was instructed in what he did not know. In the classroom and before a company of students he was an artist, and the student departed from each one of his recitations or lectures instructed and refreshed. He was not only a mathematician of the first rank, but he was a master of every branch taught in the college course. He was not satisfied with anything short of the exact either in scholarship or character. This characteristic was ever present with him. No guess work could pass muster before him. No slip in language or

expression could escape his acute observation. Yet he was ever gentle though firm in criticism. It was a good part of a liberal education to listen to his running criticisms in the classroom and in the rhetorical exercises. He could not tolerate shams or unfaithfulness in any form. Himself always punctual, he insisted that promptness was one of the cardinal virtues. His work as instructor and president in Marietta College during the half-century cannot be too highly praised. His aim was to make the standard of scholarship at Marietta as high as that of any other college in the country. It is not claiming too much to assert that he accomplished his purpose. The influence of such a man and such a scholar upon the young men educated under his inspiring instruction cannot be overestimated. The graduates of the college in the half-century of his connection with that institution, with a multitude of others who have come to know him, will bear convincing testimony to the great character, the business ability, the profound scholarship and the consummate skill as a teacher of Dr. Israel Ward Andrews."

He was born in 1815, in Danbury, Connecticut, and was one of five brothers who have become distinguished among men of learning. He was graduated at Williams College in 1837, in the first class that was graduated under President Mark Hopkins, and among his classmates here and elsewhere were Justice Stephen J. Field, of the United States Supreme Court, Governor Bullock, of Massachusetts, and the late President Hitchcock, of Union Theological Seminary.

His principal contribution to book literature has been his *Manual on the Constitution of the United States*, which, as our readers will remember, was reviewed in the March number of this periodical, a work that has become and is standard authority as a text-book in the leading colleges of the country and among all students of our Constitution. One of the last acts of the lamented Chief Justice Waite was to write a most complimentary letter in praise of this admirable book. Dr. Andrews was a forcible writer on all subjects, and was a frequent contributor to the current newspaper and magazine literature. An article which he contributed to this magazine in August, 1886, entitled *The Northwest Territory—Its Ordinance and Settlement*, has been extensively quoted in the text-books for schools. His paper on *Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio—Their Admission into the Union*, published in the October number, 1887, has settled mooted points of the first moment. Much of his time, particularly of late years, has been spent in delivering addresses before the leading educational and scientific societies in the East and West. He was one of the editors of the *Ohio Archaeological Quarterly*, and there was no higher authority on the settlement of the Northwest Territory and the history of Ohio.

He was a master of the English language, and as a pulpit orator was distinguished for great clearness and force of expression. He seldom preached, owing to the demands upon his time as a college president; but any one who has heard him in one of his baccalaureate sermons would pronounce him one of the ablest preachers of the day. His loss will be tenderly mourned by all who are interested in the progress of education and culture throughout the country.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS
THE BEGINNINGS OF OHIO

Unpublished Letter from General James M. Varnum to General Rufus Putnam.

(From the Putnam Manuscripts in Library of Marietta College.)

Contributed by E. C. Dawes

[At the time of writing this letter General Varnum was preparing to move to Ohio and had employed a number of men to go forward with the party which, under command of General Rufus Putnam, commenced the settlement at the mouth of the Muskingum River 7th April, 1788.*—E. C. DAWES.]

Providence 2nd January 1788

Sir

A party set off from this place on Monday last for Hartford. It consisted of nine in number to be joined by two others from Plainfield, from this State. From unforeseen casualties, they could not proceed sooner. The waggon is a very valuable one, and the horses of the first quality for the business. The articles sent on are 100 lb. lead in thick sheets; 100 lb do. in musket balls; 100 lb. best dutch powder; 150 flints; Duck for sails; Paints for the boat; 21 lb loaf sugar; 106 lb best bohea Tea; 28 lb brown Sugar; 7000 ten penny nails. The Devols, and Mr Corey † are very useful artificers; and so are the two to join at Plainfield. Mr Devol the elder, ‡ is a man of sense, a good officer, and an excellent soldier! As these people had been engaged by me, previously to our last meeting in Boston, I was necessitated to indulge them in carrying more articles than could otherwise have been wished: But if you can make storage the team will be sufficient. Col Sproat has been detained and will not go from here till to-morrow. He has received twenty six pounds lawful money. I shall furnish you with the knowledge of what advances

* An appreciative sketch of General Varnum was published in the *Magazine of American History* for September, 1887. A just estimate of the character of General Rufus Putnam and a vivid résumé of the leading events in his life can be found in the oration delivered by Hon. Geo. F. Hoar at Marietta, Ohio, 7th April, 1887.

† Ebenezer Corey is remembered in the annals of Marietta, Ohio, as the architect of the bridge over Tyber Creek built in 1788. Col. John May in his journal says of it: "It is called Corey's bridge in honor of the master workman. There is not so good a bridge or anything like it betwixt it and Baltimore."

‡ This was Captain Jonathan Devol. The biographical sketch of him in the "Founders of Ohio" truthfully says that "among that body of sterling men who were bold and hardy enough to make the first settlement in the wilderness where Ohio now stands, there was no more remarkable or useful man than Captain Jonathan Devol."

are made to each adventurer upon the footing of their shares. Indeed, I hope and expect to have the pleasure of being with you early next summer. I have sent a variety of garden seeds, which it will be beneficial to have sown, and, if circumstances will admit, I am clearly of the opinion that the indulging the individuals in working a few days upon their eight acre lots, as soon as they shall be known, will be advantageous. Upon reflection, and looking into the composition of the Greek language, I find that the e final in the proposed name of our city, will not apply ; It must be written Adelphi,* as on the waggon. Should our first establishment be made without danger from the Indians a great many reputable families will soon remove there, from this State. I have sent eleven knives and forks, joined together, which may furnish a very pretty present to some of the first men among the Natives ; or will answer other purposes. Do write to me often ; I will communicate any thing from this quarter.

God bless and give you success

From your very sincere friend and most humble

Servant.

J. M. Varnum

Gen. Putnam

P.S. Twenty five dollars and two thirds are paid to Col. Sproat for advanced wages
J. M. V.

Perhaps, if you should be crowded it may be well to dispose of the nails and tea : or either of them.
J. M. V.

Unpublished Letter from General Rufus Putnam to Morris Witham.

[The following letter is valuable for the evidence it gives of General Rufus Putnam's long devotion to the "Ohio idea."—E. C. D.]

Marietta, October 27, 1788.

Sir

As you was so compaisant as to request me to give you such information respecting the lands purchased by the Ohio Company as I was possessed of, altho I have not time to be particular. I cannot forbear (from the respect I have both for you & my countrymen on whose account you visit this quarter) embracing the present moment to make the following remarks. It is now sixteen years since I first visited the western world with a view of purchasing in it, my object then

* *Adelphi* was the name of the settlement at the mouth of the Muskingum until 2d July, 1788, when, at a meeting of the directors and agents of the Ohio Company, it was resolved "that the city near the confluence of the Ohio and Muskingum be called *Marietta*."

was lands on the Mississippi.* I traversed that river from its mouth five hundred miles up. I then first became acquainted with Mr. Hutchin's who had spent twenty years on the Mississippi, Ohio, and waters of the great western lakes. I then saw his map † before it was published and from that time down to our purchase I have been on the enquire where to make a purchase in this western quarter, the war breaking out prevented my accomplishing the object for several years, but did not abate my enquiries after the best tract, and even the circumstances of the war gave me a greater opportunity than otherwise I should have had for information, as it brought me acquainted with a number of characters, who had the best knowledge of the country, the result of all was that I fixed on the tract which includes the lands the Ohio Company have now purchased, as the best tract of lands all circumstances considered which the United States had or ever will have to dispose of, of such an extent. I do not mean there is no other soil so good, for the lands of the Scioto, Miami, Kentucky, Wabash, &c., are as good, or that we have no broken land, but I believe we have as large a proportion of the best lands as any tract to be found, and as to waste lands we have none, for our hills though many of them are steep, yet they are in general good grazing land and most of them free from stones, and are excellent for wheat, and the hills in the above mentioned country I believe are not better ; but what principally gives our lands the preference of any of these above mentioned is this, our intervalles on the Ohio, Muskingum, and on the Hockhocking rivers, on Little Muskingum, Duck Creek, Little Hockhocking and several other large creeks which fall into the Ohio, and on Wolf Creek, Clear Creek, Licking Creek & Wakatumke which are large and several other smaller creeks which fall into the Muskingum. I say the intervalles on all these Rivers and creeks are as extensive as on any rivers and creeks in the western country and as there are more rivers and creeks within our purchase than can be found in the same extent of land, it follows of course that we have a greater proportion of intervalle or first rate lands, nor is it by any means certain that we have a greater proportion of hill country than others, the fact is that after quitting the intervalles on the Ohio and all other large rivers, you meet first with a range of hills, which extends back some distance, now whether in our purchase they extend further than elsewhere is by no means determined.

* In 1773, Rufus Putnam, with Colonel Israel Putnam, Roger Enos, Thaddeus Lyman and others, explored lands along the Mississippi River for the military company of adventurers, composed of officers of the Colonial regiments which had served in the English army in the war against the French and Indians, 1755 to 1763. The king promised them a grant of lands in West Florida. The party located a large tract between the Mississippi River and the Big Black extending north from the mouth of Big Black River to near the mouth of the Yazoo. The grant was not made, though in 1775 a patent for 20,000 acres, in what is now Claiborne County, Mississippi, was issued to Thaddeus Lyman who with a few others emigrated to it.

† Captain Thomas Hutchins was subsequently geographer of the United States. This map was published in England in 1778 ; of the few copies in existence one is among the Putnam manuscripts in the College at Marietta, Ohio.

The next thing which gives us a preference is in the back lands, in all the country above mentioned the back lands abound with swamps and stagnant water, interspersed with very excellent lands, but very unhealthy situations on account of those waters, and are greatly deficient in constant springs and of streams of running water, whereas our back country is otherwise, it is neither a plain nor yet a hill country, but consists of gentle inequalities of excellent lands, or of plains of moderate extent, of gentle swelling hills and beautiful vales wherein flow innumerable rivulets of water and many constant springs, besides as we far exceed them in the extent of our inland navigation and means of communication with lake Erie, which at a time not far distant must be of great consequence, so also we exceed them far in streams suitable for mills, Iron works, &c., but what is more than all, and without which life itself must be a burden, *Ours* is as healthy a climate as any on the globe while all the rest are sickly.

Whether there will be peace or war with the natives I am not able to determine, but our neighboring Indians have hitherto appeared very friendly and civil, while at the settlements below the inhabitants and Indians are at constant war but should a war be undertaken against the Natives by Congress our situation is such that there is a moral certainty the Muskingum will immediately become the rendezvous of an army, and place of general deposit for the same and therefore a place of perfect security.

With respect to the price, conditions of settlement, &c., as lands are not yet divided further than the eight acre lots, city lots, and right of common of three acres, the proprietors have not for themselves and therefore cannot sell any large tract to others, except it be by shares or parts of shares as their lots shall fall, but several of the agents I apprehend, and among the rest I believe Mr. Cutler of Ipswich, now has or very soon will have a number of shares to dispose of, he sir, is a most worthy Character and will be able to give you every information with respect to future prospects of purchasing lands in the Ohio Company or those lands adjoining them on the west and north, the last of which is at least a great part of them, the garden of the world. We are to have a meeting in December the principal object of which is to appropriate a certain quantity of land out of each share to be given away to industrious settlers, as soon as this business is over you may depend on the earliest information.

I am with respect sir your

Humble servant

RUFUS PUTNAM

Mr. Morris Witham

NOTES

AMBITIOUS ARCHITECTURE—In the recently issued Bulletin of the American Geographical Society, Professor Frederick S. Ober, in a paper on the *Ancient Cities of America*, says: "Nowhere in the Western world had an ambitious architecture been disclosed, until Yucatan was discovered—that mysterious peninsula, which extends like a beckoning finger from the Mexican main into the Caribbean, toward Africa and the Atlantic. . . . The ruins of former races seem to culminate in Yucatan, in the wonderful structures that still remain a mystery to man. Somewhere buried in the vast and impenetrable forest of this region, is supposed to stand the mysterious 'silver city,' its shining walls visible only at a distance, and said to be still occupied by the descendants of its original builders. Whether or no this be true, this vast wilderness contains the most glorious vestiges of former civilization on this continent. The predominant characteristic of these ruins is, that all are built upon an artificial pyramidal elevation: the walls of the buildings are generally of great thickness, mostly of cut stone, richly sculptured—busts, human heads, figures of animals, and hieroglyphics. The finest workmanship is displayed in broad and elevated cornices. Sixty-two groups have been discovered, many within a radius of 100 miles from Merida, the capital of Yucatan. None is more interesting than Uxmal, 60 miles distant, and which I first saw in March, 1881. . . . Beyond this city could be seen other ruins, perhaps other cities, reaching out in a

long line that could be traced miles away. . . . By far the finest building in Uxmal, conspicuous alike from its position and the completeness of its preservation, is the 'Governor's House.' . . . It is entirely of stone, without ornament to a height of about ten feet, where there is a wide cornice, above which the wall is a bewildering maze of beautiful sculpture. . . . Thirty miles from Merida is the mound of Mayapan, an oblong pyramid, which is thought to have served as a gnomon mound, and several sculptured slabs. About 100 miles distant from the capital, east, are the ruins of Chichen-Itza, scattered over an area of two miles, and next in importance to those of Uxmal. . . . It was here that Dr. Le Plongeon, the explorer, disinterred the monolith known as Chacmol, a statue nine feet in length, which was taken from him by the government (Mexican) and now lies in the Mexican museum."

GIVE HIM JESSY—The origin of this phrase is discussed in the new *Journal of American Folk Lore*, as follows: "When two American boys are fighting together and a crowd is watching the mill, a spectator will often encourage one of the contestants by crying, 'Give him jessy!' In my own boyhood the expression was too familiar to seem worthy of note. Hearing it after many years, it seemed a subject fit for inquiry. It appears certain that this phrase is a remnant of the days when the language of falconry was familiar among the youths as that of horse-racing now is.

The jess was a thong by which the bird was attached to the wrist, and when it retrieved badly it appears to have been the custom to punish it by the application of the thong. It is not unlikely that this convenient bit of leather may also have been used from time to time in arguments with boys. At any rate, the phrase is heard through all parts of the United States. I have not been able to find whether it exists at all in England. I think it likely it may have died out there, for several of my acquaintances who were bred in England do not remember to have heard it."—*N. S. Shaler, Cambridge, Mass.*

WATER SPOUTS—When a water spout is forming, the upper portion is often visible first, seeming to grow downward from the clouds. Observation with a telescope shows that the motion in the column itself is upward, though the moisture in the rising air is condensed lower and lower down, and makes the whirl appear to be actually descending. It is the intermingling of the warm, moist air that hangs over the gulf stream, and the cool, dry air brought from the land by the northwesterly winds that generates these dangerous whirlwinds on the ocean.—*Geographical Notes.*

QUERIES

COMMON SCHOOLS—Are free schools "maintained by the public and for the public," a New England idea or invention, or shall we say that the idea was Dutch or English?

Motley holds to a Dutch origin. He says that the patriarch of the Nassau family, as early as 1590, urged the establishment of a system of common schools in the United Netherlands (vol. III., p. 119). His advice was that "according to the example of the Pope and the Jesuits, there should be free schools where children of quality as well as of poor families, for a very small sum, can be Christianly educated. The institution thus recommended according to Sumner (*Hist. Magazine*, III., p. 333) and Motley was transported by English Pilgrims from Leyden to Massachusetts." Again (vol. IV., p. 432) Motley says of Holland in 1608, "it was a land where every child went to school." Motley

gives no authorities, or details. The point is too important to rest on any man's *ipse dixit*. Will not some one conversant in Dutch educational history show what fountains the Pilgrims and Puritans had to draw from—and how far the latter were acquainted with Holland?

JAMES D. BUTLER

MADISON, WIS.

PARMELIN OR PARMELEE—John Parmelin, or Parmelee, or Parmerlee, came to New England and settled in Guilford, Connecticut, in the company led by Rev. Henry Whitefield of Ockley, Surrey. Parmelin (or Parmelee) is said to have come from that place, or from the Isle of Guernsey. No family of that name seems to have lived in either of these localities, nor has the name been found in England, as yet. The name of Parmelié is said to exist in Belgium. Is this so? If so, where? Is it found in Eng-

land? If so, where? All information about the name and family is much desired.

MRS. EDWARD E. SALISBURY
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT.

EDUCATION IN ENGLAND—What was the state of education in England among the yeomen and husbandmen of the seventeenth century? When the early English settlers of New England—say between 1620 and 1650—wrote a fair hand, how much can be inferred from it in relation to their social standing in England?

When, in the time of the early New England settlers, "Mr." is affixed to a man's name, either in the public records or on his gravestone, how much honor is conveyed by that title? Is it understood that he occupied the position of a gentleman, either by birth, or by official station?

On what principles were the lands in

New England divided among the first settlers? How did some of them come into possession of very large tracts, while others obtained so little? Did each man receive a certain quantity in a general distribution, and obtain, by purchase, all his landed property which exceeded this amount, or were the lands distributed in proportion to a man's supposed social rank? Who were the distributors?

E. MCC. S.

RICHARD RIDGEWAY—I desire to discover the name of the father or grandfather of Richard Ridgeway, who with his wife, Elizabeth Chamberlain, came from England, Welford, Co. of Burkes, in ship *Jacob and May*, of London, landed in the river Delaware, 7th November, 1679.

T. E. RIDGEWAY, M.D.

RED BANK, N. J.

REPLIES

VIRGINIA STATE NAVY [xix. 346]—Very little has been published relative to the Virginia troops who served in the Revolutionary War. This is especially true of the Virginia state navy during that period. The Committee on Revolutionary Claims appointed by Congress in 1842 stated in their report on "Virginia Revolutionary Claims," written by the late eminent historian, Hon. Hiland Hall of Vermont, as follows: "The Committee has taken much pains to ascertain the actual strength of the Virginia navy, but the histories of the times are nearly silent on the subject" (Rep. No. 1063, p. 21). The report then quotes the brief account from "Jefferson's Notes on Virginia" as the fullest

that could be found. On page 23 of this report there is a list of eleven (11) unpublished Revolutionary rolls and documents, containing rosters and reports of Virginia troops, to which the committee had access in preparing their report; the originals of which or copies thereof are preserved among the "Washington Papers," now in the keeping of the State Department at Washington. Some are in the State Auditor's Office in Richmond, Virginia. Access to those in the State Department at Washington has been refused all applicants, excepting the regular Congressional Committee on Revolutionary Pensions. Even the governors of some of the states have applied in vain for sight of them; the

reason given for the refusal being the unwillingness of the government to encourage further claims for pensions or compensation on the score of Revolutionary service. The writer is equally desirous, with "W. H.," to learn of all sources of information on the subject of "Virginia troops" in the Revolutionary War, purely for historical purposes. The following list of published papers and authorities on the subject, now in the writer's library, may aid "W. H.," as well as elicit fuller replies to the above query.

U. S. Pension Rolls, 1835, 3 vols. 8vo ; Do. 1841, 1 vol. 4to ; Resolutions, etc., relating to pay, etc., of Revolutionary Officers, 8vo, p. 519, 1838 ; Rejected Pensions, Ex. Doc. 37, 32d Cong., 1st Sess., 8vo, p. 462, 1852 ; Virginia State Document 30 ; List of Officers of the Army and Navy, etc., 4to, p. 34, 1833 ; Do., Doc. 31 ; Do., Doc. 32 ; Do., Doc. 33 (these 4 all 4to, 1833) ; Congressional Report, No. 20, Va. Bounty Lands, p. 62, 1831 ; Do. 436, p. 135, 1840 ; Do. 485, p. 38, 1842 ; Do. 1063, p. 69, 1842 ; Do. 457, 8vo, p. 200, 1844 ; Report Sec. of the Treas. on Scrip issued to Va. line and navy, 23d Cong., p. 71, 1834 ; Force's Archives ; Saffell's Records of the Revolutionary War ; Lewis' Orderly Book ; Va. His. Soc. Coll., vol. vi. ; Va. Calendar Papers, 6 volumes ; Hamersley's Army Register ; Va. Claims Statement, p. 12, 8vo, 1848. There is an endless number of especial Congressional Reports on individual Virginia claims, of which the writer has at least 500, giving in many cases the personal history, and always the military history of the claimant. These will be found in the various

Congressional Documents by reference to the "House List of Private Claims, 1st to 31st Cong., 3 vols. 4to, 1853 ;" and also by reference to Maj. Ben : Perley Poore's "List of U. S. Documents." If there are any other authorities throwing direct light on the "Virginia Line and Navy" during the Revolutionary period, the information will be gratefully received by

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN
WILKESBARRE, PA.

THE SYLVESTER HOMESTEAD [xviii. 381, 383]—*Editor of Magazine of American History*: In your interesting article on Shelter Island, more especially interesting to those who have from childhood been taught to consider it with reverence as the home of their ancestors on their early emigration to this country, having been in their possession from 1651 until 1827-8, when it was sold by the heirs of General Dering, although it did not go out of their possession until the death of General Dering's widow in 1839, there is an error. It was never the property of Mr. Ezra L'Hommedieu, who died in 1811 and General Dering not until 1820. It was purchased about 1827 by the father of the present owner, Mr. Samuel S. Gardiner. A daughter of the first Nathaniel Sylvester married Benjamin L'Hommedieu, and was the grandmother of Ezra L'Hommedieu, but the Sylvester homestead was never owned by any of their descendants until the purchase by Mr. Gardiner, who as stated above was the father of the present owner.

ONE OF GENERAL DERING'S
GRANDCHILDREN

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At a stated meeting of the Society, held on the evening of Tuesday, May 1, the president, Hon. John A. King, occupied the chair. Additions during the past month to the collections were reported, including 113 volumes, 7 manuscripts, 90 pamphlets and 118 photographs. The paper of the evening, entitled "The Agrarian Politics of the United States from the origin of our government to the outbreak of the Civil War," was read by James C. Welling, LL.D., president of the Columbian University of Washington.

Dr. Welling traced the territorial claims under the colonial charters until all rights were surrendered to the general government, as a condition precedent to the adoption of the Constitution. The subsequent connection between the agrarian and the slavery question in the vast domain acquired by this cession, by purchase and by conquest, was graphically described, and the paper closed with an analysis of the results of the Civil War in removing the greatest obstacle heretofore existing to the free development of the country west of the Mississippi. A vote of thanks moved by Judge Charles A. Peabody was unanimously adopted.

THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its quarterly meeting April 17, President Edward G. Mason in the chair. Among the numerous gifts reported since the last meeting was an original lottery ticket, issued in Boston, April, 1767, for the rebuilding of Fanueil Hall, and bearing the autograph signature of John

Hancock, from Joseph O. Butler; an ancient piano purchased in London over a century ago, from Mrs. Dr. Carr; and an admirable portrait in oil of ex-President Zachary Taylor, from J. Alden Ellis.

Of the 300 odd volumes of pamphlets lately bound, 20 volumes, embracing 700 different papers and subjects, have been catalogued. A separate catalogue of the 500 volumes of Americana has also been carefully prepared for more convenient reference.

Dr. Wills De Hass read a very instructive paper upon the subject of "Pre-Historic Archæology; the Mound-Builders—their Monuments and Art Remains," illustrating the character and importance of Illinois antiquities.

THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF AMERICA celebrated its fifth anniversary on the evening of April 20, at the Berkeley Lyceum, New York City, the President, Hon. John Jay, in the chair. The handsome hall was crowded with a brilliant audience of ladies and gentlemen, and a distinguished company occupied the platform.

President Jay, in opening the meeting, gave a brief and interesting history of the Society, its special objects, and the causes which led to its formation. Rev. Philip Schaff, D.D., who was introduced by Mr. Jay as "a historian honored at home and abroad," followed with remarks upon the present state of Protestantism in France. His rapid and accurate résumé of the events in French history since the Massacre of St. Bartholemew was followed by a tribute to

the American idea of religious liberty. The difference between toleration and liberty of conscience was clearly defined. Prof. Allan Marquand, of Princeton, then read a sketch on the industries of the Huguenots in America. The attempts at horticulture and agriculture in Virginia, North Carolina, Oxford, Massachusetts, and Acadia were described. Allusion was made to the mechanical ingenuity of the Huguenots, and their skill as weavers, makers of hats, inventors of textile machinery, silversmiths and goldsmiths was shown, as well as their ability as merchants. Dr. Schaff brought with him a fac-simile of the Edict of Nantes. This circulated through the audience. Prof. Marquand exhibited a silver brazier, loaned for the occasion by Mr. Daniel F. Appleton, of this city, which was made by Paul Revere, of Revolutionary fame, who was an artist, engraver and silversmith as well as patriot, and a fair type of the Huguenot artisan as he was found in the American colonies.

The orator of the evening was Chauncey M. Depew, who is one of the vice-presidents of the Society. After a flattering introduction by President Jay, he came forward and remarked that it was very difficult to speak after such an introduction, because the audience would inevitably conclude that the playbills on the barn were far superior to the circus inside. Prefacing his eulogy of the Huguenots by humorous allusions to their well-known modesty, and the experience which he had had at the annual dinners of the St. Andrew's, St. George's, St. Nicholas, New England Societies, etc., he proceeded in a speech of a half-hour's

length to give a history of the Huguenot race, their struggles and trials in France, their wonderful successes in England and Holland, where, as he expressed it, they "out-Englished England, and out-Dutched Holland," and dwelt upon their flight and final settlement in America. The way that Mr. Depew handled the subject was masterly and had the effect of charming every one present. At the conclusion of his eloquent address he was greeted with long and continued applause.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—
A notable and appreciative audience assembled in Providence on April 16, to listen to a paper from President Gammell on "Rhode Island refusing the Constitution of 1787." He introduced his subject by saying that "the formation and adoption of the Constitution of the United States constitute by far the grandest achievement of the American statesmanship and intelligence. Nothing so well illustrates the political capabilities of the American people. It is true that its rudiments already existed in the traditions of the English race, and in the local institutions of the states, but to select them, to adjust them to each other, and to combine them in such manner as to place them in harmony with the new and all-pervading principle of local sovereignty for local purposes, and national sovereignty for national purposes, was a work which only statesmanship of the first order could achieve, and only superior popular intelligence could appreciate and adopt." He also said that in the matter of adopting the Constitution, Rhode Island stood sul-

lenly aloof, a solitary obstructionist. In the long struggle for independence, she had spared no service and shrank from no sacrifice in the common cause. Her cause as regards the Constitution can be accounted for, but it cannot be defended. It was the offspring of prejudice, ignorance and conceit. For four years it spread its blighting influence over the interests and character of the state, and left upon the pages of her history a record which we should all be glad to blot out. He then went on to describe the political conceits and follies of the time, and the palliating circumstances which led to the action of the state. It was an able and exhaustive paper, and was received with great favor.

THE ROCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY—Rochester, New York has organized a Historical Society, mainly through the efforts of Mrs. Gilman H. Perkins, at whose house the preliminary meeting was held, December 14, 1887; also the meeting of March 29, 1888, when the organization was perfected. The following officers were elected for the coming year: president, E. M. Moore, M.D.; vice-president, Rev. A. A. Strong, D.D.; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Jane Marsh Parker; recording secretary, William F. Peck; treasurer, Gilman H. Perkins; custodian, Herman K. Phinney; managers, Henry E. Rochester, M. F. Reynolds, Hiram Sibley, George E. Mumford, James L. Angle, F. A. Whittlesey, and W. C. Morey.

The initiation fee for resident members was fixed at \$5.00 with annual dues of \$2.00. Life membership, \$50.00.

The Society is organized under the happiest auspices, having the cordial support of the old and representative citizens. Dr. Strong, president of the Theological Seminary, made the opening address, followed by Professor Gilmore of the University. At the meeting held April 6, Mrs. Parker read a paper, entitled "Grant Thosburn and Laurie Todd," showing the relations of the man and the novel to Rochester, New York.

TENNESSEE HISTORICAL SOCIETY—Held its regular meeting on the 10th of April at the Watkins Institute, President Judge John M. Lea in the chair. On motion of Bishop Quintard, Judge Thomas J. Flippin, of Somerville, Tenn., was elected an honorary member, and, on motion of Gen. Thruston, the Hon. Joseph E. Washington, of Robertson, was elected an honorary member.

Judge William B. Reese then addressed the society on the earliest settlement of this country, and especially "Who were the mound builders?" The speech was extemporaneous and very interesting. He thought the descendants of Ham, or the Phoenicians, the builders of Babylon and Nineveh, the original settlers of Greece, the founders of Carthage and numbers of other places, were the original people of this country. The Judge made a very attractive historical lecture of about an hour's length, going through the histories of all Central American peoples, the islands of the Pacific, and of the North Americans, as well as China, Japan, and other Eastern countries.

HISTORIC AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

When Sir Joshua Reynolds was elevated in 1773 to the high office of Mayor of Plympton, he was so much delighted and gratified that he presented his own portrait to the corporation, requesting that it might be hung in a good light. The aldermen accepted the gift, and in thanking the great artist for it, attempted a compliment by saying that it had been "hung between two old pictures, which acted as a foil and set it off to advantage." One may well imagine the effect upon Sir Joshua, for the "two old pictures" were his own paintings.

Sir Joshua Reynolds' dinners were famous. "For above thirty years," writes Malone, "there was scarce a person in the three kingdoms distinguished in literature, art, law, politics, or war, who did not occasionally appear at his table." Twice as many were invited, it is said, as could sit round the board, and dinner began at five o'clock whether the guests had arrived or not. As for waiters there were never enough; but personal discomfort was overlooked in the material and intellectual attractions of the banquet. "The host himself," says Pulling, "was gentle, simple-minded, careless, extravagant; he possessed a charming pen but a faltering tongue; the sport of fortune, to whose vagaries he resigned himself, childishly vain and easily gratified, this curious medley of characteristics resulted in a character altogether lovable."

Among the portraits of Sir Joshua Reynolds, perhaps no one reveals these varied characteristics more truly than the beautiful miniature painting by his pupil, Archibald Robertson, subsequently of New York, which, now a full century old, has been engraved for the first time, and forms the frontispiece to this number of our magazine. It is believed to be the only miniature portrait of Reynolds that was ever painted. It is a gem that has been cherished in the Robertson family all these years, and for permission to engrave from the exquisite original our readers are indebted to the courtesy of its present owner, Mrs. J. M. Goddard of New York, the granddaughter of Robertson. It is a portrait that deserves careful study, both for the character of its subject and the art it represents.

Sir Joshua Reynolds was ever ready to assist a rising genius, and could appreciate the merits of artists who entered the lists against him. There is no trace of meanness, no suspicion of jealousy in his fair, open countenance. His genial manners, winning smiles, and gentle voice were only the outward signs of an unruffled temper and a lovable disposition. He was not a great teacher, he had little time to bestow upon his pupils, but he made them his friends and companions. That he should have given Robertson the opportunity to paint his portrait in miniature discloses his estimate of the young student's artistic genius and possibilities. Northcote is proud to acknowledge the great debt he owed Sir Joshua, and speaks frequently of the encouragement he received from him.

Gainsborough and Romney were the great rivals of Sir Joshua Reynolds. In 1774 Gainsborough removed to London, and very soon attracted numerous sitters. Reynolds' position was however too strong to be seriously affected even by so great a rival as Gainsborough, and it is quite in keeping with Sir Joshua's absolute want of anything like envy or jealousy that he should have taken an early opportunity of calling on Gainsborough. But the two artists had quarreled some time before at the academy, and Gainsborough never returned the visit. And yet Gainsborough was too honest a man and too good a painter not to admit the great merits of Sir Joshua, even while angry, as may be gathered from the compliment he paid Reynolds on one occasion preceded by an oath, "How various he is!" Romney settled in London in 1775, after which "there was a Reynolds faction and a Romney faction," but Pulling says that Romney himself unhesitatingly conferred the highest praise on his rival. "Reynolds is the greatest painter that ever lived; I see in his pictures an exquisite charm which I see in nature, but in no other pictures," cried Romney in his excitable fashion.

We are learning new things every day about the wonderful Northwest. Professor Hinsdale tells us that when Judge Burnet first began to practice law in the territory, the general court sat in four places, Marietta, Cincinnati, Vincennes, and Kaskaskia. Detroit was soon after included within the circuit. This court had power to review and to revise the decisions of all inferior tribunals, but from its own decisions there was no appeal, not even to the Supreme Court of the United States. The Judges spent about as much time in the saddle as on the bench. Court and bar traveled through the wilderness, five or six together, sometimes seven or eight days on a single journey, with a packhorse to transport the supplies that they could not carry on their own horses or purchase by the way. When purchasing a horse, one of the first questions was whether he was a good swimmer."

At the time of which Professor Hinsdale was writing, "the mail was a week in going and coming between Marietta and Zanesville, when the Postmaster-General sometimes filled up mail schedules and contracts with his own hand, and when the principal means of transportation on the Ohio was the *Ark*, invented by one Krudger on the Juniata River—a square, flat-bottomed vessel, forty feet in length by fifteen in breadth, six feet deep, covered with a roof of thin boards accommodated with a fire-place, and carrying from two hundred to four hundred barrels of flour."

Rev. Dr. George E. Ellis, in his new work on *The Puritan Age* in Massachusetts, comments on the term "conscientiously contentious," as applied to Roger Williams in a public address by John Quincy Adams. He says, "As I heard the grand ex-President speak those words I remember being impressed by their peculiar felicity. More than that, as the speaker, then hardly mellowed, though in old age, had had full opportunity of knowing what his own temper had been in public life, I thought there was a rich candor in the description, as it applied as well to himself as to Williams. Far less fitting was Cotton Mather's description of Williams as having a windmill in his head. A windmill must be adjusted by breezes and points of the compass, as Williams never was. He never turned on axis or spindle, though he created a stiff breeze when it was not furnished for his use. Within he was tempered for the south wind. The air in which he most thrived was not from the sour East, but from the wholesome and bracing Northwest."

The Dakota Indians count their years by winters and say a man is so many snows old, or that so many snow seasons have passed since an occurrence. They have no divisions of time into weeks, and their months are absolutely lunar, only twelve, however, being designated, which receive their names upon the recurrence of some physical phenomenon. The Dakotas have a system of winter-counts, which were formerly executed in colors on the hides of animals, but the present recorders make use of paper, books, pens, pencils, and paints obtained from the whites. The figures used are extremely interesting. To represent the whooping-cough, for instance, a head is sketched and the cough illustrated by lines issuing from the mouth. On one occasion food was very scarce and they lived on acorns. They told the story with sketch of a crude oak tree and little dots below it representing the acorns.

It is believed that there are some very remarkable libraries that might be exhumed from the buried cities of Uxmal and Mayapan in Yucatan. The ancients must have been highly civilized, since they made use of a written language and alphabetical characters. It is the hope and ambition of Dr. Augustus Le Plongeon, the archæologist and explorer, to present to the scientific world a series of manuscripts written by the founders of these cities. He discovered that Freemasonry existed in pre-historic times, and has brought to this country photographs of old Masonic symbols which correspond very nearly with those now in use.

Madame Alice D. Le Plongeon, who has of late been delighting our readers from month to month with sketches of the early history of Yucatan, has had a singularly romantic career. As a bride of nineteen she left her home of luxury in England to accompany her husband, Dr. Le Plongeon, into the wilds of Central America on an exploring expedition. Her bridal tour was extended into a term of fourteen years. She became an enthusiast in the study of the Spanish language, also that of the old Mayas, and studied among the wonderful ruins of the ancients until she became very wise and learned. She aided her husband immensely in his archæological investigations. They spent the summer of 1875 at Uxmal, and together made many photographs and drawings of great interest and value. One building unearthed at Uxmal revealed one hundred and twenty rooms, arranged in pairs, each pair communicating with the other by a door-way. Many of the Uxmal buildings were erected on artificial terraces, with hanging gardens like those of Babylon. The richest and most elaborate carving may be seen on all sides. Mrs. Le Plongeon learned to read the inscriptions on these old walls, the natives teaching her the letters, and then the words of the old Maya tongue.

This remarkable young woman journeyed through the jungles and forests of Yucatan with her husband on horseback or on foot, always carrying her rifle or revolver, and not infrequently hunting with the energetic explorer for their meals. These venturesome travelers were ever made welcome in the out-of-the way homes of the Indians, whose bill of fare was corn and beans. Mrs. Plongeon was several times dangerously ill, and she encountered hardships and perils of every kind for the love of the knowledge they were seeking. When she had become acclimated, it so happened that the small-pox broke out among the natives, and Dr. Le Plongeon sent for virus and taught her how to vaccinate, after which she became such an expert in the art that she traveled from hamlet to hamlet and vaccinated some five thousand persons with her own hand.

BOOK NOTICES

THE CAMPAIGN IN VIRGINIA. 1781.

An exact reprint of six rare pamphlets on the CLINTON-CORNWALLIS CONTROVERSY, with unpublished manuscript notes, by Sir HENRY CLINTON, K. B. Edited by BENJAMIN FRANKLIN STEVENS. 2 vols. Royal 8vo. pp. 1,000. 1888. London, England.

In his introduction to this admirable work Mr. Stevens gives such preparatory information as every scholar would naturally seek, and at the close we find an elaborate index with important biographical notes. The controversy between Sir Henry Clinton and Lord Cornwallis grew out of the memorable Revolutionary campaign in Virginia, and the question at issue was where the responsibility should properly rest for its disastrous termination and consequent loss to the British nation. These volumes form one of the most important contributions hitherto made to that particular period of American history. They contain five exceedingly rare tracts which were published in London in 1783, viz.: Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative; Earl Cornwallis's Answer; Clinton's Observations on Answer; Themistocles' Reply to Narrative; Parting Word on the Controversy; and a sixth, the Correspondence of Clinton and Cornwallis, privately printed at New York in 1781. These six tracts are of such rarity that only one library, that of the Department of the State of Washington, possesses all of them, and of the "Parting Word" no other copy is known.

To these are added extracts from the Lords' journals, relating to the operations of Clinton and Cornwallis, the preface of the French version of some of the correspondence, and a list of about three thousand five hundred other documents illustrating the relations of the two British commanders, with memoranda of their depositories and of the places where they are printed. Clinton's manuscript notes upon the margins of the pamphlets in the way of comments and corrections—exceedingly important—are here published for the first time. In the correspondence, Mr. Stevens has, with marked precision, collated Clinton's notes on each letter, from all sources, and printed them in two columns in bourgeois, with the letter itself. He has also made a catalogue of additional correspondence, bearing upon American affairs in every instance, including all letters written by Clinton or Cornwallis, and all letters written to either of them in 1780 and 1781, with all inclosures and sub-inclosures, stating where each is to be found, and if printed, where printed. The value of this mass of historical information, never before made accessible to the student, is obvious at a glance.

In his introduction, the editor says: "The question between Clinton and Cornwallis may be left to the determination of the readers of this collection, who are for the first time provided with the most complete materials to be obtained.

As regards their respective plans of campaign, it may be said that each was right from his own point of view. Clinton's was safe, and so far as it went, successful: but it did not go far. Cornwallis was justified in his expressions to General Phillips: 'If our plan is defensive, mixed with desultory expeditions, let us quit the Carolinas and stick to our salt pork at New York, sending now and then a detachment to steal tobacco.' But his own bold and comprehensive plan could only succeed if undertaken with a much larger force than was at any time available, and its failure entailed the ruin of the British cause. The anonymous French editor of the *Correspondance du Lord G. Germain* seems to have judged fairly when he wrote: 'L'un mettoit trop de lenteur dans l'exécution de ses plans, et l'autre trop de vivacité dans la poursuite des siens.' We may agree with him that things would have gone differently 'si le comte Cornwallis avoit eu le flegme de Sir Henri Clinton,' or 'si le chevalier Clinton avoit eu l'ardeur et l'activité du Lord Cornwallis.' Considering, however, that the obstacles to be encountered were fully as much moral as military, some may question his opinion that 'si les Anglois avoient eu un Washington à la tête de leur armée, il y a longtemps qu'il ne seroit plus question de guerre sur le continent de l'Amérique.'"

INDIAN SKETCHES. By JOHN TREAT IRVING. 16mo, pp. 365. New York. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The flood of cheap and sensational literature, bearing upon Indian life and manners, that has issued from the press during the last generation has well-nigh caused us to forget such works as those of Collins, Schoolcraft, and the other earlier writers who saw the Indian before he had been corrupted by intercourse with the whites. It is a genuine and altogether pleasurable surprise to find a book written more than fifty years ago, concerning tribes then powerful and formidable, but which have since been nearly exterminated by the inexorable advance of the white population westward. In 1833 the author joined an expedition undertaken for the purpose of negotiating treaties with the Pawnees and other tribes, and fortunately he was capable of keeping a readable journal and of expanding it into an extremely readable book. The whole journey to the westward of St. Louis

was, of course, accomplished in the saddle, and from Fort Leavenworth, then merely a frontier post, the expedition penetrated a region known only to the wild tribes themselves, and to the few bold pioneers like Lewis and Clarke, who had ventured into the then unknown wilderness to the westward. The Indian of that day had hardly, as yet, laid aside his aboriginal equipments. The arrow was his favorite weapon for many purposes of the chase and warfare, and for the most part he was clad, when clad at all, in skins or blankets.

Mr. Irving brought to his study of the West a keen appreciation of wild life in its picturesque aspects, and his chapters are most entertaining and instructive reading. The cow-boy of to-day had not then made his appearance on the plains, and the buffalo ranged in countless numbers over a vast region of fertile prairie. The sketches are written in a sprightly and entertaining vein which is sure to prove attractive to every one not given over to the perusal of fiction to the exclusion of all else.

THE FIGHTING VERES. By CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM. Svo, pp. 508. Boston, 1888. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

When Tennyson cast about for the noblest name in English history, a poetical name that should express the bluest strain of all blue blood, he devised "Lady Clara Vere de Vere," and we may not unfairly suppose that he had in mind the very family to which the "fighting Veres." Sir Francis and Sir Horace, belonged. The family of Veres, Earls of Oxford, dated from near the beginning of the twelfth century, and the earldom continued in an unbroken succession until 1703. They intermarried with nearly all the great families of England, succeeded to no less than five baronies, and were hereditary grand Chamberlains of England. Originally they were Danes, and the earliest record of their prowess appears to have been the repulse of an invading English force sent over by Ethelred. It is, however, with the vicinity of the village and castle of Ver, near the city of Contance, on the river Soules, that the family name is commonly associated.

Mr. Markham's work has to do mainly with the stirring period when the English and Dutch were fighting side by side in the Netherlands against Spanish oppression, a period which may be said to have seen the birth of the New England colonies, and the inauguration of those ideas of popular rights which have ever since been peculiarly characteristic of English-speaking people.

The Veres became famous during the campaigns in the Low Countries. The history of their military services covers the whole period of the war for independence. They remained at the

front during almost the entire struggle, and were conspicuous examples of that steadfast devotion to duty which is the pride of the best part of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Sir Francis Vere may be said to have founded the military school which was perpetuated by his brother Horace. He was one of the first of the great English generals and under his tutorship were trained many of the leaders who distinguished themselves in the war between Charles I. and the Parliament, and some of whom had so much to do with the foundation of civil liberty in America. The volume before us is mainly devoted to the life of the senior of the two brothers, but really includes both of them, since they served together during a large part of the time. Several chapters, however, relate to the period subsequent to the death of the elder, when General Sir Horace Vere to a large extent succeeded to his brother's honors and estate. It was during this period that the Pilgrims sailed from Delfthaven to establish their weighty little colony in Plymouth. The war in the Low Countries was thus an important factor in leading toward political progress in the old world as well as in the new, and the lives of the Veres as here presented are a notable addition to material heretofore accessible. The author has had access to numerous original papers as well as to the state documents in the British Museum, besides which he has personally visited the localities of all the military operations in which the Veres were engaged. The volume, which is a fine specimen of Riverside press work, contains two portraits and a large number of maps, many of them copied from old records at the Hague and elsewhere. In some instances Mr. Markham has found himself unable to agree with Mr. Motley, who does not appear to have formed the highest estimate of the elder Vere's character and achievements, but his criticisms are in all cases stated with the utmost courtesy and good nature.

THE OLD NORTHWEST. With a view of the thirteen colonies as constituted by the royal charters. By B. A. HINSDALE, Ph. D. 8vo, pp. 440. New York, 1888. Townsend MacCoun.

To learn what the author of this volume calls "The Old Northwest," we have but to glance at the map which forms its frontispiece. It is the part of the great West first discovered and colonized by the French. It was subsequently the first and most important territory ever organized by Congress. Then again we discover that it was the only portion of the United States ever under a secondary constitution like the Ordinance of 1787; and as we investigate its progress since that time we are impressed with the fact

that no other equal part of the Union has advanced in one hundred years with such rapidity along the characteristic lines of American development. The scholarly professor handles his theme with masterly skill, showing how the Old Northwest has stood in important relations to questions of great national and international importance, as the use and ownership of the Mississippi River, and the territorial growth and integrity of the Union. This ground has not hitherto been covered by any writer, the work is wholly new in conception, and it will be cordially welcomed by all general readers who desire to be well informed, as well as by the conscientious student and the teacher.

Professor Hinsdale writes concisely and with great ease and clearness of diction. He opens the volume with an outline sketch of the geographical features of our continent, which have had such great influence upon our progress and prosperity as a nation. He then leads the reader into the heart of North America by the River St. Lawrence, with the French, who loved the fur trade, and the free and picturesque life of the forests and waters that made the history of Canada one long adventure. In the fourth chapter he goes on to show how the triple alliance of priest, soldier, and trader characterized the French settlements in the Northwest, and a well executed map illustrates their travels in the beginning from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico. The culmination of the long and bitter contest between England and France for supremacy in this part of America is ably discussed. The Northwest was finally wrested from France by the English, who were reluctant to see it put to any civilized use. Then the United States wrested it from England. The fifteenth chapter treats of the "Ordinance of 1787," which created a machinery of government for immediate use, and defined the spirit of its administration. The sixteenth chapter is none the less valuable or interesting. It brings to light many of the evils that grew out of the first land-policy, and shows the difficulties and complications arising through the credit system, which, notwithstanding it facilitated settlements, led to much suffering; and it treats also of the territorial evolution of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, and Wisconsin. The two closing chapters, "The Connecticut Western Reserve," and "A Century of Progress," are sufficient for a volume in themselves. We regret that space will not permit of our calling attention even to their leading features; but we commend them to the reading public as worthy of the closest and most intelligent study. The book is one no historical scholar can afford to miss, and every institution of learning in the land should possess a copy.

SOCIETY IN ROME UNDER THE CÆSARS. By WILLIAM RALPH INGE, M.A.

16mo, pp. 277. New York. Charles Scribners' Sons.

The author of this essay is not, perhaps, so well known to American readers as to Englishmen, in one of whose great universities he holds a fellowship, and is an assistant master at Eton. The essay was originally written to compete for the "Hare" competitive thesis, Cambridge, in 1886, and was successful in obtaining that prize. It is in effect a very able and scholarly compilation from all the best authorities, ancient and modern, on Roman manners and customs, including religion, society, government, literature, art, education, marriage, daily life, and amusements, and for most readers will answer every purpose of a reference book. Of course it cannot be compared with such works as those of Coulange, Friedlander, or Lecky, in many special lines of study, but for a condensed general view of the Roman life in a convenient form it is probably without a superior. We cannot but regret that an index was not added to the volume, as it would then have possessed a far higher value as a book of reference.

ISIDRA. By WILLIS STEELL. 16mo, pp. 271. Boston. Ticknor & Co.

The author affectionately dedicates his book to "The Mexican Mining Syndicate, but for which he would never have been a millionaire in fancy, and which, by constantly drawing upon him to pay for machinery that broke down . . . finally drew him to Mexico." The story has to do with lawless Mexican life, with its revolutions and counter-revolutions, wild adventure, bush-whacking, bull-fights, and love-making. One of the most entertaining chapters is devoted to the sports and games characteristic of a *festa* in one of the small cities, where the feats of daring horsemanship are described with much spirit and a dash of local color that lends a living interest to the scene and the half-barbaric glitter of its tropical surroundings.

PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE OF MORALITY; or, Ethical Principles Discussed and Applied. By EZEKIEL GILMAN ROBINSON, D.D., LL.D., of Brown University. 12mo, pp. 264. Boston. Silver, Rogers & Co.

Ethical discussion has of late years passed through various phases of reconstruction which are of more or less importance when considered in relation to the utilitarian tendencies of the age. President Robinson, however, does not enter largely into the consideration of these, though they are fully recognized in his scheme. The book is mainly valuable in its relation as a text-book to its learned author's lectures on

ethics as delivered to the students of Brown University. The book is divided into three parts, namely, fundamental principles, theoretic morality, and practical morality, each of which receives distinct and independent treatment under the proper head. Marginal headings throughout the volume increase its usefulness for the purpose intended, and it will no doubt commend itself to instructors and students throughout the country.

SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY PAPERS. Volume XV. Paroles of the Army of Northern Virginia, R. E. Lee, Gen. C. S. A., commanding, surrendered at Appomattox C. H., Va., April 9, 1865, to LIEUTENANT-GENERAL U. S. GRANT. Now first printed from the duplicate originals. Edited, with an introduction, by R. A. BROCK. 8vo, pamphlet, pp. 508. Published by the Society. Richmond, Virginia.

The incidents of the surrender of General Robert E. Lee to General Grant on the 9th of April, 1865, are told in the introduction to this volume in the graphic language of Colonel Walter H. Taylor, the adjutant-general of the Army of Northern Virginia. The letters of the two commanders in relation to the surrender are printed in full, as also General Lee's letter to Jefferson Davis, dated April 12, and some other documents. The book has been very carefully edited.

NEGRO MYTHS FROM THE GEORGIA COAST. Told in the vernacular. By CHARLES C. JONES, Jr., LL.D. 16mo, pp. 171. Boston and New York, 1888: Houghton, Mifflin & Company.

The negro dialect, strange mythical stories, odd humor, songs and superstitions are of manifold interest. In the folk lore of any people the prevailing national characteristic is curiously reflected, and no study is more fascinating. There are many points of resemblance and difference between the "Negro Myths" of Mr. Harris in "Uncle Remus" and of Colonel Jones in the book before us, while both disclose an exercise of the native imaginative power of the African race, and a tendency for fantastic invention, which carries us back to the time of the ancients. The vernacular of Georgia differs in many respects from that of other localities. Elephants, tigers, lions, and monkeys figure in the quaint fables which Colonel Jones introduces into his "Negro myths," and these fables bristle with ludicrous explanations of the whys and wherefores of the color, shapes, and instincts of the animals. Colonel Jones has

added a glossary which will be found most helpful to those who are not familiar with the strange lingo. "Quaintum" for instance, means to be acquainted with. "bague" is to beg. "hoona" is you. "wuhebber" is whatever. and "hiccumso" is how came it so. Very often a letter in a word is removed to the wrong syllable as "turkrey" for turkey. One very picturesque story in the volume is that of "Buh Rabbit An Buh Wolf Funeral." It seems the rabbit had been fooling the wolf until "De ting mose worry Buh Wolf life outer um. At lenk Buh Wolf gie out. Say him berry sick. Leely wile arter dat, de news come dat Buh Wolf dead. Eh wife eenvite all eh fren ter de funeral. Buh Wolf mek sho say et gwine ketch Buh Rabbit now. Buh bear, him bin der de passon. Dog come. Rocoon come. Squirrel come. Possum come. Cow come. Alligatur an Cooter (land terrapin) dem come. Deer, him bin day too. Buh Wolf, him bin er lay out on er bench een de middle er him house, kibber ober wid clorte, an eh wife an eh chillum duh tan roun um duh cry. Buh Owl, him fetch er spade fuh dig de grave, an bud bin day too fuh sing er hymne." . . .

We should like to give the whole of this humorous account of the funeral, but our limited space forbids. The field of American folk-lore exploration covered by Colonel Jones—the swamp region of Georgia and the Carolinas—has proved itself in this valuable book well worth the pains-taking investigation it has received.

THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN FOLK-LORE. Edited by FRANK BOAS, T. FREDERICK CRANE, J. OWEN DORSEY, W. W. NEWELL. pp. 96. April-June, 1888. No. 1. Vol. I. Boston: American Folk-Lore Society.

The first number of the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* is before us and we extend to it a cordial welcome, with our best wishes for its success. It is conducted by scholars of recognized ability, and it is issued by the American Folk-Lore Society of which Professor Francis J. Child of Harvard College is president. Its purpose is to assist in the development on a scientific basis of this important branch of study, hitherto greatly neglected, which embraces our native legends, rural tales, superstitions, and nursery ballads. The collection of the folk-lore of the American Indians has been going forward for some years in the western districts, but no record of their legends of any importance has been preserved in the Eastern states, although they were once associated with every hill and valley, lake and river. This periodical seems destined to be a new force in the direction of an important field of investigation.

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Insurance and Annuity Account.

	No.	Amount.		No.	Amount.
Policies and Annuities in force, Jan. 1st, 1887	122,927	\$397,509,302 68	Policies and Annuities in force, Jan. 1st, 1888....	140,943	\$477,628,222 81
Risks Assumed.....	22,536	49,437,438 37	Risks Terminated.....	11,389	35,637,744 74
	122,927	\$462,265,071 25		122,927	\$462,265,071 25

Dr.		Revenue Account.		Cr.	
To Balance from last account ...	\$104,718,734 51	By Endowments, Purchased Insurance, Dividends, Annuities and Death Claims	14,128,423 80		
" Premiums.....	17,110,901 92	" Commissions, Commutations, Taxes and all other Expenses	8,542,514 45		
" Interest, Rents and Premium on Securities Sold.....	6,000,020 84	" Balance to new account	130,061,718 68		
	\$127,830,656 77				\$127,830,656 77

Dr.		Balance Sheet.		Cr.	
To Reserve for Policies in force and for risks terminated ..	\$112,430,000 00	By Bonds Secured by Mortgages on Real Estate	\$40,615,266 06		
" Premiums received in advance ..	82,314 86	" United States and other Bonds ..	43,420,577 81		
" Surplus at four per cent.....	6,294,441 62	" Real Estate and Loans on Collaterals	30,120,173 37		
		" Cash in Banks and Trust Companies at Interest	2,212,302 06		
		" Interest accrued, Premiums deferred and in transit and Sundries.....	2,273,100 89		
	\$118,806,851 88				\$118,806,851 88

I have carefully examined the foregoing statement and find the same to be correct.

A. N. WATERHOUSE, Auditor.

From the Surplus above stated a dividend will be apportioned as usual.

Year.	Risks Assumed.	Risks Outstanding.	Surplus.
1884	\$34,641,420	\$351,789,288	\$4,743,771
1885	46,507,139	308,981,441	5,012,834
1886	56,932,712	292,800,201	5,643,508
1887	60,437,438	427,628,222	6,294,442

New York, January 25, 1888.

ROBERT A. GRANNISS, Vice-President.

ISAAC F. LLOYD, 3d Vice-President.

WILLIAM J. EASTON, Secretary.

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